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OF
JAMES W. WELLS

OF VERMONT, AND NEW YORK

VOL. II.

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an account of his travels

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LIFE

OF

CHARLES XII.

KING OF SWEDEN.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH.

AND NOW PUBLISHED WITH ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

London :

Printed by W. M'Dowall, Pemberton Row, Gough-square, Fleet-street.

FOR J. DAVIS, MILITARY CHRONICLE OFFICE, ESSEX-STREET, STRAND; AND
TO BE HAD OF ALL THE BOOKSELLERS.

1812.

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DISCOURSE

ON

THE HISTORY OF CHARLES XII.

VERY few sovereign princes have deserved a particular history of their actions. In vain has malice or flattery waited almost on all princes, since there are but a very small number whose memories have been preserved; and that number would be much less, if only their good deeds were to be remembered.

The princes who have the best right to immortality are those who have been beneficent to mankind: thus, as long as France endures, shall that kindness which Lewis XII. had for his people be remembered; and the great faults of Francis I. be excused, on account of the encouragement he gave to arts and sciences; so long shall men bless the memory of Henry IV. who subdued his country by his valour and his clemency; and so long shall they praise the generosity of Lewis XIV. for his protecting those arts to which Francis I. gave birth.

For a different reason are the names of bad princes remembered; it is as men preserve the remembrance of inundations, fires, and plagues.

Between tyrants and good kings, are conquerors, but nearest approaching to the first, and these have a shining reputation. Every one is desirous to know the minutest articles of their lives: and such is the weakness of mankind, that they behold any glorious mischief with admiration, and are better pleased to talk of the destroyer of an empire than of its founder.

As for other princes, who have neither shone in war nor peace, and who are not remarkable for great vices, or great virtues; as their lives afford no examples either to be imitated or avoided, they are not at all worth remembrance. Of all the emperors of Rome, Greece, Germany, and Muscovy; of all the sultans, caliphs, popes, kings, how few are there whose names are

fit to be mentioned any where but in chronological tables, where they serve only to mark the eras of time!

There are the vulgar among princes as well as among other men; nevertheless the itch of scribbling is come to that height, that a prince no sooner dies, but the public is over-run with volumes under the titles of his memoirs, his life, or the anecdotes or secret history of his court. Thus are books so greatly increased, that was a man to live a hundred years, and employ his time wholly in reading, he would not have enough to go through the history only that has been printed in Europe for the two last centuries.

This inclination of transmitting useless narrations to posterity, and of fixing the attention of future ages on ordinary events, is owing to a weakness very common among those who have lived in courts, and had the misfortune of some share in public affairs. They imagine the court in which they lived the finest that ever was; the king they have served the greatest of monarchs; and the affairs they have been employed in, the most important that ever have been transacted. They fancy, too, that posterity will view all these things with the same eyes.

If a prince undertakes a war, or has any intrigues in his court; if he buys the friendship of one of his neighbours, or sells his own to another; if at last he makes peace after some victories and some defeats, his subjects, full of these events, imagine themselves born in the most remarkable age that has been since the creation. And what happens next? This prince dies, quite different measures are taken, and then the intrigues of his court, his mistresses, his ministers, his generals, his wars, and he himself are all forgotten.

From the time that Christian princes have endeavoured to deceive one another, and made war and alliances, a thousand treaties have been signed, as many battles fought, and their glorious and infamous actions are innumerable. When this heap of events and particular circumstances descend to posterity, they are almost all lost one in another; the only names that remain are of those who have produced some great revolutions, or of those who, being described by some excellent writer, are saved from the crowd of common princes, as the pictures even of obscure persons are valuable when painted by a masterly hand.

This particular history of Charles XII. king of Sweden, should not have been added to that multitude of books with which the public is already overstocked, if that prince and his rival Peter Alexiowitz, the much greater man

Discourse on History.

of the two, had not been, by the consent of all the world, the most remarkable persons who have appeared for these two thousand years; but this book is not written only for the little satisfaction of telling strange stories, but that it may be useful to some princes if it should happen to fall accidentally into their hands. Certainly no one can read the history of Charles XII. without being cured of the folly of making conquests; for where is there that prince who can say, I have more courage and more virtue, a greater soul or more strength of body, more skill in war, or better troops, than Charles the Twelfth? If with all these advantages, and after so many victories, this king was unhappy, what are other princes, with the same ambition but less talents to expect?

This history is composed from the relations of some persons of distinction, who lived several years in the countries, and near the persons of Charles XII. and Peter the Great, emperor of Muscovy; and who, being retired into a free country, long after the death of those princes, can have no interest in disguising the truth.

There is not one single fact advanced here upon which ocular and incontestable witnesses have not been consulted; for which reason this history will be found very different from those gazettes which have hitherto appeared under the name of the Life of Charles XII. Several skirmishes between the Swedish and Muscovite officers are omitted, because the design here is not to write the history of those officers, but only of the king of Sweden; and even among the events of his life, the most material only are made choice of; being persuaded that the history of a prince is not to contain every thing that he has done, but is to take notice of all those fit to be transmitted to posterity.

It is proper to observe, that many things which were true at the time of writing this history, in the year 1728, are not so at present. For example, the trade of Sweden is not so much neglected; the Polish infantry are better disciplined, and have regimental clothes, which they had not then: the readers of history should always observe the time when their author wrote. A man who only reads the cardinal de Retz, would take the French for madmen, who breathe nothing but civil-war, faction, and folly. Those who only read the history of the best part of Lewis the Fourteenth's reign, would be apt to say, that the French were only born to obey, to conquer, and to cultivate arts and sciences. Another, who shall see the memoirs of the first years of Lewis the Fifteenth, will be able to discover nothing in the nation but luxury avarice, and indifference to all things else. The present Spaniards are not

the same with the Spaniards in the reign of Charles the Fifth. The English at this time are no more like the English under Cromwell, than the monks and monseigneurs, with which Rome is now peopled, are like its ancient Scipioes. It is to be doubted whether the Swedish troops would be now so formidable as they were some time ago. It is said of a man, that he was brave at such a time, the same may be said of a nation, that it appeared so and so under such a government, or in such a year.

If any prince or minister should find some disagreeable truths in this work, let them remember that, being public persons, they are to give an account to the public of their actions, and that it is at that price they purchase their grandeur; that history is a witness and not a flatterer; and that the only way to oblige men to speak well of us, is to take care to act well ourselves.

THE

LIFE OF CHARLES XII.

BOOK I.

SWEDEN and Finland together make a kingdom, one third part bigger than France, but nothing near so fruitful, and at this time less peopled. This country, which is two hundred leagues broad, and three hundred long, extends itself from south to north, from the fifty-fifth degree of latitude to the seventieth, under a rigorous climate, that hardly knows either spring or autumn. The winter reigns there nine months of the year; the heats of summer succeed an excessive cold all on a sudden, and the frosts begin again in the month of October, without any of those insensible gradations, which in other countries bring on the seasons by degrees, and make the alteration more agreeable; but to make amends, nature has given to this rude climate a serene sky and a clear air. The constant heat of the sun in the summer produces flowers and fruits in a very short time; and the long nights of winter are tempered by the light evenings and mornings, which last in proportion to the sun's distance from Sweden: and the brightness of the moon, which is not obscured by any cloud, and is farther increased by the reflection of the snow which covers the ground, and very often the aurora borealis, makes it as easy to travel in Sweden by night as by day. The cattle there, for want of pasturage, are smaller than in the southern parts of Europe, but the men are larger; the clear air they breathe makes them healthful, and the rigour of the climate gives them strength: they even live to a greater age than other men, if not enfeebled by the immoderate use of wine and other strong liquors, which the northern nations seem to be the more fond of, as they are denied them by nature.—The Swedes are well made, strong, active, and able to sustain the hardest labour, hunger, and want; they are born warriors, are bold, and have more courage than industry, having long neglected, and not improving much their commerce at present, which alone can give them what their country wants. It was chiefly from Sweden, one part of which is still called Gothland, that the swarm of Goths arose, which, like a deluge, over-spread the face of Europe, and wrested it from the hands of the Roman emperors, who for full five hundred years had usurped the dominion and tyrannised over it.—The northern nations were then much better peopled than at present; because their religion, allowing a plurality of wives, the inhabitants had the power of raising more subjects to the commonwealth; and these women, who knew no disgrace like being barren or idle, being as strong and laborious as the men, were on those accounts more fruitful and longer lived than other women.—Sweden was always free, till about the middle of the fourteenth century. In so long a space of time there were

several revolutions in the government, but the alterations were always in favour of liberty. Their chief magistrate had the name of King, a title, to which in different countries are given different powers; for in France and Spain it signifies a person absolute; in Poland, Sweden, and England, one limited. This king could do nothing without the senate, and the senate depended upon the states-general, which were often called together. The representatives of the nation in these great assemblies were the nobility, the bishops, and deputies of towns and cities; and in time, the very peasants were admitted into them, a part of the people, in other places, unjustly despised, and enslaved almost throughout the north.

About the year 1492 this nation, so jealous of its liberty, and still proud of having conquered Rome thirteen hundred years ago, was brought under the yoke of a woman, and a people less powerful than the Swedes. Margaret of Valdemar, the Semiramis of the north, and queen of Denmark and Norway, conquered Sweden by force and cunning, and made but one kingdom of these three vast states. After her death, Sweden was torn by civil wars; she shook off the Danish yoke and put it on again; and by turns was governed by kings and administrators. About the year 1520, she was oppressed in a horrible manner by two tyrants, one was Christiern II. king of Denmark, a monster made up of vices, without one single virtue; the other was an archbishop of Upsal, primate of the kingdom, and as cruel as Christiern. These two, by agreement, seized in one day upon the consuls, the magistrates of Stockholm, and ninety-four senators, and caused them to be executed by the common hangman, under a pretence that they had been excommunicated by the pope, for having defended the rights of the state against the archbishop; after which the city was given up to be plundered, where the throats of all were cut without distinction of age or sex. Whilst these two men, united only to oppress, and differing when they were to divide the spoil, exercised the most despotic tyranny, and shewed their revenge in every thing that was cruel, a new event changed the whole face of affairs in the north.

Gustavus Vasa, a young man descended from the royal race of that country, advancing from the bottom of the forests of Dalecarlie, where he had concealed himself, came to the deliverance of Sweden. He was one of those great geniuses so rarely formed by nature, with all the necessary talents to command over men. His fine person and graceful behaviour gained him friends as soon as he appeared. His eloquence, to which his genteel manner added force, was so much the more persuasive, as it was without art. His natural genius inclined him to form designs which the vulgar called *rash*, but by great men are only thought *bold*; his dauntless courage gave them success. He was intrepid with prudence, of a sweet temper in an age of cruelty, and, in short, as virtuous as the head of a party can be.

Gustavus Vasa had been the hostage of Christiern, and detained prisoner against the law of nations; but having escaped from confinement, he wandered about, disguised like a peasant, among the mountains and woods of Dalecarlie. He was there reduced to work in the copper-mines, to enable him to live and conceal himself: thus buried as he was under ground, he dared even there to form a design of dethroning the tyrant. He discovered himself to the peasants, and presently appeared to them like a person of a superior nature, to whom common men are always ready to pay a willing

submission. He made, in a very short time, good soldiers of these savages, with whom he attacked Christiern and the archbishop; and having vanquished them several times, and drove them both out of Sweden, the states, with justice, chose him king of that country, of which he had been the deliverer. He was no sooner settled on his throne, than he undertook another design, more difficult than making conquests. The real tyrants of the state were the bishops, who, being possessed of almost all the riches in Sweden, had made use of their wealth to oppress the subject, and make war upon their kings. This power was the more terrible, as the ignorance of the people had made it sacred. He punished the Romish religion for the crimes of its ministers; and in less than two years brought Lutheranism into Sweden, more by the superiority of his policy, than by his authority. Having thus conquered the kingdom, as he used to say, from the Danes and the clergy, he reigned happily and absolutely to the age of seventy; and then died full of glory, leaving his family and religion on the throne.—One of his descendants was Gustavus Adolphus, called Gustavus the Great. This prince conquered Ingria, Livonia, Bremen, Verden, Wismar, and Pomerania, without reckoning up above a hundred places in Germany, which were given back by Sweden after his death. He shook the throne of Ferdinand the Second, and protected the Lutherans in Germany, wherein he was secretly assisted by Rome itself, which stood much more in awe of the emperor's power, than of that of heresy. It was he in reality, that, by his victories, contributed to the depressing the house of Austria, though the glory of it was given to cardinal Richelieu, who knew well how to draw the reputation of it on himself, whilst Gustavus was contented with having affected it. He was upon the point of carrying his arms beyond the Danube, and perhaps of dethroning the emperor, when he was slain, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, at the battle of Lutzen, which he gained against Walstein, carrying with him to the grave the name of the Great, the lamentations of the north, and the esteem of his enemies. His daughter Christina, born with a most extraordinary genius, chose rather to converse with learned men, than to reign over a people who were ignorant of every thing but war. She became as illustrious for quitting the throne, as her ancestors had been for conquering or securing it. The protestants have attacked her memory, as if no one could have great virtues with a belief in Luther; and the papists triumph too much in the conversion of a woman whose greatest merit was her philosophy. She retired to Rome, where she passed the remainder of her time in those arts she loved, and for which she had renounced an empire at twenty-seven years of age.—Before her abdication, she engaged the states of Sweden, (in her stead), to elect her cousin, Charles Gustavus X. son to the count Palatine. This prince added new conquests to those of Gustavus Adolphus; he carried his arms into Poland, where he gained the victory in the famous battle of Warsaw, which lasted three days. He made war for a long time successfully against the Danes, besieged them in their capital, re-united Schonen to Sweden, and settled the Duke of Holstein in the possession of Sleswick, at least for a season; and then, having found a reverse of fortune, and made peace with his enemies, he turned his ambition against his subjects. He formed a design of establishing arbitrary power in Sweden; but died, like the great Gustavus, in the thirty-seventh year of his age, without finishing that work which his son Charles the Eleventh brought to perfection.

Charles XI. a warrior, like all his ancestors, was more absolute than any of them. He abolished the authority of the senate, which was declared the senate of the king, and not of the kingdom. He was frugal, vigilant, and laborious; and had qualities that would have gained him the love of his subjects, if his arbitrary temper had not changed those inclinations into fear.

He married in 1680, Ulric Eleonora, daughter of Frederick III. King of Denmark; a virtuous princess, and worthy of greater confidence than her husband reposed in her. From this marriage was born, on the 27th of June 1682, King Charles XII, the most extraordinary man, perhaps, that ever was on earth; who had united in him all the great qualities of his ancestors, and who had no other fault nor misfortune, but that, pursuing them to too great an extravagance. At six years of age he was taken out of the hands of the women, and had given him for his governor Monsieur de Nordcopenser, a wise and learned man. The first book he had to read was Puffendorf, that he might be early made acquainted with his own dominions, and those of his neighbours. He presently learned the German language, which he spoke ever after as well as his mother-tongue. At seven years old he could manage a horse; and the violent exercises which he delighted in, and which discovered his martial inclination, formed in him betimes a vigorous constitution, capable of supporting the fatigues his temper led him to. Although good natured in his infancy, he became invincibly obstinate: the only way to bend him was by touching on his honour; with the word "Glory," any thing might be obtained of him. He had an aversion to the Latin tongue; but when he was told that the king of Poland and the king of Denmark understood it, he learnt it very soon, and retained enough to be able to speak it all the rest of his life. They took the same method to engage him to learn the French; but he could never be prevailed upon to make use of it, even with the French ambassadors, who knew no other language. As soon as he had some knowledge of the Latin, they made him translate Quintus Curtius, which book he had a particular value for, more on account of the subject than the style. The person who explained that author to him, asked him what he thought of Alexander? "I think," said the prince, "that I would resemble him." But, said the other, he lived only two-and-thirty years! "Ah!" replied he, "is not that enough, when one has conquered kingdoms?" They did not fail to relate these answers to the king his father, who cried out, "There is a child that will excel me, and even go beyond the great Gustavus." One day he diverted himself in the king's apartment, with looking on two maps, one of a city of Hungary taken from the emperor by the Turks, and the other of Riga, the capital of Livonia, conquered by the Swedes about a century past. Under the map of the Hungarian city were these words, taken out of the book of Job; "The Lord gave it, the Lord hath taken it away, blessed be the name of the Lord." The young prince having read them, took up a pencil immediately, and wrote under the map of Riga; "The Lord gave it to me, and the devil shall not take it from me." Thus, in the most indifferent actions of his childhood, some strokes of his invincible resolution would so often appear, which seemed to presage what he would one day arrive at.—He was eleven years old when he lost his mother. This princess died August 5, 1693, of an illness occasioned by some vexations her husband had given her, and by her endeavours to dissemble them. Charles XI. had deprived a great number of his

Life of Charles the Twelfth.

subjects of their estates, by the means of a sort of court of justice, named the "Chamber of Liquidations," established on his own authority. A crowd of citizens, ruined by this chamber, noblemen, merchants, farmers, widows, and orphans, filled the streets of Stockholm, and came every day to utter their complaints at the gates of the palace. The queen assisted these unhappy people with all that she was able; she gave them her money, her jewels, her furniture, and even her clothes; and when she had no more to give, she threw herself in tears at the feet of her husband, to beg him to have compassion on his subjects. The king answered her very gravely: "Madam, we took you to give us children, and not advice;" and from that time treated her with such severity as shortened her days.

He died four years after her, on the 15th of April 1697, in the forty-second year of his age, and thirty-seventh of his reign, when the empire, Spain and Holland on one side, and France on the other, were just putting the decision of their quarrels to his mediation, and when he had already entered upon the overtures of peace between those powers. He left to his son, who was then fifteen years of age, a throne secured and respected abroad; subjects poor, but warlike and loyal; his revenues in good order, and managed by able ministers. Charles XII. at his coming to the crown, found himself not only absolute and undisturbed master of Sweden and Finland, but of Livonia, Carelia, and Ingria; he was also possessed of Wismar, Wibourg, the islands of Rugen, Oesel, and the finest part of Pomerania, the dutchy of Bremen and Verden, all conquests of his ancestors, secured to the crown by long possession, and by the faith of the solemn treaties of Munster and Oliva, supported by the terror of the Swedish arms. The peace of Ryswick began under the influence of the father, was concluded under that of the son, and he was the mediator of Europe as soon as he began to reign.

The laws of Sweden fix the majority of their kings to the age of fifteen; but Charles XI, who was absolute in every thing, by his last will delayed that of his son till he was eighteen. By this disposition, he favoured the ambitious views of his mother Eduiga-Eleonora of Holstein, the widow of Charles X. This princess was declared by the king, her son, guardian to the young king, her grand-son, and regent of the kingdom, in conjunction with a council of five persons. She gave orders immediately for the funeral of her son, with such pomp and magnificence as Sweden was unaccustomed to; and required, moreover, that the citizens of Stockholm should mourn three years. This looked like forcing them to show so much the more grief outwardly, as they had the less at heart, for the death of a prince who had taken from them their liberties and fortunes. The regent had some share in the management of affairs during the reign of her son. She was now advanced in years; but her ambition, which was much greater than her abilities, made her hope she should long enjoy the sweets of power under the reign of her grand-son. She kept him as much as she was able from business. The young prince spent his time in hunting, or employed himself in reviewing his troops, and would sometimes even exercise with them, which amusements seemed only the natural effects of the vivacity of his age. There appeared no uneasiness in his conduct that could in the least disturb the regent; and she flattered herself that these exercises would make him incapable of application, and give her the longer time to govern.

One day in the month of November, the same year his father died, as he was reviewing several regiments, and Piper, a counsellor of state, stood by him, the king seemed to be taken up in a most profound study; "May I take the liberty," said Piper to him, "to ask your majesty what you are thinking of so seriously?"—"I think," answered the king, "that I am capable of commanding these brave fellows, and I would not have either them or myself receive orders from a woman." Piper immediately laid hold of that opportunity to make a great fortune; he had not interest enough to dare to undertake of himself so dangerous an enterprise, as that of removing the queen from the regency, and getting the king declared of age, but he proposed this business to count Axel Sparre, who was a man of spirit, and sought to make himself considerable. He flattered him with hopes of being in the king's favour, which Sparre believed, and therefore took every thing upon himself, but worked all the time only to advance Piper. The counsellors of the regency soon came into the design, which they put in execution with all the speed they could, to make the more merit of it to the king.—They went in a body to make the proposal to the queen, who did not expect such a declaration. The states-general were then assembled; the counsellors of the regency laid the matter before them, and there was not one voice against it; nay, the thing was carried with such rapidity, that nothing could stop it: so that Charles XII. did but wish to reign, and in three days time the government was given to him. The power and interest of the queen fell in an instant; and she led a private life, more agreeable to her age, though not to her inclination. The king was crowned the 24th of December following. He made his entry into Stockholm on a sorrel horse, shod with silver, having the scepter in his hand and the crown on his head, through the acclamations of a people always adoring what is new, and conceiving great hopes of a young prince.—The archbishop of Upsal has the right of performing the ceremony of the consecrations and coronation, which, of all the privileges claimed by his predecessors, is almost the only one that is left. And having anointed the king according to custom, held the crown in his hands to put it upon his head; Charles snatched the crown from the archbishop and crowned himself, looking sternly upon the prelate. The multitude, who are always imposed upon by every air of grandeur, applauded this action of the king: even those who had groaned the most under the tyranny of the father, could not help praising this fierceness in his son, which was a prognostication of their own slavery. As soon as Charles became master of the government he bestowed his favour, and the management of affairs, on counsellor Piper, who was in effect prime minister in every thing but the name. A little time after he made him a count, which is an eminent degree of quality in Sweden.—The beginning of the king's administration did not give any favourable ideas of him; he seemed more impatient than worthy of reigning. He had not, indeed, any dangerous passion; but there was nothing to be seen in his conduct but the transports of youth and obstinacy. He appeared careless and proud; even the ambassadors who were at his court took him for a person of mean parts, and represented him as such to their masters. His own country had the same opinion of him; no body knew his real character; he was ignorant of it himself, till the storms which were gathering on a sudden in the north, gave him an opportunity to display

Life of Charles the Twelfth.

his hidden talents.—Three powerful princes, taking advantage of his youth, conspired his ruin almost at the same time. The first was Frederick IV. king of Denmark, his cousin; the second, Augustus, elector of Saxony and king of Poland; Peter the Great, czar of Muscovy, was the third and most dangerous. It will be proper to show the original of these wars which produced so great events, and to begin with Denmark. Of two sisters that Charles XII. had, the eldest was married to the Duke of Holstein, a young prince, courageous and good-natured. The duke, oppressed by the king of Denmark, came to Stockholm with his wife to seek protection from the king, and beg his assistance, not only as a brother-in-law, but as king of a nation which has an irreconcilable hatred to the Danes.

The ancient house of Holstein, swallowed up in that of Oldenbourg, was raised to the throne of Denmark by election, in the year 1499. All the kingdoms in the north were at that time elective; but Denmark soon after became hereditary. One of its kings, named Christiern III. had an affection for his brother Adolphus, of which few examples are to be met with among princes. He would not have him live without sovereignty, but could not dismember his own dominions. He divided with him the dutchies of Holstein-Gottorp and Sleswick, by a whimsical agreement, which was, that the descendants of Adolphus should, for the time to come, govern Holstein jointly with the kings of Denmark; that these two dutchies should appertain to them in common; and that the king of Denmark should do nothing in Holstein without the duke, nor the duke without the king. So strange a union, of which there was an example of the like kind in the same house, was for near fourscore years the constant source of quarrels between the branches of Denmark and Holstein-Gottorp: the kings always endeavouring to oppress the dukes, and the dukes to be independent. It cost the last duke his liberty and sovereignty; but he recovered both in the conferences of Altena, in the year 1689, by the interposition of Sweden, England, and Holland, the guarantees for the execution of the treaty. But as a treaty between sovereigns is oftentimes no more than a submission to necessity, till the stronger is able to crush the weaker, the quarrel was renewed with more inveteracy than ever between the new king of Denmark and the young duke. Whilst the duke was at Stockholm, the Danes had already committed some acts of hostility in the country of Holstein, and leagued privately with the king of Poland to fall upon the king of Sweden himself.—Frederick Augustus, the elector of Saxony, whom neither the eloquence and negociations of the abbe de Polignac, nor the great qualities of the prince of Conti, his competitor for the crown, could hinder from being elected king of Poland two years before, was a prince not less known for the incredible strength of his body, than for the bravery and gallantry of his mind. His court, next to that Lewis XIV. was the most shining in Europe. Never was any prince more generous, nor ever did any prince bestow his favours with a better grace. He had bought one half of the suffrages of the Polish nobility, and forced the other by the approach of a Saxon army. He thought he stood in need of his troops the better to secure him on his throne; but he wanted a pretence to keep them in Poland: he therefore designed they should attack the king of Sweden in Livonia, on the occasion I am going to relate. Livonia, the finest and most fruitful province of the north, formerly belonged to the

knights of the Teutonic order. The Muscovites, Poles, and Swedes, have since severally laid claim to it; but the Swedes have enjoyed it near a hundred years, and had it last solemnly yielded to them by the peace of Oliva. The late King Charles XI. among his severities towards his subjects, had not spared the Livonians; he had stript them of their privileges, and one part of their estates. Patkul, unhappily made famous since by his tragical death, was deputed by the Livonian nobility to carry the complaints of the province to the throne. He made a speech to the king very respectful, but strong, and full of that masculine eloquence which calamity inspires when it is joined with courage; but kings too often look upon public harangues as vain ceremonies, which it is customary to allow, without paying any regard to them. However, Charles XI. who knew how to dissemble when he did not give way to the transports of his passion, struck Patkul gently on the shoulder, and told him, "You have spoke for your country like a brave man, I esteem you for it, go on." But a few days after he was declared guilty of lese-majesty, and condemned to death. Patkul, who had hid himself, took to flight; he carried his resentments with him into Poland, and was afterwards admitted into the presence of King Augustus. Charles XI. died, but the sentence and indignation of Patkul were alive. He represented to the Polish monarch the facility of conquering Livonia; the people desperate and ready to shake off the yoke of Sweden; the king an infant and incapable of defending himself. These solicitations were well received by a prince already tempted to undertake this conquest. Every thing was presently got ready for a sudden invasion without having recourse to the formalities of declarations and manifestoes. The clouds gathered apace at the same time on the side of Muscovy.

Peter Alexowitz, czar of Russia, had already made himself dreaded by the battle which he had gained over the Turks in 1695, and by the taking of Azoph, which opened to him the empire of the Black Sea. But it was by actions more glorious than victories, that he deserved the name of Great. Muscovy, or Russia, embraces the north of Asia and Europe, and from the Frontiers of China, extends itself for 1500 leagues to the confines of Poland and Sweden; but this immense country was hardly known to Europe before the czar Peter. The Muscovites were less civilized than the Mexicans, when they were discovered by Cortez; all born slaves to masters as barbarous, they were settled in ignorance, in the want of all arts, and in the insensibility of those wants which stifled all industry. An ancient law sacred among them, forbade them to leave their country upon pain of death, without permission of their Patriarch. This law, made to prevent all occasions of their coming to a knowledge of their slavery, pleased a nation, which, in the depths of ignorance and misery, scorned to have any commerce with foreigners. The era of the Muscovites began from the creation of the world, they computed 7207 years to the beginning of the last century, without being able to give any reason for that date. The first day of their year agrees with the 13th of our month of September. They alleged for the reason of this establishment, that it was most likely that God created the world in autumn, the season of the year when the fruits of the earth are in their maturity. Thus, the only appearances of knowledge that they had, were gross errors; no one among them imagined that the autumn in

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Muscovy could be the spring of another country in opposite climates. It is not long since the people at Moscow would have burnt the secretary of an ambassador of Persia, for having foretold an eclipse of the sun. They were so ignorant of figures, that in all their computations they made use of little balls, which they strung on wire, and had no other manner of reckoning in all their counting-houses, and in the czar's treasury.

Their religion was and still is, that of the Greek church, but mixed with superstitions, to which they were the more firmly attached the more extravagant they were, and the more they were galled by the yoke of them. Few Muscovites would dare to eat a pigeon, because the Holy Ghost is painted in the form of a dove. They observed regularly four lents in the year, and in those times of abstinence, dared not nourish themselves either with eggs or milk. God and St. Nicholas were the immediate objects of their worship, and after them the Czar and the Patriarch. The authority of the last, was, like their ignorance, without bounds. He passed sentence of death, and inflicted the most cruel punishments, without any appeal from his tribunal. He rode out twice a year on horse-back, followed by all his clergy in procession. The czar on foot held the bridle of his horse, and the people in the streets prostrated themselves like Tartars before their grand Lama. Confession was practised by them, but only in case of the greatest crimes, and then absolution was thought necessary, but not repentance; for they believed themselves pure before God with the benediction of their Papas. Thus they went without remorse from confession to theft and murder, and what was a curb to other Christians, was, among them, an encouragement to iniquity. They made a scruple to drink milk on a fast-day; but masters of families, priests, women, and girls, would get drunk with brandy on their festivals. However, they had among them, as in other countries, some disputes about religion; the greatest contention was, whether the laity ought to make the sign of the cross with two fingers or with three. One Jacob Nursoff, in the preceding reign, had excited a sedition in Astracan on the subject of this dispute. The czar in his vast dominions had many subjects that were not Christians. The Tartars, who inhabit the western borders of the Caspian Sea, and the Palus Mæotis, are Mahometans: the Siberians, the Ostiacks and Samoiedes, who are near the frozen sea, were savages, some of whom were idolaters, and others without the knowledge of any God; nevertheless the Swedes, who were sent prisoners among them, were better pleased with their manners, than with those of the ancient Muscovites. Peter Alexiowitz had an education which tended to increase the barbarity of that part of the world. His happy temper made him love strangers at first, before he knew they could be useful to him. A Genevan, named Le Fort *, of an ancient family in Geneva, whose father was a druggist, came to Moscow on some affair of commerce, and was known to the czar while he was young, and insinuated himself into his favour; he discoursed with him in the German tongue, and would often talk to him of the advantages of commerce and navigation. He told him that Holland, which was not a hundredth part so big as the dominions of

* M. de la Motraye, in his Travels, says, he went first to Muscovy as page to a Danish ambassador.

Muscovy, by the means of trade only, made as great a figure in Europe as Spain, to which it had formerly been a little province, unprofitable and despised. He discoursed upon the refined politics of the princes of Europe, of the discipline of their troops, the government of their cities; of the infinite number of manufactures, arts, and sciences, which made the Europeans powerful and happy. This discourse awakened the young emperor as from a profound lethargy. His mighty genius, which a barbarous education had somewhat restrained, but could not destroy, discovered itself almost on a sudden. He resolved to be a man, to command men, and create a new nation. Many princes have given up their crowns, not pleased with the weight of affairs; but not one, like Peter the Great, has ceased to be a king that he might learn the better how to reign. He left Moscow in the year 1698, having reigned but two years, and went into Holland, under a borrowed name, and disguised as one of the domestics of this same M. Le Fort, whom he sent ambassador extraordinary to the states-general. Being arrived at Amsterdam he entered himself in the list of the carpenters of the Indian ships under the name of Peter Michaeloff. He worked in the yard with the common men, and at his leisure hours learnt such parts of the mathematics as might be useful to a prince, fortification, navigation, and the art of making plans. He went into the shops of workmen, examined all their manufactures, nor let any thing escape his observation. From thence he went into England, where he made himself perfect in the art of ship-building. He returned to Holland, saw all Germany, taking notice every where of all things that he thought might be of advantage to his own country. At length, after two years travelling, and such labour as no one but himself would have submitted to, he appeared again in Muscovy, bringing with him the arts of Europe. Artists of every sort followed him in crowds. Now, were first seen great Muscovite vessels on the Black Sea, the Baltic, and the ocean. Buildings of a noble and regular architecture were raised in the midst of Russian huts. He established colleges, academies, printing-houses, and libraries: cities were put under order and government; the habits and customs of the people were changed by little and little, though not without difficulty; and the Muscovites knew by degrees what society was. Even superstitions were abolished, the dignity of Patriarch laid aside, and the Czar himself declared head of the church. This last undertaking, which might have cost a less absolute prince his crown and his life, was carried on almost without contradiction, and secured him success in all his innovations. At the same time he gave birth to commerce in his dominions. His views enlarging, in proportion as he changed the face of his country, he had no sooner established trade, but he undertook to render Muscovy one day the center of business in Asia and Europe: the Wolga, Tanais, and Duna, were to be united by canals, the plan of which design he drew himself. In the same manner he proposed to open new passages from the Baltic to the Euxine and Caspian Seas, and from those to the northern ocean. But it was not enough to alter nature in his dominions, he would change also the manners of his subjects, which was more difficult. He wanted above all things, experienced and well-disciplined troops. It is true, he had given some check to the Ottoman power; but he had beaten only the Tartars, who were as little disciplined

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as his own soldiers. Founder and lawgiver of his empire, and happier and greater, perhaps, he had been if he had contented himself with those two titles; but he would join that of conqueror to them. Ingria, which is on the north east of Livonia, belonged formerly to the czars; but ever since Gustavus Adolphus had conquered those provinces, the Swedes were in quiet possession of them. The czar was impatient to revive the rights given up by his ancestors. Moreover, he wanted a port on the east side of the Baltic Sea to put his great designs in execution. He concluded, therefore, a league with the king of Poland, to take away from Sweden all that she possessed in the countries between the Gulf of Finland, the Baltic Sea, Poland, and Muscovy. These were the enemies who all together prepared to attack Charles XII. in his infancy.

These preparations being whispered about, alarmed the king's council, who debated on the affair in his presence, and some of them proposed to divert the storm by negotiations; but Charles rising up with an air of gravity, and seeming, as the superior man, to be determined what to do: "Gentlemen," said he, "I have resolved never to make an unjust war, nor put an end to a just one, but by the destruction of my enemies. My resolution is fixed; I will attack the first who declares himself, and when I have overcome him, I hope to make the others fear me." These words astonished all the old counsellors; they looked upon one another without daring to make any answer. At length, ashamed of hoping less than their king, they received with admiration his orders for the war. They were much more surprised, when they saw him renounce the most innocent amusements of his youth all on a sudden. From the first instant that he prepared for war, he began a quite new sort of life, from which he never after departed one moment. Full of the idea of Alexander and Cæsar, he proposed to himself to imitate those two heroes in every thing but their vices. He was no longer acquainted with magnificence, sports, or diversions; he reduced his table to the greatest frugality; he had admired pomp in dress, but from that time he clothed himself like a common soldier. It had been suspected that he had a passion for a lady of the court; but, whether there was any thing in that intrigue or not, it is certain he renounced the conversation of women for ever, not only for fear of being governed by them, but to give an example to his men, whom he would have under the severest discipline; or perhaps, out of the vanity of being thought the only king who could subdue an inclination so difficult to overcome. He resolved also to abstain from wine all the rest of his life; this was not, as has been pretended, to punish himself for an excess, by which, as they say, he was hurried into some actions unworthy of him; nothing is more false than this vulgar report*; wine had never surprised his reason, but it inflamed his blood, already too hot; he afterwards left off beer, and reduced himself to pure water. Moreover, sobriety was a new virtue in the north, and he would be a pattern to the Swedes in every kind. He began with promising

* This vulgar report M. de la Motraye says, is too true, and attested by persons of honour and unquestionable sincerity, some of them still living who were eye-witnesses of it. It is also true, that this prince was struck with such horror when he became sensible of his folly, that he made a vow (which he inviolably observed) never to drink wine, nor any other strong liquor.

his assistance to the duke of Holstein, his brother-in-law. Eight thousand men were immediately sent into Pomerania, a province bordering on Holstein, to strengthen the duke against the attacks of the Danes. The duke had need of them. His dominions were already ravaged; the castle of Gottorp taken; the town of Tonningen pressed by an obstinate siege, to which the king of Denmark was come in person, to enjoy a conquest that he thought himself sure of. This spark began to inflame the empire. On one side the Saxon troops of the king of Poland, those of Brandenburg, Wolfenbuttle, and Hesse-Cassel, marched to join the Danes. On the other, the king of Sweden's eight thousand men, the troops of Hanover, Zell, and three regiments from Holland, came to assist the duke. Whilst the little country of Holstein was thus made the theatre of the war, two squadrons, one from England, and another from Holland, appeared in the Baltic Sea. These two states were guarantees of the treaty of Altena, violated by the Danes; they were the more eager to succour the oppressed duke of Holstein, because the increase of the king of Denmark's power was opposite to the interest of their commerce. They knew that the Danes, being masters of the passage of the Sound, would lay heavy impositions upon the trading nations, as soon as he should be strong enough to do it with impunity. This interest has, for a long time, engaged the English and Dutch, to preserve as much as they were able, an equal balance among the princes of the north: they joined with the young king of Sweden, whose ruin seemed to be threatened by so many enemies uniting together, and succoured him for the same reason that he was attacked, because he was thought unable to defend himself. In the mean while Charles commenced his first campaign; on the 8th of May, N. S. in the year 1700, he left Stockholm, to which he never after returned. An innumerable crowd of people followed him as far as the port of Carlscroon, praying for him, weeping for him, and admiring him. Before he left Sweden, he established at Stockholm a council of defence, composed of several senators. This commission was to take care of every thing belonging to the fleet, the troops, and fortifications of the country. The body of the senate was to regulate every thing else provisionally within the kingdom. Having thus put his dominions in order, his mind, free from every other care, was wholly employed on the war. His fleet was composed of forty-three vessels; that which he went on board of himself, named the King Charles, was the largest they had ever seen, and carried one hundred and twenty guns. Count Piper, his first minister, general Renschild, and count de Guiscard, the French ambassador in Sweden, embarked with him. They joined the squadrons of the allies. The Danish fleet declined battle, and gave the three united fleets an opportunity of coming near enough to throw some bombs into Copenhagen. Then the king, as in a sudden transport, caught hold of the hands of count Piper, and general Renschild, "Ah," said he, "what if we should lay hold of this occasion to make a descent, and besiege Copenhagen by land, while it is thus blocked up by Sea!" Renschild answered him, "Sir, the great Gustavus, after fifteen years experience, would have made no other proposition." Orders were given instantly for the embarkation of 5000 men, who were upon the coasts of Sweden, and who were joined to the troops on board. The king left his great ship, and went on board a lighter frigate; and they began to send away three hundred

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grenadiers in small shallops, among which were little flat boats to carry the fascines, chevaux de frize, and instruments for the pioneers. Five hundred chosen men followed in other shallops. After which came the king's men of war, with two English, and two Dutch frigates, who were to favour the descent with their cannon. Copenhagen, the capital of Denmark, is situated in the island of Zealand, in the middle of a fine plain, having the Sound on the north-west, and on the east the Baltic, where the king of Sweden at that time lay. On the unexpected motion of the Swedish vessels, which threatened a descent, the inhabitants were amazed at the inactivity of their own fleet, and waited with fear to see on what place the tempest would fall. The fleet of Charles stopt at Humblebeck, seven miles from Copenhagen. The Danes immediately drew up their horse in that place; the militia were posted behind thick intrenchments; and all the artillery they could bring thither, was turned against the Swedes.

The king then quitted his frigate, to put himself in his first shallop at the head of his guards; the French ambassador being always near him, the king said to him in Latin, (for he would never speak French), "You have no reason to break with the Danes, and shall go no farther, if you please." "Sir," answered the count de Guiscard, in French, "the king my master sent me with orders to be near your majesty's person, and I flatter myself that you will not this day drive me from your court, which was never so splendid." In saying these words he lent the king his hand, who jumped into the shallop, and count Piper and the ambassador entered it at the same time. They advanced, being supported by the cannon shot of vessels which favoured the descent. The boats from which the men were to disembark, were not above three hundred feet from the shore. Charles XII. impatient to land, flung himself from his shallop into the sea, with his sword in his hand, having the water above his middle: his ministers, the ambassador of France, the officers, and soldiers, immediately followed his example, and marched ashore in spite of a shower of musket-balls discharged by the Danes. The king, who had never in his life heard a discharge of muskets with balls, asked major Stuart, who was near him, "What that little whistling was which he heard in his ears?" "It is the noise of the musket-balls that they fire at you," said the major: "Very good," said the king, "for the time to come that shall be my music." At the very instant that the major explained the noise of the musket-balls, he received one in his shoulder; and a lieutenant fell dead on the other side of the king. It is common for the troops to be beaten that are attacked in their intrenchments, because those who attack them have always an impetuosity which those cannot have who defend themselves; and to wait for the enemy in the lines, is a confession of weakness on one side, and superiority in the other. The Danish horse and foot fled after a faint resistance. The king, master of their intrenchments, fell upon his knees to return God thanks for this first success of his arms. He presently ordered redoubts to be raised towards the town; and marked out an encampment himself. At the same time he sent back his vessels to Schonen, a part of Sweden in the neighbourhood of Copenhagen, to fetch a reinforcement of nine thousand men. All things conspired to assist the vivacity of Charles. The nine thousand men were on the shore ready to embark, and a favourable wind brought

them to him the next day. All this was done in sight of the Danish fleet, who durst not stir. Copenhagen, terrified at this, immediately sent deputies to the king, to beg him not to bombard the city. He received them on horseback, at the head of his regiment of guards; the deputies flung themselves on their knees before him: and he made the city pay four hundred thousand rix-dollars, giving them orders to convey all sorts of provisions to the camp, which he promised should be faithfully paid for. They sent him what he wanted, because they durst not disobey; though they did not expect that the conquerors would deign to pay for them; but were astonished when they received their money generously, and without any delay from the meanest soldier in the army. There had been a long time among the Swedish troops, a discipline which did not a little contribute to their conquests, the severity of this was very much increased by the young king. A soldier durst not refuse payment for what he bought, much less go marauding, or even out of the camp. He would not suffer his men after a victory to strip the dead, till they had his permission; and easily brought them to an obedience of this law. There were prayers constantly twice a day in his camp, at seven in the morning, and four in the evening; which he never failed being at himself, to give his soldiers an example of piety as well as courage. His camp, much better governed than Copenhagen, had all things in plenty; the peasants choosing rather to sell their goods to the Swedes their enemies, than to the Danes who did not pay so well for them. The citizens themselves were obliged more than once to seek provisions in the king of Sweden's camp, which they wanted in their own markets. The king of Denmark was then in Holstein, where he seemed to be only to raise the siege of Tonningen. He saw the Baltic Sea covered with the enemy's vessels, a young conqueror already master of Zealand, and ready to seize on the capital. He had it published in his dominions, that whoever would take up arms against the Swedes, should have their liberty. This declaration was of great weight in a country where all the peasants, and even some of the townsmen were slaves; but Charles XII. was in no fear of an army of slaves. He ordered the king of Denmark to be told, that he made war with him only to oblige him to make peace; and that he was now to resolve either to do justice to the duke of Holstein, or see Copenhagen destroyed, and his whole kingdom put to fire and sword. The Danes was too happy in having to do with a conqueror, who piqued himself upon his justice. A congress was assembled in the town of Travendal, on the frontiers of Holstein. The king of Sweden would not suffer the negociations to be lengthened by the art of ministers; but would have the treaty end with as much rapidity as he made his descent into Zealand. It was effectually concluded the 5th of August to the advantage of the duke of Holstein, who was indemnified from all the expenses of the war, and delivered from oppression. The king of Sweden would have nothing for himself, being satisfied with having assisted his ally, and humbled his enemy. Thus Charles XII. at eighteen years of age, began and ended this war in less than six weeks. Precisely at the same time the king of Poland besieged in person the city of Riga, the capital of Livonia; and the Czar advanced in the east, at the head of a hundred thousand men. Riga was defended by the old count Alberg, the Swedish general, who at four score

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years of age joined the vigour of a young man to the experience of sixty campaigns. Count Fleming, since minister of Poland, a great man both in the field and the cabinet, and M. Patkul, carried on the siege under the king's eye, one with all the activity he was famous for, and the other with the obstinacy of revenge. But in spite of many advantages got by the besiegers, the experience of old count Alberg rendered all their efforts of no effect; and the king of Poland, despairing to take the town, laid hold of an honourable occasion to raise the siege. Riga was full of merchandise belonging to the Dutch, the states-general ordered their ambassador to king Augustus, to represent the affair to him. The king of Poland, without much entreaty, consented to raise the siege, rather than do the least damage to his allies; who were not astonished at this excess of complaisance, since they knew the true cause of it. There was nothing left now for Charles XII. to finish his first campaign, but to march against his rival in glory Peter Alexiowitz. He was the more enraged against him, as there was still at Stockholm three ambassadors, who came to swear to the renewing of an inviolable peace. He who valued himself upon a severe probity, could not comprehend how a legislator like the czar could make sport of what ought to be sacred. This young prince, full of honour, could not think that there was a different morality for kings and for private persons. The emperor of Muscovy had just published a manifesto which would have been much better for him to have suppressed. He alledged for a reason of the war, that there had not been sufficient honours paid him, when he was incognito at Riga; and that provisions had been sold to his ambassadors at too high a price. These were the grievances for which he ravaged Ingria with a hundred thousand men. He appeared before Narva at the head of this great army on the 1st of October, a season more severe in that climate than the month of January at Paris. The czar, who at such seasons would sometimes ride four hundred leagues post to visit a mine or a canal, spared his troops no more than himself. Besides, he knew the Swedes, since the time of Gustavus Adolphus, would make war as well in the midst of winter as in summer; and would accustom his Muscovites also to know no seasons, and make them one day at least equal to the Swedes. Thus, at a time when frost and snow oblige nations in temperate climates to suspend the war, the czar Peter besieged Narva within thirty degrees of the Pole; and Charles XII. advanced to relieve it. The czar was no sooner arrived before the place, than he hastened to put in practice what he had just learnt in his travels. He marked out his camp, had it fortified on all sides, raised redoubts at equal distances, and opened the trench himself; but not much backed at that time by the Muscovite officers. For his own part, he had only the rank of a lieutenant in his own troops. He thought it necessary to give an example of military obedience to his noblemen, who were till that time undisciplinable, and used to lead, without the least experience, a rabble of ill-armed slaves. He would teach them that military preferments were to be purchased by services; he began himself at a drummer, and was raised to an officer by degrees. It is not surprising that he who made himself a carpenter at Amsterdam to get fleets, should become a lieutenant at Narva to teach his nation the art of war. The Muscovites are robust, indefatigable, and perhaps as courageous as the Swedes; but there must be time allowed

to train up troops, and discipline makes them invincible. The only good soldiers in the army were thirty thousand Streletses, who were in Muscovy what the Janisaries are in Turkey. The rest were barbarians taken out of the woods, covered with the skins of wild beasts; some were armed with arrows, and others with clubs; few had muskets, none had ever seen a regular siege; nor was there one good gunner in the whole army. One hundred and fifty pieces of cannon, which were enough to have laid the little town of Narva in ashes, had hardly made a breach in it, while the artillery from thence destroyed whole ranks every moment in the trenches. Narva was almost without fortifications; and count Hoorn, who commanded there, had not a thousand regular troops, notwithstanding which, this innumerable army was not able to reduce it in ten weeks.

It was now the 15th of November when the czar learnt that the king of Sweden, having crossed the sea with two hundred vessels, marched to the relief of Narva. The Swedes were but twenty thousand, but the czar had the superiority in nothing but numbers. Far, therefore, from despising his enemy, he employed all the art he had to crush him. Not contented with a hundred thousand men, he prepared another army to oppose him and stop his progress. He had sent near forty thousand men, who advanced in hasty marches from Pleskow. He went himself to expedite them, that he might shut the king in between his two armies. This was not all, thirty thousand men detached from the camp before Narva, were posted within a league of this town in the rout of the king of Sweden. Twenty thousand Streletses a little farther on the same rout. Five thousand others made an advanced guard; he was to pass through the body of all these troops, before he could arrive at the camp, which was fortified with a rampart and double fossé. The king of Sweden had disembarked at Pernaw in the Gulph of Riga, with about sixteen thousand foot, and a little more than four thousand horse. From Pernaw he had precipitated his march as far as Revel, followed by all his cavalry, and only four thousand foot soldiers. He still marched forward without waiting for the rest of his troops. He found himself very soon with his eight thousand men only, before the first posts of the enemy. He was not long in determining to attack them all one after another, without giving them time to learn with how small a number they were engaged. The Muscovites seeing the Swedes come up to them, imagined they had the whole army to encounter. The advanced guard of five thousand men fled at their approach. The twenty thousand men who were behind them, terrified at the flight of their countrymen made very little resistance; they carried their disorder and fright to the thirty thousand men, who were within a league of the camp, and a panic fear running through all these troops, they retired to the main body of the army without a battle. These three posts were carried in two days and a half; and what on other occasions would be looked upon as three victories, retarded the king's march but one hour. He appeared at length with his eight thousand men, fatigued with so long a march, before a camp of a hundred thousand Muscovites, defended by a hundred and fifty pieces of cannon in front. Scarce had his troops taken any repose, before he gave orders for the attack. The signal was two fuses, the word in German, *With God's help*. A general officer having represented to him the great

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danger of the undertaking—"What, do you doubt," said he, "that with my eight thousand brave Swedes, I cannot get the better of a hundred thousand Muscovites?" A moment after, fearing there was too much of the rodomontade in these words, he ran himself after this officer, "And are not you of opinion?" said he,—“Have I not two advantages over the enemy; one, that their horse can be of no service to them; and the other, that the place, being close, their great number of men will only incommode them; and I shall really be stronger than they?” The officer took care not to be of another opinion, and so they marched against the Muscovites about noon on the 30th of November 1700. As soon as the Swedish cannon had made a breach in the intrenchments, they advanced with their bayonets at the end of their fuses; having a violent storm of snow behind them, which blew full in the faces of the enemy. The Muscovites were slaughtered for half an hour without quitting the back of the fossés. The king attacked the right of the camp, where the czar's quarters were; and hoped to encounter him, not knowing that the emperor was gone himself to seek the forty thousand men who were shortly expected. On the first discharge of the enemy's muskets the king received a ball in his left shoulder; but it grazed only on the flesh, and his activity hindered him even from feeling he was wounded. His horse was killed under him, almost at the same time. A second had his head taken off by a cannon shot. He vaulted nimbly on a third, saying, "these people oblige me to exercise;" and continued fighting and giving orders with the same presence of mind. After three hours the intrenchments were forced on every side. The king pursued the right of the enemy as far as the river Narva, with his left wing, if one may call by that name about 4000 men, who were pursuing near 50,000. The bridge broke under them, and in a moment the river was covered with dead bodies. The rest, in despair, returned to their camp, without knowing where they went. They found some barracks, behind which they placed themselves, and defended themselves for a while, not knowing how to escape; but at last their generals, Dolorouky, Gollowin, and Fedorowitz, yielded to the king, and laid their arms at his feet. While they were presented to him, the duke of Croy, general of the army, came to surrender himself with thirty officers.

Charles received all these important prisoners in as ready and polite a manner, as if he was doing them the honours of a feast in his own court;—he would keep only the generals; all the subaltern officers and soldiers were disarmed and conducted to the river Narva, where they were furnished with boats that they might cross over and return to their own homes. In the mean time night drew on: the right of the Muscovites continued fighting; the Swedes had not lost 1500 men; 18,000 Muscovites had been killed in their intrenchments, a great number drowned, and many crossed the river, but there still remained enough in the camp to extirpate the last man among the Swedes. But it is not the number of the slain, but the fear of those who survive, by which battles are lost.—The king made use of the little day that was left to seize on the enemy's artillery. He posted himself advantageously between the camp and the town, where he slept some hours on the ground wrapt up in his cloak, waiting till break of day, to fall on the left wing of the enemy, which was not yet quite destroyed. At two o'clock

in the morning, general Vede, who commanded that left wing, knowing how gracious a reception the king gave to the other generals, and how he had sent away all the subaltern officers and soldiers, begged to be allowed the same favour. The conqueror ordered him to be told, "That he need only come to him at the head of his troops, and lay down his arms and colours at his feet. The general presently appeared with his Muscovites, to the number of about thirty thousand. They marched bare-headed, soldiers and officers, through less than 7000 Swedes. The soldiers, in passing before the king, threw their swords and fuses on the ground, and the officers laid their ensigns and colours at his feet. He let all this multitude cross the river without detaining one soldier prisoner. If he had kept them, the number would have been at least five times larger than that of the conqueror's.

He then entered victorious into Narva, accompanied by the duke of Croy, and the other Muscovite general officers; he ordered all their swords to be restored them; and knowing that they wanted money, and that the merchants of Narva would not lend them any, he sent 1000 ducats to the duke of Croy, and five hundred to each of the Muscovite officers, who could not cease wondering at this treatment, which surpassed whatever they had any idea of. They immediately drew up a relation of the victory at Narva, to be sent to Stockholm and the allies of Sweden; but the king, with his own hand, struck out whatever was said too much to his own advantage, or too injurious to the czar. His modesty could not, however, hinder them from striking several Medals at Stockholm to perpetuate the memory of these events. Among others, there was one, wherein he was represented, on one side on a pedestal to which were chained, a Muscovite, a Dane, and a Pole; on the other was Hercules, armed with a club, treading on Cerberus, with this inscription, "*Tres uno contudit ictu.*" Among the prisoners taken at the battle of Narva, there was one who was a great instance of the revolutions of fortune; he was the eldest son and heir to the king of Georgia, and called Czarafis, a name which signifies prince, or son of the czar, among the Tartars as well as Muscovites: for the word czar meant king among the ancient Scythians, from whom all these people were descended, and came not from the Cæsars of Rome, so long unknown to these barbarians. His father, Mitelliski Czar, master of the finest part of the countries which lie between the mountains of Ararat and the eastern borders of the Black Sea, had been driven out of his kingdom by his own subjects, in the year 1688, and chose rather to fling himself into the arms of the emperor of Muscovy, than of the Turks. The son of the king, nineteen years of age, would follow Peter the Great in his expedition against the Swedes, and was taken in battle by some Finland soldiers, who had already stript him, and were going to kill him. Count Renschild snatched him from their hands, ordered clothes to be given to him, and presented him to his master. Charles sent him to Stockholm, where, in the course of a few years afterwards, this unfortunate prince died. The king, at his going away, could not help making a natural reflection, aloud before his officers, on the strange destiny of an Asiatic prince, born at the foot of Mount Caucasus, going to live captive among the snows of Sweden. "It is as if I were one day to be a prisoner," said he, "among the Crim Tartars." These words made no impression at that time, but afterwards were too often remembered, when the

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event made a prediction of them. The czar advanced by long marches with the army of 40,000 Russians, reckoning he should encompass his enemy on all sides: but heard, in his march thither, of the battle of Narva, and the dispersion of all his camp. He could not resolve to attack, with his forty thousand men, without experience or discipline, a conqueror who had just destroyed 100,000 intrenched in a camp. He turned back, resolving always to discipline his troops as he civilized his subjects; "I know well," said he, "that the Swedes will beat us a long while, but we shall learn of themselves at length how to conquer them." Moscow, his capital, was in a great fright at the news of this defeat. Such was the pride and ignorance of these people, that they thought they could not be vanquished but by a power more than human, and that the Swedes were real magicians. This opinion was so general, that they ordered public prayers to St. Nicholas, the patron of Muscovy. This prayer is too singular not to be repeated. It was as follows: "O thou who art our perpetual consolator in all our adversities, great St. Nicholas, infinitely powerful, by what sin have we offended thee in our sacrifices, genuflexions, reverences, or thanksgivings, that you have thus forsaken us? We have implored thy aid against these terrible and enraged insulters; these dreadful ungovernable destroyers; when, like lions or bears who have lost their young, they have fallen upon us, terrified, and wounded us by thousands; us, who are thy people. As it is impossible this should happen without witchcraft and enchantment, we beseech thee, O great St. Nicholas! to be our champion and our standard-bearer, to deliver us from this crowd of sorcerers, and drive them from our confines with the recompence that is due to them." While the Muscovites complained to St. Nicholas of their defeat, Charles XII. returned thanks to God, and prepared for new victories.

BOOK II.

THE king of Poland, expecting that his enemy, having conquered the Danes and the Muscovites, would soon fall upon him, therefore made a stricter league with the czar than ever; and these two princes agreed upon an interview to take their measures in concert. They met at Birzen, a little town in Lithuania, without any of those formalities which serve only to retard business, and which did neither agree with their circumstances nor their humour; they spent fifteen days together in pleasures, even to excess: for the czar, notwithstanding his desire to reform his country, could never correct in himself the dangerous inclination he had to debauchery. Count Piper, the king of Sweden's chief minister, was first informed of the intended interview between the emperor of Muscovy and the king of Poland. He advised his master to oppose to their measures a little of that policy which he had hitherto too much despised. Charles XII. listened to him, and put in practice, for the first time, those arts so much used in other courts. There was in the Swedish army a young Scotch gentleman, one of those who quit their own country betimes, where they are but poor, and are to be met with in all the armies in Europe. He spoke the German very well, and was master of a good address. This gentleman was chosen to be a spy upon the

conferences of the two kings; he applied himself to the colonel of the regiment of Saxon cuirassiers, who were to serve as the czar's guards during the interview. He passed for a gentleman of Brandenburg; and by his behaviour, and a little money he had for that purpose, he obtained a lieutenancy in the regiment: being at Birzen, he artfully insinuated himself into the familiarity of the secretaries of the ministers, and always made one in their pleasures. Whether he took advantage of their indiscretion over their cups, or seduced them by presents, he got from them all the secrets of their masters, and gave a speedy account of them to Charles XII. The king of Poland engaged himself to furnish the czar with 50,000 German troops, which were to be purchased of several princes, and the czar was to keep them in pay. He, on the other side, was to send 50,000 Muscovites into Poland to learn the art of war, and promised to pay king Augustus three millions of rix-dollars in two years. This treaty, if it had been executed, might have been fatal to the king of Sweden. It was a ready method to discipline the Muscovites, and might have forged fetters for a great part of Europe.

Charles XII. made it his business to prevent the king of Poland's gathering the fruit of this league. After having passed the winter at Narva, he appeared in Livonia at Riga, the very town which king Augustus had besieged with so little success. The Saxon troops were posted along the river Duna, which is very wide in that place; they were to dispute the passage of Charles, who was on the other side. The Saxons were not commanded by their prince, who was at that time ill; but they had at their head Ferdinand duke of Courland, one of the bravest princes of the north; and marshal Stenau, an officer of reputation. The king of Sweden had alone formed the plan of the passage, which he was going to attempt. He had caused boats to be built of a new invention; the sides of which, much higher than ordinary, might be lifted up or down like draw-bridges. When lifted up, they covered the troops they carried; when let down, they served as a bridge to land them. He likewise made use of another kind of artifice. Observing that the wind blew from the north, where he was, to the south, where his enemies were encamped, he ordered fire to be set to a quantity of wet straw, from which a thick smoke spreading over the river, hid from the Saxons the sight of his troops, and what they were going to do. By the help of this cloud, he made other barks advance, filled with the same smoking straw, insomuch, that the cloud, continually increasing, and being driven by the wind into the eyes of the enemy, it was impossible for them to know whether the king passed or not. He alone managed the execution of his stratagem. Being in the middle of the river, "Well," said he to general Renchild, "the Duna will not be less favourable to us than the sea of Copenhagen; believe me, general, we shall beat them." In a quarter of an hour he got to the other side, but was not pleased that he had not jumped on shore till the fourth person. He ordered his cannon to be immediately landed, and formed his battalia without his enemies, who were blinded by the smoke, being able to oppose him, only by some random shot. The wind having dispersed the mist, the Saxons saw the king of Sweden marching against them. Marshal Stenau lost not a moment's time; he no sooner saw the Swedes, than he fell upon them with the best part of his cavalry. The violent shock of this troop falling on the Swedes, at the very instant

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that they were forming their battalion, put them into disorder. They gave way, were broken, and pursued even into the river. The king of Sweden rallied them the next minute, in the midst of the water, with as much ease as if he was making a review. His soldiers then marching more close than before, repulsed the marshal Stenau and advanced into the plain. The duke of Courland perceiving that his troops were surprised, caused them to retire with great prudence into a dry place, flanked with a morass and a wood, where his artillery was. The advantage of the ground, and the time that he had given the Saxons to come out of their first surprise, recovered all their courage. Charles did not dispute with himself whether or not he should attack him; he had 15,000 men with him; the duke of Courland 12,000. The battle was rude and bloody; the duke had two horses killed under him; he penetrated three times into the midst of the king's guards; but at last being knocked from his horse with the but-end of a musket, his army was put into such disorder that they no longer disputed the victory. His cuirassiers carried him off with difficulty, bruised all over, and half dead, from the midst of the crowd and the horses, which trampled him under their feet. The king of Sweden, after his victory, hastened to Mittaw, the capital of Courland, and took it. All the towns of this duchy yielded to him at discretion: it was a journey rather than a conquest. He went without stopping to Lithuania, subduing every place in his way. He felt a particular satisfaction, as he confessed himself, when he entered as a conqueror into the very town of Birzen, where the king of Poland and the czar had conspired his ruin but a few months before. It was in this place that he conceived the design of dethroning the king of Poland by the Poles themselves. Being there one day at table, with his thoughts wholly employed on his enterprise, and observing his usual sobriety in a profound silence, seeming to be buried in the great ideas which filled his mind, a German colonel who waited on him, said, loud enough to be heard, "That the repasts which the czar and the king of Poland had made in the same place, were a little different from those of his majesty." "Yes," said the king, getting up, "and I shall the more easily spoil their digestion. In short, mixing at that time a little policy with the force of his arms, he made no delay to prepare for the event he was thinking of.

Poland is the truest image of the ancient Gothic government, corrected or altered every where else: it is the only state that has preserved the name of a republic with the royal dignity. The nobility and clergy maintained their liberty against their king, and took it away from the rest of the nation. All the people there are slaves; such is the destiny of men, that the greatest number, in some manner or other, is every where kept in subjection by the smaller. There the peasant does not sow for himself, but for the lords to whom he, his field, and the labour of his hands belong, and who may sell him, or cut his throat, with his cattle. All that are gentlemen, are independent. To judge one of them in a criminal case, there must be an assembly of the whole nation: he cannot be arrested till after he is condemned, and thus he is hardly ever punished. There are many of them poor; these go into the service of the more powerful, receive a salary from them, do the meanest offices, and like better to serve their equals than enrich themselves by trade. The slavery of the greatest part of the nation, and the pride and

idleness of the other, make arts unknown in this country, otherwise fertile, and watered by the finest rivers of Europe; through which it would be easy, by canals, to join the Northern Ocean and the Black Sea, and enjoy the commerce of Europe and Asia. The few workmen and traders in Poland are strangers, Scotchmen, Frenchmen, and Jews, who buy the provisions of the country at a poor price, and sell them again dearly to the nobles to satisfy their luxury. Whoever sees the king of Poland in the pomp of royal majesty, is apt to think him the most absolute prince in Europe, notwithstanding he is the least so. The Poles make that contract in reality with him, which in other nations is only supposed to be between the sovereign and his people. The king of Poland, even at his consecration, and in swearing to the *Pacta Conventa*, dispenses with his subjects' oath of allegiance, in case he violates the laws of the republic. He fills up all places, and confers all honours. Nothing is hereditary in Poland but lands, and the rank of noble. The son of a palatine, or a king, has no right to the dignities of his father: but there is this great difference between the king and the republic, that he can take away no employment from the person to whom he has given it, and the republic has a right to take away the crown from him if he transgresses the laws of the state. The nobility, jealous of their liberty, oftentimes sell their votes, but rarely their affections. They have hardly elected a king, before they fear his ambition, and oppose him with their cabals. The great men, whom he has made and cannot destroy, become often his enemies instead of remaining his creatures. Those who are attached to the court, are the objects of hatred to the rest of the nobility; this always makes two parties; a division inevitable, and even necessary, in countries where they will have kings, and preserve their liberty.

What concerns the nation, is regulated in the states-general, called *Diets*. These states are composed of the body of the senate, and of many gentlemen. The senators are the palatines and the bishops; the second order is composed of the deputies of the particular diets of each palatinate. At these great assemblies presides the archbishop of Gnesna, primate of Poland, vicar of the kingdom in interregnums, and the first person in the state after the king. There is rarely, in Poland, any other cardinal than he; because, the Roman purple not giving any precedence in the senate, a bishop, who should be a cardinal, would be obliged either to sit in his rank as a senator, or to renounce the solid rights of the dignity he has in his own country to support the pretensions of a foreign honour. These diets, by the laws of the kingdom, ought to be held alternately in Poland and Lithuania. The deputies oftentimes decide their affairs here with their sabres in their hands, like the old Sarmatæ, from whom they are descended, and sometimes in the midst of drunkenness, a vice unknown to the Sarmatæ. Every gentleman deputed to these states-general enjoys the same right that the tribunes of the people had at Rome, to oppose the laws of the senate. A single gentleman who says, "I protest," by that puts a stop to the unanimous resolutions of all the rest; and if he leaves the place where the diet is held, they must separate for that time. To the disorders arising from this law, they bring a remedy more dangerous. Poland is seldom without two factions. Unanimity in the diets being therefore impossible, each party forms confederacies, in which matters are decided by the majority of votes, without any regard

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to the protestations of the less number. These assemblies, contrary to law, but authorized by custom, are called in the name of the king, though oftentimes against his consent, and against his interest; not much unlike the league in France, which made use of the name of Henry III. to overthrow him; or that parliament in England, who put Charles I. to death on the scaffold, and placed his name at the head of all the resolutions they took to destroy him. When the troubles are ended, it then belongs to the general diet to confirm, or make void, the acts of these confederacies. One diet can change whatever has been done by the preceding, for the same reason that, in monarchical states, a king can abolish the laws of his predecessors, or those made by himself.

The nobility, who make the laws of the republic, make also its strength. They mount their horses on great occasions, and can compose a body of more than 150,000 men. This great army, called Pospolite, moves with difficulty, and is ill-governed: the scarcity of provisions and forage makes it impracticable for them to continue long together; they want discipline, subordination, and experience; but the love of liberty, which animates them, makes them always formidable. They may be overcome, or dispersed, or even held in bondage for a time, but they soon shake off the yoke. They compare themselves to reeds, which a storm bends to the ground, and which rise again as soon as the wind is laid. It is for this reason they have no fortifications; they will be themselves the only ramparts of the republic; they never suffer their king to build any fortresses, for fear he should make use of them, not so much to defend, as oppress them. Their country is all open, except two or three frontier places: so that in their wars, either civil or with foreigners, if they resolve to maintain a siege, they are forced to raise fortifications of earth in haste, to repair the old walls half ruined, to enlarge the fosses almost filled up, and the town is taken before the intrenchments are finished. The pospolite is not always on horseback to guard the country: they mount only by order of the diets, or sometimes indeed by the single order of the king, in cases of extreme danger. The ordinary guard of Poland, is an army which ought always to subsist at the expense of the republic. It is composed of two bodies independent of one another, under two different grand generals. The first body is that of Poland, and ought to be 36,000 men; the second, to the number of 12,000, is that of Lithuania. The two grand generals, though they are named by the king, are accountable to none but the republic, and have a supreme authority over their troops. The colonels are the absolute masters of their regiments; it belongs to them to subsist them as they may be able, and find them their pay. But being seldom paid themselves, they lay the country waste, and ruin the husbandmen to satisfy their own greediness and that of their soldiers. The Polish lords appear in these armies with more magnificence than in the cities; their tents are finer than their houses. The cavalry, which makes two-thirds of the army, is almost all composed of gentlemen: it is remarkable for the gracefulness of the horsemen, the beauty of the horses, and the richness of their clothes and caparisons. Their gens-d'armes, above all, which are divided into hussars and pancernes, always march attended by several valets, who lead their horses by bridles, adorned with plates and nails of silver; their saddles are embroidered, their saddle-bows and stirrups gilt, and sometimes of massive silver, with large housings trailing, after the manner of the

Turks, whose magnificence the Poles imitate as much as they are able. Although their cavalry is thus pompously set off, yet their infantry appears ragged and wretched; ill-clothed, ill-armed, without accoutrements, or any thing uniform. These soldiers, who resemble the vagabond Tartars, support with an astonishing resolution, hunger, cold, and all the fatigues and hardships of war. There is still to be seen in Polish soldiers the character of the ancient Sarmatæ, their ancestors, as little disciplined, the same fury in the attack, the same promptitude to fly or to return to battle, and the same cruelty in the slaughter when they are conquerors. The king of Poland flattered himself at first, that, in case of necessity, these two armies would fight in his favour; that the Polish *pospolite* would arm at his orders; and that all these forces joined to the Saxons, his subjects, and the Muscovites, his allies, would make a multitude before whom the small number of the Swedes would not dare to appear. But he saw himself, almost on a sudden, deprived of these succours by the very means he had used to have them all together. Accustomed in his hereditary dominions to absolute power, he was too apt to imagine that he could govern Poland like Saxony; the beginning of his reign made malecontents; the first steps he took irritated the party who had opposed his election, and alienated almost all the rest. Poland murmured to see its towns filled with Saxon garrisons, and its frontiers with Muscovite troops. This nation, much more zealous in maintaining its liberty than eager to attack its neighbours, did not look upon the war of king Augustus against the Swedes, and the irruption into Livonia, as an enterprise advantageous to the republic. A free nation does not easily mistake its true interests. The Poles were of opinion, that if this war, undertaken without their consent, should be unsuccessful, their country, open on every side, would become a prey to the king of Sweden: and if successful, would be subdued by their own king, who, being then master of Livonia as well as Saxony, would enclose Poland between those two countries full of strong places. In this alternative, either of being slaves to the king whom they had elected, or ravaged by Charles XII. justly incensed, they with one voice cried out against the war, which they thought was declared more against themselves than Sweden. They looked upon the Saxons and Muscovites as the instruments of their chains, and soon after seeing the king of Sweden had overthrown every thing that had opposed his passage, and advanced with a victorious army into the heart of Lithuania, they flew out against their sovereign with so much the more liberty as he was unfortunate.

Lithuania was at that time divided into two parties, that of the princes Sapiëha, and that of Oginsky. These two factions were begun by private quarrels, and degenerated into a civil war. The king of Sweden had attached to him the princes Sapiëha; Oginsky, but ill supported by the Saxons, saw his party almost brought to nothing. The Lithuanian army, which these troubles and the want of money had reduced to a small number, was partly dispersed by the conqueror. The few who held out for the king of Poland, were separated in little bodies of fugitive troops, which wandered about the country and subsisted by rapine. Augustus saw nothing in Lithuania, but the weakness of his own party, the hatred of his subjects, and the army of an enemy, conducted by a young king provoked, victorious, and implacable. There was indeed an army in Poland, but in-

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stead of thirty-six thousand men, the number prescribed by the laws, it consisted of no more than eighteen thousand; and these not only ill-paid and ill-armed, but the generals knew not yet which side to take.

The king's refuge was to order the nobles to follow him, but he durst not expose himself to the hazard of a refusal; which would have too much discovered, and consequently increased his weakness. In this state of trouble and incertitude, all the palatinates of the kingdom demanded a diet of the king; in the same manner as in England in times of difficulty, all the bodies of the state present addresses to the king to desire him to call a parliament. Augustus had more occasion for an army than a diet, where the actions of kings are weighed. He was nevertheless obliged to call one, that he might not exasperate the nation beyond the power of reconciliation. It was therefore summoned to meet at Warsaw the 2d of December 1701. He soon perceived that Charles XII. had at least, as much power in this assembly as himself. Those who were for the Sapiehas, the Lubormiskys, and their friends, the palatine Lecsicky treasurer of the crown, and especially the partisans of the princes Sobiesky, were all secretly attached to the king of Sweden.

The most considerable of these partisans, and the most dangerous enemy the king of Poland had, was cardinal Radjousky, archbishop of Gnesna, primate of the kingdom, and president of the diet. He was a man full of artifice and obscurity in his conduct, entirely governed by an ambitious woman, whom the Swedes called *Madam la Cardinale*, and who was always pushing him on to intrigue and faction. The art of the primate was to take advantage of conjunctures without seeking to give rise to them; he appeared irresolute when he was the most determined in his projects, going at all times to gain his ends by the ways which seemed to oppose them. King John Sobiesky, the predecessor of Augustus, first made him bishop of Warmia, and vice-chancellor of the kingdom. Radjousky, being yet no more than a bishop, obtained the cardinal's hat by the favour of the same king. This dignity soon opened to him the way to that of primate; thus uniting in himself all that is capable of imposing on mankind, he was in a condition to undertake great matters with impunity. He tried his interest on the death of John, to place prince James Sobiesky on the throne; but the torrent of the people's hatred against the father, as great a man as he was, bore down the son. The cardinal primate then joined himself with the abbe de Polignac, ambassador from France, to give the crown to the prince of Conti, who was elected in effect; but the money and troops of Saxony soon overcame the eloquence of the abbe, the primate yielded to the party that crowned king Augustus, and waited with patience for an occasion to make a division between Poland and its new king.

The victories of Charles XII. the protector of prince James Sobiesky, the civil war of Lithuania, and the general disaffection of the people to king Augustus; made the cardinal think the time was come when he might send him back into Saxony, and again open the way to the son of king John to mount the throne. This prince, formerly the innocent object of the hatred of the Poles, was now become their delight as the other was hated by them; but he durst not flatter himself with the hopes of so great a revolution notwithstanding the cardinal had insensibly laid the founda-

tion of it. At first he seemed willing to reconcile the king and the republic. He sent circular letters, dictated in appearance by the spirit of concord and charity; a known and common snare, but in which men are always to be caught. He wrote a moving letter to the king of Sweden, conjuring him, in the name of him whom all Christians equally adore, to give peace to Poland and its king. Charles XII. answered the cardinal's intentions more than his words. In the mean time he remained in the great duchy of Lithuania with his victorious army, declaring, that he would not trouble the diet; that he made war against Augustus and the Saxons, not the Poles; and that, far from attacking the republic, he came to save it from oppression. These letters and answers were for the public. The emissaries which came and went continually between the cardinal and count Piper, and the private meetings at that prelate's, were the springs by which the diet moved. It was proposed to send an ambassador to Charles XII. and unanimously required of the king, that he should call no more Muscovites upon the frontiers, and that he should send home his Saxon troops. The bad fortune of Augustus had already done what the diet exacted from him. The secret league concluded at Birzen with the Muscovite, was now become as useless as it first appeared formidable. It was very far from being in his power to send the czar the fifty thousand Germans that he had promised to raise in the empire. The czar himself, a dangerous neighbour to Poland, was not eager to assist with all his forces, at that time, a divided kingdom, in whose spoils he hoped to have a share. He contented himself with sending twenty thousand Muscovites into Lithuania, who did more harm there than the Swedes, flying every where before the conqueror, and ravaging the lands of the Poles; till, being pursued by the Swedish generals, and finding nothing more to pillage, they returned into their own country in troops. As to the remains of the Saxon army beaten at Riga, king Augustus had sent them to winter and recruit themselves in Saxony, that this sacrifice, forced as it was, might restore him to the favour of the displeased Polish nation. The war was now turned into intrigues, and the diet divided into almost as many factions as there were palatines. One day the party of king Augustus prevailed; the next, they were proscribed. Every one cried out for liberty and justice; but no one knew what it was to be free or just. The time was spent in caballing in private, and haranguing in public. The diet knew neither what they would, nor what they ought to do. Great bodies hardly ever take proper advice in times of civil troubles; because the factions are too bold, and the honest for the most part too timorous.

The diet broke up in confusion on the 17th of February 1702, after three months of caballing and irresolution. The senators, who are the palatines, and the bishops, remained at Warsaw. The senate of Poland has a right to make laws provisionally, which the diets rarely invalidate. This body, less numerous and more accustomed to business, was not so tumultuous, and determined much sooner. They agreed to send the embassy to the king of Sweden, as proposed in the diet; that the *pospolite* should mount their horses, and be in readiness on all events; they made several regulations to appease the troubles in Lithuania, and still more to diminish the authority of their king, though less to be feared than that of Charles. Augustus chose rather to receive hard laws from his conqueror than his subjects; he

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therefore determined to ask peace of the king of Sweden; and would have entered into a treaty with him. This step was to be kept concealed from the senate, whom he looked upon as a still more untractable enemy. The affair was delicate; he intrusted it to the countess of Konismar, a Swedish lady of great birth, to whom he was at that time attached. This woman, known in the world for her wit and her beauty, was more capable of succeeding in a negotiation than any minister. Besides, as she had an estate in the dominions of Charles XII. and had been long at his court, she had the more plausible pretence to go to him. She came then into the Swedish camp in Lithuania, and addressed herself at first to count Piper, who too lightly promised her an audience of his master. The countess, among the perfections which rendered her one of the most amiable persons in Europe, had a singular talent of speaking the languages of several countries which she had never seen, with as much delicacy as if she had been born in them. She sometimes amused herself with writing French verses, which might be supposed to have come from Versailles itself. She made some on Charles XII. which history ought not to omit. In these she introduced the fabulous gods, who all praised the virtues of Charles. They conclude thus:

Enfin chacun des Dieux discourant à sa gloire,
Le plaçoit par avance au temple de memoire:
Mais Venus ni Bacchus n'en dirent pas un mot.

The Gods who all the hero's glories trac'd,
Him in the front in memory's temple plac'd;
But Venus then, and Bacchus, both sat mute.

So much wit, and so many charms, were all lost on a man like the king of Sweden. He constantly refused to see her. She resolved at last, to meet him on the road, as he frequently went out on horseback; which she did accordingly one day in a narrow lane: she got out of her coach as soon as she perceived him. The king bowed to her without speaking one word, turned the bridle of his horse, and rode back that instant; so that the countess of Konismar gained nothing by her journey, but the satisfaction of believing that she was the only person that the king of Sweden was afraid of. The king of Poland was now forced to throw himself into the arms of the senate. He made two propositions to them by the palatine of Marienburg; one, that they should leave to him the disposition of the army of the republic, to whom he would advance two quarters pay out of his own revenues; the other, that they should allow him to bring back 12,000 Saxons into Poland. The cardinal primate made an answer as severe as the refusal of the king of Sweden. He said to the palatine of Marienburg, in the name of the assembly, "That they were resolved to send an embassy to Charles XII. that they should employ themselves in nothing more than to reconcile the king to Poland and Sweden; that it was needless for him to pay an army that would not fight for him, without the orders of the republic; and that, for the Saxons, he would not advise him to let them come." The king in this extremity, would have preserved at least, the appearance of royal authority. One of his chamberlains was sent to Charles, to know where and how his Swedish majesty would receive the embassy from the king his master, and the republic. It was unfortunately forgot to demand a passport of the Swedes for this chamberlain. The king of Sweden had

him put into prison, instead of giving him an audience; saying, "that he expected to receive an embassy from the republic, and nothing from king Augustus. Charles then having left garrisons behind in some of the towns of Lithuania, advanced beyond Grodno, a town known in Europe by the diets being held there; but ill built, and worse fortified. Some miles from Grodno he met the embassy of the republic; which was composed of five senators. The Waiwode Galesky and count Tarlo, who died since in France, were to be spokesmen. The king gave them an audience in his tent with that pomp and magnificence which he always despised, but at that time thought necessary. A lieutenant-general with one hundred dragoons on horseback, who are the guards of the king of Sweden, went before the ambassadors; they alighted from their horses within fifty-feet of the royal tent, and were conducted between two lines of guards under arms, into a large anti-chamber. A major-general introduced them from thence into a very large room, the ceiling, floor, and walls of which were covered with Persian tapestry. The king received them on a throne; he rose up, and uncovered himself at their first bow: afterwards, the king and the ambassadors being covered, the Waiwode spoke first, and count Tarlo after him. Their speeches were full of caution and obscurity; they did not once mention the name of the king of Poland, being unwilling to speak in his favour, or complain of him openly; but left him to guess at what was not proper for them to explain. Charles treated each ambassador in private with friendship and confidence; but when he was to give an answer to the republic who sent them, and who, in his opinion, did not enter into his measures with a very ready submission, he ordered count Piper to tell them, that he would give them an answer at Warsaw. The same day he marched towards that city. This march was preceded by a manifesto, which the cardinal and his party spread all over Poland in eight days. Charles, by this writing, invited all the Poles to join their revenge with his, and pretended to shew them that their interest and his were the same. They were nevertheless very different; but the manifesto, supported by a great party, by the confusion of the senate, and by the approach of the conqueror, made very strong impressions. They were obliged to acknowledge Charles for their protector, since he would make himself so; and they were happy that he contented himself with that title. The senators opposite to Augustus published this writing aloud before his face. The few that were his friends were silent. At length, when they learnt that Charles advanced by long marches, every one in confusion prepared to depart. The cardinal left Warsaw one of the first; the greatest part precipitated their flight; some went to their own estates to wait the event of this affair; others to stir up their friends: nobody staid with the king but the ambassadors of the emperor, and of the czar, the pope's nuncio, and some bishops and palatines who depended on his fortune. He was forced to fly, and nothing had been yet decided in his favour. He hastened, before his departure, to hold a council with the small number of senators, who still represented the senate. How zealous soever they were for his service, they were Poles, and had all conceived so great an aversion to the Saxon troops, that they durst not allow him the liberty of bringing above six thousand for his defence; and voted that those six thousand should be commanded by the grand general of Poland, and

sent back immediately after the peace. As to the armies of the republic, they left the disposal of them to him.—After this result, the king quitted Warsaw, too weak to oppose his enemies, and but little satisfied with his own party. He presently published his proclamation to assemble the pospolite and the armies, which were little more than empty names. He had nothing to hope from Lithuania, where the Swedes were. The army of Poland, reduced to a very few troops, wanted arms, provisions, and good will. The greatest part of the nobility, intimidated, irresolute, or ill-disposed, kept at their estates. In vain the king, authorized by the laws of the state, ordered all gentlemen, on pain of death, to mount their horses and follow him. It began to be made a question whether they ought to obey him. His great dependence was on the troops of his electorate, where the form of government, entirely absolute, left him no apprehensions of their disobedience. He had already sent privately for 12,000 Saxons, who advanced with precipitation. He brought back 8000 more, which he had promised to the emperor in the war with the empire against France, and which the necessity he was under obliged him to recal. The introducing so many Saxons into Poland, was to turn all men's minds against him, and to violate the law made by his own party, which did not allow him but 6000; but he knew, if he was conqueror, no one would dare to complain, and if he was conquered, they would not forgive his bringing even that 6000.

Whilst these soldiers came in troops, and he was going about from palatinate to palatinate to gather the noblemen together who were attached to him, the king of Sweden at length arrived before Warsaw on the 5th of May 1702. The gates were opened to him on the first summons. He sent away the Polish garrison, dismissed the city guard, appointed guards in every place, and ordered the inhabitants to come and lay down their arms; but, contented to disarm, and unwilling to exasperate them, he exacted no more than a contribution of 100,000 franks from them. King Augustus then called his forces together at Cracow, but was surprised to find the Cardinal primate among them. This man, who was impatient to finish his work, pretended to keep up the decency of his character to the last, and to dethrone his king with all the respectful behaviour of a good subject: he told him, that the king of Sweden seemed disposed to a reasonable accommodation, and humbly begged his permission to go to him. King Augustus agreed to what he could not prevent, that is, to give him the liberty to hurt him. The cardinal primate thus covering the scandal of his conduct by adding treachery to it, went immediately to the king of Sweden, to whom he had not before dared to present himself. He saw this prince at Prague, not far from Warsaw, but without any of the ceremonies used to ambassadors from the republic. He found this conqueror clothed in a coarse blue coat with brass-buttons gilt, a pair of large boots on, and buff-skin gloves that reached up to his elbows, in a room without hangings, in which were the duke of Holstein, his brother-in-law; count Piper, his first minister; and several general officers. The king advanced some steps to meet the cardinal, and they had a conference of about a quarter of an hour, standing all the time, which the king finished in crying aloud, "I will give no peace to the Poles, unless they choose another king." The cardinal, who waited for this declaration, made it presently known to all the palatinates, assuring

them that he was extremely concerned at it; but shewing them at the same time, the necessity they were under of complying with the conqueror.

Upon hearing this, the king of Poland very well saw that he was to lose, or preserve, his throne, by a battle. He used his utmost efforts to prepare for this great decision. All his Saxon troops were arrived from the frontiers of Saxony. The nobility of the palatinate of Cracow, where he still remained, came in crowds to offer him their service. He exhorted all the gentlemen to remember the oaths they had taken; and they promised him to shed the last drop of blood in their bodies for him. Fortified by their succours, and the troops which bore the name of the army of the crown, he went for the first time to seek the king of Sweden in person; whom he soon found advancing towards Cracow. The two kings met on the 19th of July 1702, on a large plain near Clissau, between Warsaw and Cracow. Augustus had near 24,000 men; Charles but 12,000. The battle began by a discharge of the artillery. On the first volley fired by the Saxons, the duke of Holstein, who commanded the Swedish horse, a young prince full of courage and virtue, received a cannon shot in his reins. The king asked if he was dead; being told he was, he made no reply, but some tears falling from his eyes, he covered his face for a moment with his hands, and then on a sudden spurring his horse, rushed into the midst of the enemy at the head of his guards. The king of Poland did all that could be expected from a prince who was fighting for his crown. He brought his troops back himself three times to the charge; but the Swedes had the ascendant, and Charles gained a complete victory. The enemy's camp, colours, artillery, and Augustus's military chest were all left to him. He made no stop on the field of battle, but marched straight to Cracow, pursuing the king of Poland, who fled before him. The citizens of Cracow were rash enough to shut their gates against the conqueror. He had them broke open, and took the castle by assault. His soldiers, the only men in the world who could abstain from plunder after a victory, did not injure one citizen; but the king made the inhabitants pay for the rashness of their resistance, by excessive contributions. He went from Cracow, fully resolved to pursue king Augustus without stopping; but some few miles from the city his horse fell with him, and broke his thigh. He was forced to be carried back again to Cracow, where he kept his bed for six weeks, under the hands of the surgeons. This accident gave Augustus time to breathe. He caused it immediately to be spread over Poland, and the empire, that Charles XII. was killed by his fall. This false news, believed for some time, occasioned great astonishment and uncertainty in the mind of every one. In this small interval he assembled at Marienburg, then at Lublip, all the orders of the kingdom already called together at Sendomir. The assembly was very large, few of the palatinates refusing to send thither. He recovered the affections almost of every one by largesses, promises, and that affability which is so necessary to make absolute kings beloved, and elective kings support their power. The diet was shortly undeceived concerning the false report of the king of Sweden's death; but the motion was already given to that great body, which suffered itself to be carried on by the impulse it had received; and all the members swore to continue faithful to their sovereign. The cardinal primate himself, affecting still to be attached to king Augustus, came to the

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diet of Lublin; he there kissed the king's hand, and did not refuse to take the oath with the others. This oath was, that they never had attempted, nor ever would attempt, any thing against Augustus. The king excused the cardinal's not taking the first part of the oath, and the prelate swore to the rest, blushing at the same time. The result of this diet was, that the republic of Poland should maintain an army of 50,000 men, at their own expense, for the service of their sovereign; that they should give the Swedes six weeks time to declare whether they would have peace or war; and the same term to the princes of Sapieha, the first authors of the troubles in Lithuania, to come and ask pardon of the king of Poland. But during these deliberations, Charles XII. cured of his wound, overthrew all before him. Always resolute in his design of making the Poles themselves dethrone their king; by the intrigues of the cardinal primate he caused a new assembly to be convoked at Warsaw, to oppose that of Lublin. His generals represented to him, that this affair might be drawn to too great a length, and vanish by delays; that in the mean time the Muscovites were every day engaging with the troops that he had left in Livonia and Ingria; that the battles fought in those provinces between the Swedes and the Russians, were not always to the advantage of the first; and that perhaps his presence would shortly become very necessary there. Charles, as immovable in his designs as lively in the execution of them, made answer, "Although it should take up fifty years, I would not leave this country till I have dethroned the king of Poland." He left the assembly at Warsaw to combat with words and writings against that of Lublin, and to seek wherewithal to justify their proceedings in the laws of the kingdom; laws always equivocal, which each party interpret to their own purpose, and which success alone renders incontestable. For his part, having augmented his victorious troops with 6000 horse and 8000 foot from Sweden, he marched against the remains of the Saxon army, which he had beaten at Clissau, and which had time to rally and recruit itself while he had been confined to his bed by the fall from his horse. This army avoided his approach, and retreated towards Prussia, on the north-west of Warsaw. The river Bog was between him and his enemies. Charles swam over at the head of his cavalry; the foot went higher to seek for a ford. They came up with the Saxons on the 1st of May 1703, at a place called Pultusk, general Stenau commanded them, to the number of about 10,000. The king of Sweden, in his precipitate march, had brought no more with him, well assured that a less number would have sufficed. The terror of his arms was so great, that half the Saxon army fled at his approach without giving him battle. General Stenau stood firm one moment with two regiments, the next he was drawn away himself in the general flight of his army, which was dispersed before it was vanquished. The Swedes took not 1000 prisoners, nor killed above six hundred men, having more trouble to pursue than defeat them. Augustus, who had nothing left but the poor remains of his Saxons, beat on all sides, retired in haste to Thorn, a town of Royal Prussia, situate on the Weisssel, and under the protection of the Poles. Charles immediately prepared to besiege it. The king of Poland, who did not think he was safe there, withdrew himself into Saxony. In the mean time, Charles in so many hasty marches, swimming over rivers, and running with his infantry mounted behind his horse, had not

been able to bring any cannon before Thorn; but was to wait till it could come from Sweden by sea. During which time he encamped within a few miles of the town, and would often advance too near the ramparts to view it. The plain dress he wore, was of more service to him in these dangerous sallies than he imagined; it prevented his being particularly marked out as a person to be fired at by the enemy. One day approaching very near, with one of the generals named Lieven, who was clothed in scarlet laced with gold, and fearing he would be too much taken notice of, he ordered him to place himself behind him, moved by that magnanimity so natural to him which hindered him from reflecting on the manifest danger he exposed his own life to, to save that of a subject. Lieven perceiving too late his mistake in putting on a remarkable habit, which also exposed those who were near him, and fearing equally for the king in whatever place he was, hesitated some time in obeying him; in this contest the king taking him by the arm, placed himself before him, and hid him; but in that very instant a cannon shot which came in flank, struck the general dead upon that spot which the king had but just quitted. The death of this man, killed directly in his stead, and because he was willing to save him, did not a little contribute to confirm him in the opinion he had all his life of an absolute predestination, and made him believe that his destiny, which had saved him in this extraordinary manner, reserved him for the execution of greater things. Every thing succeeded with him, and his negociations and his arms were equally happy. He was present, as it were in all Poland, for his grand marshal Renschild was in the heart of that country with a great body of the army. Almost 30,000 Swedes, under different generals, spread from north to east on the frontiers of Muscovy, stopt all attempts of the Russian empire; and Charles was in the west at the other end of Poland, at the head of the choicest of his victorious troops. Denmark, bound by the treaty of Travendal, which it had not strength enough to break through, remained in silence. The elector of Brandenburg, who had acquired the title of king of Prussia, without gaining more power, did not dare to shew his dislike of the king of Sweden's being so near his dominions. His grandfather had lost the finest part of Pomerania to Gustavus Adolphus, and he had no security for the rest, but from the moderation of Charles. Farther towards the south-west, between the rivers Elbe and Weser, the dutchy of Bremen, the last territory of the ancient conquests of Sweden, filled with strong garrisons, yet opened to this conqueror the gates of Saxony and the empire. Thus, from the German ocean almost to the mouth of the Borysthenes, which makes the breadth of Europe, and even to the gates of Moscow, all was in consternation, and expected an entire revolution. His vessels, masters of the Baltic, were employed in transporting prisoners into his own country from Poland. Sweden, at rest in the midst of these great emotions, tasted a profound peace, and enjoyed the glory of its king without feeling the weight of it; for these victorious troops were paid and maintained at the expense of the conquered. In this general silence of the north before the arms of Charles XII. the city of Dantzic dared to displease him. Fourteen frigates, and forty transport vessels were bringing the king a reinforcement of 6000 men, with cannon and ammunition, to finish the siege of Thorn. These succours were to go up the Weissel. At the mouth of this

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river is Dantzic, a rich and free town, which, with Elbing and Thorn, enjoys the same privileges in Poland that the imperial towns have in Germany. Its liberty has by turns been attacked by the Danes, the Swedes, and some German princes, and has been preserved only by the jealousy that these powers had of each other. Count Steinbock, one of the Swedish generals, assembled the magistracy in the king's name, demanded a passage for the troops, and proposed to them to sell him powder and ammunition. The magistracy, by an imprudence common to men who treat with those who are stronger than themselves, durst neither refuse, nor fairly agree to his demands. General Steinbock forced them to give more than he had asked; and even exacted a contribution of 100,000 crowns from the town, by which they paid for their imprudent refusal. At length, the troops, the cannon, and ammunition, being arrived before Thorn, they began the siege of it on the 22d of September.

Rovel, governor of the place, defended it a month with a garrison of 5000 men; at the end of that time he was forced to surrender at discretion. The garrison were made prisoners of war, and sent into Sweden. Rovel was presented disarmed to the king. This prince, who never lost an occasion of doing honour to merit in his enemies, gave him a sword with his own hand, made him a considerable present in money, and sent him back on his parole. The honour the city of Thorn had to have formerly produced Copernicus, the founder of the true system of the world, was of no service to it with a victor too little instructed in matters of that sort, and who only knew how to recompence valour. This little poor town was condemned to pay 40,000 crowns, an excessive contribution for such a place.

Elbing, built on an arm of the Weissel, founded by the Teutonic knights, and annexed also to Poland, did not profit by the error of the Dantzickers; but deliberated too long on giving passage to the Swedish troops: she was more severely punished than Dantzic. Charles entered it on the 13th of December, at the head of 4000 men, with their bayonets at the end of their muskets. The inhabitants, terrified, threw themselves on their knees in the streets, and begged mercy from him. He disarmed them all, lodged his soldiers in the houses of the citizens; then sending for the magistracy, he forced them to give him, that very day, a contribution of 260,000 crowns. There were two hundred pieces of cannon in the town, and 400,000 weight of powder, which he seized on. A battle gained would not have given him so many advantages. All these successes were the forerunners of the dethroning of king Augustus. The cardinal had hardly sworn to his king to undertake nothing against him, before he went to the assembly of Warsaw, but always under the pretext of peace. He arrived, talking of nothing but concord and obedience, but was accompanied by 3000 soldiers, levied upon his own lands. At length he took off the mask, and on the 14th of February 1704, declared, in the name of the assembly, "Augustus, elector of Saxony, incapable of wearing the crown of Poland." It was pronounced with one voice, that the throne was vacant. The session of this day was not quite finished, when a courier from the king of Sweden brought a letter from that monarch to the assembly. The cardinal opened the letter, which contained an order, in form of request, that they would elect prince James Sobiesky for their king: they were disposed to obey him with joy, and even fixed the day

of election. James Sobiesky was then at Breslau, in Silesia, waiting with impatience for the crown which his father had wore. He received compliments upon it; and some flatterers had already even given him the title of majesty in speaking to him. As he was one day hunting, some leagues from Breslau, with prince Constantine, one of his brothers, thirty Saxon horsemen, sent privately by king Augustus, rushed on a sudden from a neighbouring wood, and surrounding the two princes, carried them off without resistance. They prepared fresh horses, on which they were conducted to Leipsick, where they were closely confined. This stroke disconcerted the measures of Charles, the cardinal, and the assembly at Warsaw.

Fortune, which sports with crowned heads, put king Augustus, at the same time, on the brink of being taken himself. He was at table within three leagues of Cracow, trusting to an advanced guard posted at some distance, when general Renschild appeared on a sudden, after having carried off the guard. The king of Poland, with ten other persons, had but just time to get on horseback. General Renschild pursued him for four days, ready every moment to seize upon him: the king fled to Sendomir, the Swedish general still pursuing him; and it was by great good fortune that he escaped. In all this time the party of king Augustus treated that of the cardinal, and were reciprocally treated by them, as traitors to their country. The army of the crown was divided between the two factions. Augustus, forced at last to accept of succours from Muscovy, repented that he had not had recourse to them sooner. He went sometimes into Saxony, where all his forces were drained; sometimes he returned to Poland, where none durst assist him. On the other side, the king of Sweden, victorious and undisturbed, reigned in Poland more absolutely than ever Augustus had done. Count Piper, who was as much turned for politics as his master for greatness, proposed at that time to Charles XII. to take the crown of Poland upon himself. He represented to him, how easy the execution of such a design would be with a victorious army, and a powerful party in the heart of the kingdom, which was already in subjection to him. He tempted him with the title of "Defender of the Gospel," a name which flattered Charles's ambition. "It would be easy," he said, "to do in Poland what Gustavus Vasa had done in Sweden, to introduce Lutheranism there, to break the chains of the people, who were slaves to the nobility and clergy." Charles was tempted for a moment; but glory was his idol. He sacrificed his interest to it, and the pleasure he would have had in taking Poland from the pope. He told count Piper, that he was more pleased in giving away than in gaining kingdoms; and added, smiling, "You were made for the minister of an Italian prince."

Charles was still near Thorn, in that part of royal Prussia which belongs to Poland; he observed, from thence, all that was done at Warsaw, and kept the neighbouring powers in awe. Prince Alexander, brother of the two Sobieskys carried off into Silesia, came to demand vengeance of him. Charles promised it him the more readily, as he thought it was easy, and that he should thereby revenge himself. But, impatient to give a king to Poland, he proposed the throne to prince Alexander, which fortune seemed resolved to keep from his brother. He little expected a refusal; but prince Alexander declared to him, that nothing should engage him to take an advantage of the misfortune of his elder brother. The king of Sweden, count Piper,

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all his friends, and, above all, the young palatine of Posnania, Stanislaus Lecsinsky, pressed him to accept of the crown. He was immoveable. The neighbouring princes were astonished at so unheard-of a refusal, and knew not which was most to be admired; the king of Sweden, who, at twenty-two years of age, gave away the crown of Poland, or prince Alexander, who refused it.

BOOK III.

YOUNG Stanislaus Lecsinsky was then deputed, by the assembly of Warsaw, to give an account to the king of Sweden of many differences that had happened since the time of prince James's being carried off. Stanislaus had a happy physiognomy, at once manly and sweet, with an air of probity and openness, which, of all exterior advantages, is, without doubt, the greatest, and what gives more weight to words than eloquence itself. The wisdom with which he spoke of king Augustus, of the assembly, the cardinal primate, and the different interests that divided Poland, struck Charles XII. This prince knew men, and had succeeded in the choice he made of his generals and ministers. He purposely prolonged the conference, the better to sound the genius of the young deputy. After the audience, he said aloud, "That he never saw a man so proper to conciliate all parties." He informed himself, without any delay, of the character of the palatine Lecsinsky, and learnt that he was full of bravery, and inured to fatigues; that he always lay on a kind of straw bed, without requiring any service from his domestics about his person; that he was more temperate than is common in that climate, liberal, and adored by his vassals; and the only lords, perhaps, in Poland, who had any friends in a time when no ties were acknowledged but those of interest and faction. This character, which in many respects resembled his own, determined him entirely. He took advice of no one; and, without any intriguing, or even any public deliberation, he said to two of his generals, shewing them Lecsinsky, "This is the king the Polanders shall have." The resolution was taken, and Stanislaus knew nothing of the matter when the cardinal primate went to wait on Charles. The prelate was king during the interregnum, and would willingly have prolonged his transient authority: Charles asked him, what man in Poland he thought worthy to reign? I know but three, answered the cardinal. The first is the prince Sapieha; but his imperious, cruel, and despotic temper, is very disagreeable to a free people. The second is Lubormisky, grand general of the crown; but he is too old, and suspected of loving money too much. The third is the palatine of Posnania, more worthy of the throne than the other two, if his want of experience does not render him incapable of governing so difficult a nation. The cardinal thus excluded even those whom he proposed, and would have them thought incapable to reign, whom he said were only worthy of it. The king of Sweden finished the conversation with telling him, that Stanislaus Lecsinsky should be on the throne.

The cardinal had hardly left the king, before he received a courier from the lady who governed him. He understood, by the letters she sent him, that she was going to marry her daughter to the son of Lubormisky, and

conjured him to employ all his interest with the king, to give the crown of Poland to the father. The letter came too late; the cardinal had given such impressions of Lubormisky, that were not in his power to efface. He tried all his skill to bring the king of Sweden insensibly into the new interest he embraced, and especially to dissuade him from making choice of Stanislaus; but what have you, said the king, to alledge against him? Sir, said the prelate, he is too young. The king answered him drily, he is much about my age; then turned his back on the prelate, and immediately sent count Hoorn to let the assembly at Warsaw know, that they must choose a king in five days, and that they must choose Stanislaus Lescinsky. Count Hoorn arrived the 7th of July, and fixed the day of election for the 12th, as if he had been ordering the decampment of a battalion. The cardinal primate, disappointed of the fruit of so many intrigues, returned to the assembly, where he was doing all that was in his power to prevent an election which he had no share in; but the king of Sweden, coming himself to Warsaw incognito, forced him to be silent. All that the primate could do, was not to appear at the election; he was reduced to a neutrality, neither forwarding nor thwarting the resolution of the king of Sweden; but, managing equally between Augustus and Stanislaus, waited for an opportunity to prejudice them both. Saturday, the 12th of July, the day fixed for the election, being come, the diet met, about three o'clock in the afternoon, at Colo, the place appointed for this ceremony; the bishop of Posnania came to preside in the assembly in the place of the cardinal primate. He arrived, followed by several persons of distinction, and a crowd of gentlemen of the party. The king of Sweden had slept in among them to enjoy his power in secret. Count Hoorn, and two other general officers, appeared publicly at this solemnity, as ambassadors extraordinary from Charles to the republic. The session lasted till nine at night. The bishop of Posnania put an end to it by declaring, in the name of the diet, Stanislaus elected king of Poland. Charles XII. mixed with the crowd, was the first to cry out, *vivat*; every cap was thrown in the air, and the acclamations stifled the cries of the opponents. It was of no service to the cardinal primate, and the others, who had a mind to be neuter, that they had absented themselves from the election. They were all obliged, the next day, to come and pay homage to the new king, who received them as if he was very well satisfied with them. The greatest mortification they had, was to be under the necessity of following him to the king of Sweden's quarters. This prince gave, to the sovereign he had just made, all the honours that are due to a king of Poland; and, to give more weight to his new dignity, assigned him money and troops. The name of king, changed nothing in the manners of Stanislaus: it only made him employ his talents in the art of war; one storm had placed him upon the throne, another might throw him out of it. He had half of his new kingdom to conquer, and was to establish himself in the other: treated as a sovereign at Warsaw, and as a rebel at Sandomir, he prepared to make himself acknowledged by all the world by the force of his arms. Charles XII. departed immediately from Warsaw to make an end of his conquest of Poland. He gave his army the rendezvous before Leopold, the capital of the great palatinate of Russia, a place important of itself, and more so, on account of the riches with which it was filled. It

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was thought it would hold out fifteen days, by the help of the fortifications that king Augustus had made there. The conqueror invested it on the 5th of September, and took it the next day by assault. All who dared resist, were put to the sword. The victorious troops, masters of the town, did not disband themselves to run after the plunder, notwithstanding the report there was of the treasures in Leopold. They ranged themselves in battalia, in the great square. There, all that were left of the garrison came to surrender themselves prisoners of war. The king had it published, by sound of trumpet, that all those inhabitants who had any effects belonging to king Augustus, or his adherents, should bring them themselves before the end of that day, on pain of death. Measures were so well taken, that few durst disobey him, and there were brought to the king four hundred chests, filled with gold and silver money, plate, and other precious things.

The beginning of the reign of Stanislaus was distinguished, almost the same day, by a different event. Some affairs, which absolutely required his presence, obliged him to remain in Warsaw: he had with him, his mother, his wife, and two daughters; one of them, at that time but a year old, afterwards became queen of France. The cardinal primate, the bishop of Posnania, and some great men of Poland, made up his new court, which was defended by six thousand Polanders of the army of the crown, lately brought over to his service, but of whose fidelity he had not as yet had any proof. General Hoorn, governor of the town, had not with him, besides these, above fifteen hundred Swedes. They were at Warsaw in a profound tranquillity, and Stanislaus designed to depart in a few days to go to his conquest of Leopold; but, all of a sudden, he was informed that a numerous army approached the town. This was king Augustus, who, by a new effort, and one of the finest marches that ever any general made, having escaped the king of Sweden, came with 20,000 men to fall upon Warsaw and carry off his rival. Warsaw was poorly fortified, and the polish troops that defended it not to be depended upon. Augustus had intelligence in the town; if Stanislaus tarried he was lost. He sent back his family into Posnania, under a guard of Polish troops that he could best confide in. The cardinal primate fled one of the first to the frontiers of Prussia. Several gentlemen took different roads. The new king went himself to find Charles XII. learning very early to suffer disgrace, and forced to quit his capital six weeks after he had been elected sovereign in it. The bishop of Posnania was the only one who could not fly, a dangerous illness detaining him at Warsaw. One part of the 6000 Polanders followed Stanislaus, another escorted his family. Those were sent into Posnania, whose fidelity they would not have exposed to the temptation of returning into the service of king Augustus. As for general Hoorn, who was governor of Warsaw in the name of the king of Sweden, he remained, with his 1500 Swedes, in the castle. Augustus entered into the capital as a sovereign irritated and victorious. Every inhabitant was taxed above his abilities, and ill-treated by the soldiers. The palace of the cardinal, and all the houses of the confederate lords, all their estates, in town and country, were delivered up to be pillaged. The strangest thing in this transient revolution was, that the pope's nuncio, who came with king Augustus, demanded, in the name of his master, that the

bishop of Posnania should be given up, to answer at the court of Rome, as a bishop, for favouring a prince set on the throne by the arms of a Lutheran. The court of Rome, which has always endeavoured to increase its temporal, by the influence of its spiritual authority, had very long established in Poland a kind of jurisdiction, at the head of which is the pope's nuncio: these ministers have never failed to take advantage of every favourable conjuncture to extend their power, which is revered by the multitude, but always contested by the wiser sort. They pretended to have a right to judge in all ecclesiastical causes, and had, especially in times of trouble, usurped many other prerogatives, in which they maintained themselves till about the year 1728, when they went about retrenching these abuses, which are never reformed till they become altogether intolerable. King Augustus, glad of a decent opportunity to punish the bishop of Posnania, and to please the court of Rome, which he would have opposed at any other time, gives up this Polish prelate into the hands of the nuncio. The bishop, after seeing his house pillaged, was carried by the soldiers to the Italian ministers, and sent into Saxony, where he died. Count Hoorn endured, in the castle where he was shut up, the continual fire of the enemy: at length, the place not being to be maintained any longer, he was forced to beat the shamade, and remained prisoner of war with his 1500 Swedes. This was the first advantage that king Augustus had, in the torrent of his ill fortune, against the victorious arms of his enemy. Count Hoorn, released upon his parole, came to Leopold soon after Stanislaus. He took the liberty to complain a little to the king of Sweden, that his majesty had not relieved Warsaw. "Comfort yourself, my dear count," said the king to him, "we must let king Augustus do something to amuse himself, without which he would be tired with having us so long in his country; but, believe me, he shall not enjoy this advantage." In effect, this last effort of king Augustus was but the blaze of a fire that was going out. His troops, got together in haste, were Poles, ready to abandon him on the first disgrace: Saxon recruits, who had never been in the wars, or vagabond cossacks, fitter to plunder the conquered than conquer themselves; and every one trembled at the very name of the king of Sweden. This conqueror, accompanied by king Stanislaus, went to seek his enemy, at the head of his choicest troops. The Saxon army fled every where before him; the towns sent him their keys for thirty miles round; there was no day passed without being signalized by some advantage; successes became too familiar to Charles. He said, it was rather going to hunt than to fight, and complained that he had not purchased his victory. Augustus trusted the command of his army, for some time, to count Shullembourg, a very able general, and who had need of all his experience at the head of a dispirited army. He thought more to preserve his master's troops, than how to conquer; he made war with cunning, the two kings with vigour. He avoided their marches, possessed some advantageous passes, and sacrificed some horse to give his foot time to retreat with safety. After several artifices and countermarches, he found himself near Punitz, in the palatinate of Posnania, believing that the king of Sweden and Stanislaus were above fifty leagues from him. He found, at his arrival there, that the two kings had marched these fifty leagues in nine days, and

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were coming to attack him with 10 or 12,000 horse. Shullembourg had not 1000 horse, and not above 8000 foot: he was to support himself against a superior army, against the name of the king of Sweden, and against the fear with which so many defeats had inspired the Saxons. He had always maintained, against the opinion of the German generals, that the foot might resist the horse in a full campaign, even without chevaux-de-frise; and dared that day to make trial of it against the victorious horse commanded by the two kings, and the best Swedish generals. He posted himself so advantageously, that he could not be surrounded; the first rank bent one knee to the ground, and was armed with pikes and fusees: the soldiers, extremely close to one another, presented to the enemies horse a kind of rampart, thick set with pikes and bayonets: the second bending a little on the shoulders of the first, fired over them, and the third standing upright, fired at the same time behind the other two. The Swedes fell with their usual impetuosity on the Saxons, who waited for them unmoved. The discharge of the muskets, the pikes and bayonets, startled the horses, and made them unruly instead of advancing: by this method the Swedes attacked in disorder, and the Saxons defended themselves by keeping their ranks. If Charles had made his cavalry dismount, the army of Shullembourg had been inevitably destroyed. This general feared nothing so much, and expected every moment that the enemy would take that course; but neither the king of Sweden, who had so often put in practice all the stratagems of war, nor any of his generals, had that thought. This unequal combat, of a body of horse against foot, interrupted and renewed several times, lasted for three hours. The Swedes lost more horses than men. Shullembourg gave way at last, but his troops were not broken. He drew them up into an oblong battalion, and, although he had five wounds about him, retired in good order in this form, in the middle of the night, to the little town of Gurau, about three leagues from the field of battle. He had hardly begun to take breath in this place, before the two kings all on a sudden appeared at his back. Beyond Gurau, towards the river Oder, was a thick wood, through which the Saxon general saved his fatigued infantry. The Swedes without being discouraged, pursued them, advancing through paths almost impervious to the foot. The Saxons had crossed the wood but five hours before the Swedish horse. On the other side of the wood runs the river Barts, at the foot of a village called Rutzen. Shullembourg had sent with all diligence to get the boats together, and carried his troops across the river, which were already diminished one half. Charles arrived at the time Shullembourg, was on the other shore. Never did any general retreat with so much art, nor ever did any conqueror pursue his enemy so briskly. The reputation of Shullembourg depended on his escaping the king of Sweden, and the king, on the other side, thought his glory concerned in taking Shullembourg and the rest of his army; he lost no time, but swam his cavalry over the river. The Saxons found themselves shut up between the Barts and the great river Oder, whose source is in Silesia, and which is already very deep and rapid in this place. The loss of Shullembourg seemed inevitable; he still strove to get out of this extremity by one of those strokes of art, which are more to be prized than victories, and so much the more

glorious, as fortune has no share in them. He had 4000 men left; a mill, which he filled with grenadiers, was on his right hand, a morass on his left; he had a ditch before him, and his rear-guard was on the banks of the Oder. He had no pontons to cross the river; but in the evening he had ordered some floats of timber. Charles being arrived, immediately attacked the mill, persuaded that, when he had taken it, the Saxons must perish in the water, or with sword in hand, or at least surrender themselves at discretion with their general. In the mean time the floats were ready, the Saxons crossed the Oder, favoured by the night, and when Charles had forced the mill, he found no more of the enemy's army. The two kings honoured this retreat with their commendations, which is still spoken of with admiration in the empire; and Charles could not forbear saying, "Shullembourg has conquered us to-day." But what was the glory of Shullembourg, was of little service to king Augustus. This prince once more abandoned Poland to his enemies; he retired into Saxony, and repaired, with precipitation, the fortifications of Dresden: fearing already, and not without reason, that the capital of his hereditary dominions was in danger. Charles XII. saw Poland subdued; his generals, by his example, had beat several small bodies of Muscovites in Courland, who, since the battle of Narva, had never shown themselves but in platoons, or small parcels, and who, in these quarters, only made war like the vagabond Tartars, plundering and flying, and then appearing, to fly again. Wherever the Swedes were, they thought themselves sure of victory, if they had but twenty against a hundred. In this happy conjuncture, Stanislaus prepared for his coronation. Fortune, which had elected him at Warsaw and driven him from thence, recalled him to the acclamations of a crowd of the nobility, whom the fate of arms had attached to him. A diet was there convoked, all obstacles were removed, and there was only the court of Rome that opposed it.

It was natural that it should declare for king Augustus, who, from a protestant was turned Roman Catholic, to obtain the crown against Stanislaus, placed on the same throne by the great enemy of the catholic religion. Clement XI. at that time pope, sent briefs to all the prelates of Poland, and especially to the cardinal primate, by which he threatened them with excommunication, if they dared to assist at the consecration of Stanislaus, or attempt any thing against the rights of king Augustus. The primate, at that time retired to Dantzic, was suspected to have caused these briefs to come from Rome himself, to rekindle a fire which he could not blow up with his own hands. If these briefs had come to the bishops who were at Warsaw, it was to be feared that some of them would obey through weakness, and that the greatest part would take advantage of them to make the more difficulties, in proportion as they should become more necessary. All the precaution, therefore, that could be, was taken to prevent these letters from the pope being received in Warsaw. A Franciscan received the briefs privately, to deliver them into the bishops' own hands. He gave one of them first to the suffragan of Chelm; this prelate, who was attached to the interest of Stanislaus, carried it to the king unopened. The king sent for the friar, and asked him, how he durst undertake such an employment? The Franciscan answered, that he did it by order of his general. Stanislaus bade him

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henceforth listen to the orders of his king, before those of the general of the Franciscans, and obliged him to go out of the town that moment. The same day a placard was published by the king of Sweden, by which all ecclesiastics, secular and regular, in Warsaw, were forbid, under severe penalties, to meddle with any affairs of state. For more security, he had guards placed at the doors of all the prelates' houses, and forbade all strangers entering into the town. He took upon himself these little severities, that Stanislaus might have no misunderstanding with the clergy at his coming to the crown. He said, that he unbent himself from his military affairs in stopping the intrigues of the Roman court, and that the way to fight against it was with paper, but all other sovereigns were to be attacked by real arms.

The cardinal primate was solicited by Charles and Stanislaus to come and perform the ceremony of the coronation. He did not think he ought to quit Dantzic to consecrate a king whom he was unwilling to have elected; but as it was his policy never to do any thing without a pretence, he prepared a lawful excuse for his refusal. He had the pope's brief fixed at the gate of his own house in the night time. The magistrate of Dantzic displeased at this, had the offenders sought after, but none could be found. The primate pretended to be irritated, but was well contented; he had a reason for not consecrating the new king; and at the same time carried it fair with Charles XII. Augustus, Stanislaus, and the pope. He died a few days after, leaving his country in a terrible confusion; and, as even politicians have sometimes remorse in their last moments, he wrote a letter to king Augustus when he was dying to ask his pardon.

The consecration was performed with tranquillity and pomp, on the 4th of October 1705, in the city of Warsaw, notwithstanding the custom in Poland to crown their kings at Cracow. Stanislaus Lescinsky, and his wife, Charlotte Opalinski, were consecrated king and queen of Poland by the hands of the archbishop of Leopold, assisted by several other prelates. Charles XII. saw the ceremony incognito, as he had the election; the only fruit of his conquests. While he was giving a king to subjected Poland, while Denmark durst not trouble him, while the king of Prussia courted his friendship, and king Augustus retired into his hereditary dominions, the czar became every day more formidable. He had assisted Augustus but feebly in Poland; but had made powerful diversions in Ingria. For his own part, he not only began to be a great soldier himself, but to teach the art of war to his Muscovites: discipline was established among his troops; he had good engineers, a useful artillery, a great many good officers, and knew the art of subsisting his armies. Some of his generals had learnt both how to fight well, or, according to the occasion, not to fight at all: besides, he had formed a fleet capable of making head against the Swedes in the Baltic Sea. By the help of all these advantages due to his own genius, and the absence of the king of Sweden, he took Narva by assault, on the 21st of August 1704, after a regular siege, and having prevented its being succoured either by sea or land. The soldiers, masters of the town, fell immediately to pillaging, and abandoned themselves to the most enormous barbarity. The czar ran on all sides to stop the disorder and massacre, and himself snatched women out of the hands of soldiers, who were going to cut their throats, after having violated them. He was forced to kill with his own hand some

Muscovites, who would not listen to his orders. They still shew in the town house of Narva, the table on which he laid his sword when he came in, and repeat the words which he addressed to the citizens who were assembled there. "It is not," said he, "with the blood of the inhabitants that this sword is stained, but of Muscovites, which I have shed to save your lives." The czar aspired to more than the destruction of towns. He was founding one at that time not far from Narva itself, in the midst of his new conquests. This was the city of Petersburg, which he afterwards made his residence, and the centre of his trade. It is situated between Finland and Ingria, in a marshy island, about which the Nieva divides itself in many branches, before it falls into the gulf of Finland. He drew himself the plan of the town, the fortress, the port, the quays which adorn it, and the forts that defend the entrance of it. This uncultivated and desert island, which was but a heap of dirt during the short summer of these climates, and in the winter a frozen pond, not to be approached by land, but across forests without paths, and deep morasses; and which was till then only the haunt of wolves and bears, was in the year 1703 filled with more than 300,000 men, whom the czar had gathered together from the extreme parts of his dominions. The peasants of the kingdom of Astracan, and those who inhabited the frontiers of China, were transported to Petersburg. He was obliged to pierce through forests to make roads, drain morasses, and raise moles, before he could lay the foundation of the city. Nature was every where forced. The czar was resolved to people a country which seemed unfit for men; neither the inundations, which ruined his works, the barrenness of the land, the ignorance of his workmen, nor the mortality by which he lost 200,000 men at the beginning, could change his resolution. It is difficult to foresee the duration of this colony; but posterity will be astonished at its being founded amidst so many obstacles, as nature, the genius of the people, and an unhappy war brought against it. Petersburg was already a city in 1705, and its port filled with vessels. The emperor drew foreigners thither by his beneficence, distributing lands to some, houses to others, and encouraging all the arts which came to civilize that savage climate. Above all, he rendered Petersburg inaccessible to the efforts of the enemy; the Swedish generals, who often beat his troops in every other place, could do no damage to this rising colony, which was in perfect tranquillity, notwithstanding the war that surrounded it. The czar, while he was thus creating new dominions for himself, always lent his hand to king Augustus, who had lost his; he persuaded him by general Patkul, who was lately come into the service of Muscovy, and at that time ambassador from the czar in Saxony, to come to Grodno, once more to confer with him upon the unhappy state of his affairs. King Augustus came thither with some troops, accompanied by general Shullembourg, who, by his passage over the Oder, was become famous in the north, and in whom he placed his last hopes. The czar arrived there, and caused an army of 100,000 men to march after him. The two monarchs made new plans for the war. King Augustus dethroned, no longer feared to irritate the Poles, by exposing their country to Muscovite troops. It was resolved that the army of the czar should divide itself into several bodies to stop the king of Sweden at every step. It was in the time of this interview that king Augustus insti-

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tuted the order of the White Eagle, a weak temptation to draw any of the Polish nobility to his side, who were desirous of more real advantages than a vain honour, which becomes ridiculous when bestowed by a prince who has only the name of a king. The conference of the two kings ended in a very extraordinary manner. The czar went away suddenly, and left his troops to his ally, that he might go himself to extinguish a rebellion that threatened him in Astracan. He was no sooner gone, than the other ordered Patkul to be put under an arrest at Dresden. All Europe were surprised, that he durst, contrary to the law of nations, and in appearance to his own interests, imprison the ambassador of the only prince who protected him. The secret spring of that event was this: Patkul, proscribed in Sweden for having maintained the liberties of Livonia, his country, had been general to Augustus; but his proud spirit agreeing ill with the haughtiness of count Fleming, the king's favourite, more imperious and hotter than himself, he had gone over to the service of the czar, whose general he was at that time, and ambassador to Augustus. He was a man of great penetration, and had discovered, that the views of count Fleming and the chancellor of Saxony were to propose peace to the king of Sweden at any rate. He immediately formed a design to prevent them, and procure an accommodation between the czar and Sweden. The chancellor discovered his project, and got his person secured. King Augustus told the czar, that Patkul was a traitor to them both. He was nevertheless only blameable in having served his new master too well; but a service not well timed is often punished as a piece of treachery. In the mean time the 100,000 Muscovites on one side, divided into several small bodies, burnt and ravaged the lands of the partisans of Stanislaus, and on the other, Shullembourg advanced with his new troops. The fortune of the Swedes dissipated those two armies in less than two months. Charles XII. and Stanislaus attacked the separate bodies of the Muscovites one after another so briskly, that one Muscovite general was beaten before he knew of the defeat of his companion. No obstacle could stop the conqueror; if there was a river between his enemies and him, Charles XII. and his Swedes swam over it. One party of Swedes took the baggage of Augustus, in which there were 200,000 crowns in silver: Stanislaus seized 800,000 ducats belonging to prince Menzikof the Muscovite general. Charles, at the head of his horse, often marched thirty leagues in twenty-four hours, every horseman leading another horse to mount when his own was tired. The Muscovites, terrified and reduced to a small number, fled in disorder beyond the Borvsthenes.

While Charles drove the Muscovites before him into the midst of Lithuania, Shullembourg at last repassed the Oder, and came at the head of 20,000 men to give battle to the grand marshal Renchild, who was esteemed the best general Charles XII. had, and was called the Parmenio of the northern Alexander. These two famous generals, who seemed to share in the destiny of their masters, met pretty near Punitz, in a place called Fravenstad, a country already fatal to the troops of Augustus. Renchild had but thirteen battalions, and twenty-two squadrons, which made in all about 10,000 men; and Shullembourg had as many again. It is to be observed, that he had in his army a body of six or seven thousand Muscovites, which had been long disciplined in Saxony, and might be looked upon as expe-

rienced men, who joined the Russian fierceness to the German discipline. The battle of Fravenstad was fought on the 12th of February 1706. But this same general Shullenbourg, who, with 4000 men, had in some manner deceived the fortune of the king of Sweden, sunk under that of general Renchild. The fight lasted not a quarter of an hour, the Saxons did not resist a moment, and the Muscovites threw down their arms as soon as they saw the Swedes; the terror was so sudden, and the disorder so great, that the conquerors found 7,000 muskets all charged, on the field of battle, which they had thrown on the ground without firing. Never was a quicker, completer, or more shameful defeat; and yet no general ever made so fine a disposition as Shullenbourg, by the confession of all the Saxon and Swedish officers, who saw in that day how little human prudence is mistress of events. Among the prisoners was found an entire regiment of French; these unhappy people had been taken by the Saxon troops in the year 1704, at the famous battle of Hocsted, so fatal to the grandeur of Lewis XIV. They afterwards went over into the service of king Augustus, who made them a regiment of dragoons, and gave the command of it to a Frenchman of the family of Joyeuse. The colonel was killed at the first, or rather the only charge of the Swedes, and the entire regiment were made prisoners of war. That very day the Frenchmen desired to serve Charles XII. and were received into his service by a singular destiny, which reserved them to change again their conqueror and master. As for the Muscovites, they begged their lives on their knees; but Renchild* caused them to be inhumanly massacred about six hours after the battle, to punish them for the violences of their countrymen, and get rid of a number of prisoners that he knew not what to do with. The king, in returning from Lithuania, heard of this new victory; but the satisfaction he received from it was troubled by a little jealousy; and he could not forbear saying, "Renchild will not compare himself with me any more." Augustus now saw himself without any refuge; Cracow was all that he had left, where he was shut up with the two regiments of Muscovites, two of Saxons, and some troops of the army of the crown, by whom he was even afraid he should be delivered to the conqueror: but his misfortunes were at the height, when he heard that Charles XII. was at length entered into Saxony, on the 1st of September 1706.

The diet of Ratisbon, which represents the empire, but whose resolutions are often as fruitless as they are solemn, declared the king of Sweden an enemy to the empire, if he passed beyond the Oder with his army; this even determined him to come the sooner into Germany. At his approach the villages were deserted, and the inhabitants flew on every side. Charles behaved then as at Copenhagen; he had it fixed up every where that he was only come to give peace, and that all those who would return to their houses, and pay the contributions he should order, should be used as his own subjects; but the others pursued without quarter. This declaration of a prince, who was known never to break his word, brought back in crowds

* M. de la Motraye says, that it was the king himself who ordered this; and that general Renchild, who never committed an action during the whole war, or even his whole life, which might be termed inhuman or cruel, did all that lay in his power to prevent it. Charles XII. he says, was not six leagues from Fravenstad, when he heard the news of the battle.

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all those who had been dispersed by their fear. He chose Arlanstad to encamp in, near the plains of Lutzen, the field of battle famous for the victory and death of Gustavus Adolphus; he went to see the place where that great man was killed; and when he was come upon the spot, "I have endeavoured," said he, "to live like him, perhaps God may one day allow me as glorious a death." From this camp he sent orders to the states of Saxony to assemble, and let him have, without delay, the registers of the revenues of the electorate. As soon as he had these things in his power, and was truly informed how much Saxony could supply, he taxed it with 625,000 rix-dollars a month. Besides this contribution, the Saxons were obliged to furnish every Swedish soldier with two pounds of meat, two pounds of bread, two pots of beer, and four-pence a-day, with forage for the horse. The contributions thus regulated, the king established a new method to secure the Saxons from the insults of his soldiers: he ordered in all the towns where he placed garrisons, that all landlords, with whom the soldiers lodged, should give certificates every month of their behaviour, without which no soldier should receive his pay. Inspectors went besides, every fifteen days from house to house, to enquire if the Swedes had committed any disorders; and if so, to make recompense to the landlords, and punish the offenders. It is known under what severe discipline the troops of Charles XII. lived; that they never plundered the towns taken by storm, till they had leave to do it; that they went even to plunder with order, and that they quitted it at the first signal. The Swedes boast to this day of the discipline observed in Saxony; and yet the Saxons complain of most terrible depredations committed by them; contradictions which it would be impossible to reconcile, if we did not consider how differently men look upon the same objects. It is not easy to suppose, but that the conquerors should sometimes abuse their power, or that the vanquished should not take the slightest damages for barbarous treatment. One day the king riding out near Leipsic, a Saxon peasant came and flung himself at his feet to demand justice on a grenadier, who had taken away from him what was designed for the dinner of his family. The king had the soldier sent for; "Is it true," said he, with an austere countenance, "that you have robbed this man?"—"Sir," said the soldier, "I have not done him so much wrong as your majesty has done his master; you have taken a kingdom from him, and I have taken from this clown only a turkey." The king gave the peasant ten ducats with his own hand, and pardoned the soldier for the boldness of his speech, saying to him, "Remember friend, if I have taken a kingdom from king Augustus, I have taken nothing for myself."

The great fair of Leipsic was kept as usual; the merchants came thither in perfect safety; there was not one Swedish soldier seen in the fair; it might have been said, that the king of Sweden's army was in Saxony only to preserve the peace. He commanded all over the electorate with a power as absolute, and a tranquillity as profound as at Stockholm. King Augustus wandering in Poland, deprived at once of his kingdom and his electorate, wrote at length, a letter with his own hand to Charles XII. to desire peace of him. He gave secret orders to baron D'Imhof to carry this letter jointly with M. Finsten, referendary of the privy council; they both had full powers, and a blank signed; "Go," said he to them, "and endeavour to

obtain reasonable and Christian conditions for me." He was reduced to the necessity of concealing his proceedings for a peace, and not to recur to the mediation of any prince; for being then in Poland, at the mercy of the Muscovites, he feared with reason, that the dangerous ally, whom he abandoned, would revenge himself upon him for his submission to the conqueror. His two plenipotentiaries arrived in the night-time, at the camp of Charles XII. and had a private audience. The king read the letter: "Gentlemen," said he, to the plenipotentiaries, "you shall have my answer in a moment." He retired immediately into his closet, and wrote as follows:

"I consent to give peace on the following conditions, which it must not be expected I will alter in any thing:—I. That king Augustus renounces the crown of Poland for ever; acknowledges Stanislaus for lawful king; and promises never to think of remounting the throne, even after the death of Stanislaus. II. That he renounces all other treaties, and particularly those he has made with Muscovy. III. That he sends back the princes Sobiesky with honour to my camp, and all the prisoners he has been able to take. IV. That he delivers up to me all the deserters who have gone into his service, and particularly John Patkul; and that he stops all proceedings against those who have come from his service to mine." He gave this paper to count Piper, charging him to negotiate the rest with the plenipotentiaries of king Augustus. They were terrified at the hardness of these propositions. They put in practice all the little art that can be employed where power is wanting, to endeavour to soften the rigour of the king of Sweden. They had several conferences with count Piper. This minister made no other answer to all their insinuations than "such is the will of my master, who never changes his resolutions." While this peace was privately negotiating in Saxony, fortune seemed to put it in the power of king Augustus to obtain one more honourable, and to treat with his conqueror on more equal terms. Prince Menzikof, generalissimo of the Muscovite armies, came with 30,000 men to find him in Poland, at a time when he not only did not hope for any assistance from them, but when he was even afraid of them; he had with him some Polish and Saxon troops, which made in the whole 6000 men. Being thus environed by this little body of Menzikof's army, he had every thing to fear if his negotiation should be discovered. He saw himself at the same time dethroned by his enemy, and in danger of being made a prisoner by his ally. In this critical conjuncture the army was got in sight of one of the Swedish generals named Meyerfeld, who was at the head of 10,000 men at Calish, near the palatinate of Posnania. Prince Menzikof pressed king Augustus to give him battle. The king, very much embarrassed, declined it on several pretences; for although the enemy had but a third part of their number, yet there were 4000 Swedes in the army of Meyerfeld; and that was enough to render the event doubtful. To give battle to the Swedes during the negotiations, and to lose it, was to sink him deeper in the abyss he was fallen into; he chose to send a person he could confide in to the general of the enemy, to let him partly into the secret of the peace, and to give him notice to retire; but this advice had an effect quite contrary to what was expected from it. General Meyerfeld believed that they had laid a snare to intimidate him; and upon that resolved to risk the battle. The Muscovites vanquished, that day, the Swedes in a

pitched battle for the first time. This victory which king Augustus gained, almost in spite of his own inclination, was complete; he entered triumphant, in the midst of his ill fortunes into Warsaw, formerly his capital, a town at that time dismantled and in ruins, ready to receive any conqueror, and to acknowledge the strongest for its king. He was tempted to lay hold of this moment of prosperity, and to go into Saxony to attack the king of Sweden, with the Muscovite army. But reflecting that Charles XII. was at the head of a Swedish army, hitherto invincible; that the Muscovites would abandon him, as soon as they heard of the treaty he had begun; that Saxony, his hereditary country, already drained of money and men, would be equally ravaged by Muscovites and Swedes; that the empire, employed in the war against France, could not assist him; and that he should be left without dominions, money, or friends; he thought himself obliged to submit to the law that the king of Sweden should impose upon him. This law was more hard, when Charles heard that king Augustus had attacked his troops during the negotiation. His anger, and the pleasure of humbling an enemy still more, who had just overcome him, made him more inflexible upon every article of the treaty. Thus the victory of king Augustus, served only to render his situation more unfortunate, which perhaps is what never happened to any one but himself. He had just caused *Te Deum* to be sung in Warsaw; when Finsten, one of his plenipotentiaries arrived from Saxony, with the treaty of peace, which took his crown from him. Augustus paused upon it, but signed it, and went for Saxony, with the vain hopes that his presence might mollify the king of Sweden, and that his enemy might remember the ancient alliances of their houses, and the blood that united them. These two princes saw one another the first time, at a place called Guntersdorf, in the quarters of count Piper, without any ceremony. Charles XII. was in jack-boots, having, instead of a cravat, a piece of black taffety round his neck, his habit as usual, was of coarse blue cloth, with brass buttons gilt. He had by his side a long sword, which had served him at the battle of Narva, upon the pommel of which he would often lean. The conversation turned only upon this strange sort of dress, and the jack-boots. Charles XII. told king Augustus, that he had not had them off for six years, only to go to bed. These trifles were the sole discourse of two kings, one of which had taken the crown from the other. Augustus especially talked with an air of complaisance and satisfaction, which princes, and men accustomed to great affairs, know how to put on in the midst of the most cruel mortifications. The two kings dined afterwards several times together. Charles affected always to give the right hand to king Augustus; but so far from giving up any of his demands, he made them still harder; he would have the king elector, not only send the jewels and archives of the crown to Stanislaus; but obliged him to write a letter to give him joy upon his accession. He insisted above all, that general Patkul, should be delivered up without delay. Augustus was therefore forced to write to his rival the following letter, dated Leipsic, April 18, 1707:

“SIR AND BROTHER,—As I ought to have regard to the requests of the king of Sweden, I cannot help wishing your majesty joy upon your accession to the crown, although perhaps the advantageous treaty, which the king of Sweden has concluded for your majesty, might have excused me

from this correspondence; nevertheless, I congratulate your majesty, praying to God, that your subjects may be more faithful to you, than they have been to me.

AUGUSTUS, King."

Stanislaus answered: "SIR AND BROTHER,—The correspondence of your majesty is a fresh obligation I have to the king of Sweden; I am sensible, as I ought, of the compliments you make me on my accession to the throne; I hope my subjects will have no room to fail in their duty to me, since I shall observe the laws of the kingdom.

STANISLAUS, King of Poland."

King Stanislaus came himself to Leipsic, where he one day met king Augustus; but these princes saluted one another without speaking. This was the greatest of the triumphs of Charles XII. to see two kings in his court, one of whom had been crowned, and the other dethroned by his arms.

Augustus was forced, himself, to order all the officers in the magistracy, to treat him no longer as king of Poland, and to erase from the public prayers, the title he had renounced. He had less concern at the enlargement of the Sobieskys, who refused to see him when they came out of prison: but the sacrifice of Patkul, was what gave him the deepest wound. On one side the czar loudly demanded him back, as his ambassador; on the other the king of Sweden threatened what he would do, if he was not delivered up to him. Patkul was then shut up in the castle of Konisting in Saxony. King Augustus thought he should be able to satisfy Charles XII. and his own honour at the same time. He sent guards to deliver this unhappy gentleman to the Swedish troops; but before-hand he gave private orders to the governor of Konisting to let his prisoner escape. The ill fortune of Patkul prevented the care that was taken to save him. The governor knowing that Patkul was very rich, would have made him buy his liberty. The prisoner, depending still on the law of nations, and informed of the intentions of king Augustus, refused to pay for what he thought he should have for nothing. During this interval the guards who were commanded to seize the prisoner arrived, and immediately delivered him to four Swedish captains, who carried him at once to the general quarters at Alranstad, where he remained three months tied to a post with a great iron chain; and from thence was carried to Casimir. Charles forgetting that Patkul was the czar's ambassador, and remembering only that he was born his subject, ordered the council of war to try him with the utmost rigour. He was condemned to be broke upon the wheel alive, and quartered. A chaplain came to let him know he was to die, without telling him the manner of his punishment. This man then, who had braved death in so many battles, finding himself alone with a priest, and his courage being no longer supported by glory, or anger, the only causes of man's intrepidity, shed a flood of tears upon the bosom of the chaplain. He was engaged to a Saxon lady, named madam D'Ensilden, a woman of birth, merit, and beauty, and whom he was to have married much about the time that he was delivered up to punishment. He desired the chaplain would go to her, to comfort her, and to assure her that he died full of the tenderest regards for her. When he was brought to the place of execution, and saw the wheel and stake, he fell into convulsions of terror, and flung himself into the arms of the minister, who embracing him, covered him

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with his cloak, and wept over him. Then a Swedish officer read, with a loud voice, a paper, in which were the following words: "Be it known, that it is the express order of his majesty, our most merciful Lord, that this man, who is a traitor to his country, be broke upon the wheel and quartered, for reparation of his crimes, and for an example to others; that every person may beware of treason, and serve his king faithfully." At these words "most merciful Lord,"—"What mercy!" said Patkul; and at those of "Traitor to his country,"—"Alas!" said he, "I have but too well served it." He received sixteen strokes, and endured the longest, and most dreadful torments that can be imagined. Thus perished the unfortunate John Reinold Patkul, ambassador and general of the emperor of Muscovy. Those who regarded him only as a subject who had rebelled against his king, said, that he deserved his death; those who considered him as a Livonian, born in a province which had privileges to defend, and who remembered that he was driven out of Livonia only for maintaining her rights, called him the martyr to the liberty of his country. It is agreed on all hands that the title of ambassador from the czar ought to have preserved his person inviolable. The king of Sweden only, who was brought up in the principles of despotic power, thought he had but done an act of justice, whilst all Europe condemned his cruelty.

His members, which were quartered, remained exposed upon stakes till the year 1743, when Augustus, being re-seated on the throne, ordered these testimonies of the necessity he had been reduced to at Alranstad, to be collected together; and they were brought in a box to him at Warsaw, in the presence of the French envoy. The king of Poland shewing the box to that minister, said only to him, "See there the members of Patkul," without adding any thing to condemn or pity his memory, or without any one who was present daring to say any thing on so delicate and sorrowful a subject. Charles used the same kind of treatment towards count Fleming, who was the favourite, and since first minister of king Augustus. Fleming was born in Swedish Pomerania, and, though from his infancy he had been attached to the elector of Saxony, Charles always looked upon him as his subject, and had a long time demanded to have him given up to him. Fleming, seeing his master not in a condition to refuse any thing, thought it was safest for him to retire into Prussia. From whence he wrote to king Stanislaus, with whom he had been intimate in Poland, to beg of him to prevail upon the king of Sweden to forbear his resentment against him. Stanislaus spoke of it with some warmth, and repeated his petition eight days after without being able to obtain any thing; at length he almost flung himself at the feet of Charles, who said to him, "Brother, you will have it so; I give you his life; but remember I tell you, you will one day repent of what you have done." And indeed Fleming did afterwards serve his master against king Stanislaus, a great deal beyond what he was forced to by his duty. About the same time, a Livonian named Paikel, who was an officer in the Saxon troops, and taken prisoner with arms in his hand, was condemned to death at Stockholm by a decree of the senate; but he was sentenced only to lose his head. This difference of punishment in the same case too plainly shewed, that Charles, in putting Patkul to so cruel a death, thought more of vengeance than justice. Be that as it may, Paikel, after his condemnation, pro-

posed to the senate to let the king into the secret of making gold if he would pardon him. He had an experiment made of his secret in prison, in the presence of Colonel Hamilton and the magistrates of the city; and whether he had in reality discovered this useful art, or whether he had only that of cunningly deceiving, which is most likely, they carried to the mint of Stockholm the gold which was found at the bottom of the crucible after the experiment was made: and gave in a report so formal to the senate, and which seemed of such importance, that the queen, grandmother of Charles, ordered the execution to be suspended till the king, informed of this extraordinary affair, should send his orders to Stockholm. The king answered, "That he had refused his friends to shew any favour to the criminal, and he would never grant that to interest which he would not give to friendship." This inflexibility had something heroical in it in a prince, who did not believe the secret impossible. King Augustus, being told of this, said, "I do not wonder that the king of Sweden has so much indifference for the philosopher's stone: he has found it in Saxony." When the czar of Muscovy heard of the strange peace that king Augustus, in spite of their treaties, had concluded at Alranstad, and that Patkul, his ambassador plenipotentiary, was delivered up to the king of Sweden in contempt of the law of nations, he sent his complaints to all the courts of Europe; he wrote to the emperor of Germany, the queen of England, and the states-general of the United Provinces; he called the melancholy necessity to which Augustus was obliged to submit, cowardice and perfidy; he conjured all these powers to interpose their mediation to oblige him to send back his ambassador, and to prevent the affront which was going to be offered, in his person, to all the crowned heads; he pressed them not to dishonour themselves so far as to give to the peace of Alranstad a guaranty which Charles XII. would force them to by threats. These letters had no other effect, than the better to shew the power of the king of Sweden. The emperor, England, and Holland, had, at that time, a destructive war to maintain against France; they did not think it convenient to irritate Charles XII. by the refusal of the vain ceremony of the guaranty of a treaty. With respect to the unfortunate Patkul, there was not one power interposed in his favour, which shews how little a subject ought to depend upon kings. It was proposed in the czar's council, to make reprisals on the Swedish officers who were prisoners at Moscow. The czar would not consent to a barbarity which might have had such fatal consequences: there were more Muscovite prisoners in Sweden, than there were Swedish in Muscovy. He sought a more advantageous revenge. The great army of his enemy lay in Saxony without employment; Levenhaup, the king of Sweden's general, who was left in Poland at the head of about 20,000 men, could not guard the passes in a country without fortresses, and full of factions. Stanislaus was in the camp of Charles XII. The Muscovite emperor seized on this conjuncture, and re-entered Poland with more than 60,000 men; he separates them into several bodies, and marches with a flying camp as far Leopold, where there was no Swedish garrison. All the towns of Poland are his, who comes before their gates with troops. He caused an assembly to be convoked at Leopold, something like that which dethroned Augustus at Warsaw.

Poland had then two primates, as well as two kings; one named by Aug-

gustus, the other by Stanislaus. The primate named by Augustus convoked the assembly at Leopold, whither came all those whom that prince had abandoned by the peace of Altranstad, and those whom the czar's money had brought over: it was proposed here to elect a new king, so that Poland was very near having three kings, without any one's being able to say which was the right. During the conferences at Leopold, the czar, united in interest with the emperor of Germany, by their common fear of the king of Sweden, got him privately to send him several German officers. These, day by day, considerably augmented his power, by bringing with them discipline and experience. He engaged them in his service by his liberality; and the better to encourage his own troops, he gave his picture, set with diamonds, to every general officer and colonel who had fought at the battle of Calish; subaltern officers had gold medals, and the common soldiers the like in silver. These monuments of the victory of Calish were all struck in his new city of Petersburg, where arts flourished in the same degree, as he learnt emulation and glory to his troops. The confusion, the number of factions, and continual ravages in Poland, prevented the diet of Leopold from coming to any resolution. The czar had it transferred to Lublin. Changing the place did not at all diminish the troubles and uncertainty which every body was in: the assembly were contented with acknowledging neither Augustus, who had abdicated, nor Stanislaus, elected against their will; but were neither united nor resolute enough to name another. During these useless deliberations, the party of the princes Sapieha, that of Oginsky, those who were secretly for king Augustus, and the new subjects of Stanislaus, made war upon one another, plundered each others estates, and finished the ruin of their country. The Swedish troops commanded by Levenhaup, one part of which were in Livonia, another in Lithuania, and another in Poland, sought every day for those of the Muscovites. They burnt every thing that belonged to the enemies of Stanislaus. The Muscovites ruined equally friend and foe; there was nothing to be seen but towns in ashes, and troops of wandering Poles despoiled of all they had, who hated alike their two kings, Charles XII. and the czar. King Stanislaus went from Altranstad the 15th of July, in the year 1707, with general Renchild, sixteen Swedish regiments, and a great deal of money to appease all these troubles in Poland, and get himself peaceably acknowledged. He was owned as king wherever he passed; the discipline of his troops, which made the people more sensible of the barbarity of the Muscovites, gained him their affections; and his extreme affability united to him almost every faction as far as he was known. His money procured him the greatest part of the army of the crown. The czar, fearing the want of provisions in a country which his troops had laid waste, retired into Lithuania, to the rendezvous of his army, and where he was to settle magazines. This retreat left Stanislaus the peaceable sovereign of almost all Poland. The only person who troubled him at that time in his dominions, was count Siniauský, grand general of the crown, nominated by king Augustus. This man, who had talents sufficient, and much ambition, was at the head of a third party: he acknowledged neither Augustus nor Stanislaus; and after having tried every way to get himself elected, he was contented to be at the head of a party; since he could not be king. The troops of the crown, which remained un-

der his command, had scarce any other pay, than the liberty of plundering their own country with impunity. All those who feared the damage they might do them, or had already suffered it, immediately yielded to Stanislaus, whose power was strengthened every day. The king of Sweden received at that time, in his camp at Alranstad, ambassadors from almost all the princes in Christendom. Some came to beseech him to quit the territories of the empire, others were desirous of having him turn his arms against the emperor; and there was even a report spread every where, that he would join with France to overwhelm the house of Austria. Among all these ambassadors, came the famous John duke of Marlborough, from Anne, queen of Great Britain. This man, who never besieged a town that he did not take, nor fought a battle that he did not gain, was at St. James's an adroit courtier, in parliament the head of a party, and in foreign countries the most able negotiator of the age he lived in. He had done as much mischief to France by his understanding, as by his arms. The secretary to the states-general, Fagel, a man of very great merit, has been heard to say, that the states-general having more than once resolved to oppose what the duke of Marlborough was to offer to them, the duke arrived, spoke to them in French, a language in which he expressed himself very ill, and persuaded them all to be of his opinion. He supported, with prince Eugene, the companion of his victories, and with Hensius, grand pensionary of Holland, all the weight of the enterprises of the allies against France. He knew that Charles was exasperated against the empire and emperor; that he was secretly solicited by the French; and that if this conqueror should embrace the interests of Lewis XIV. the allies would be oppressed.

It is true Charles had given his word, in the year 1700, not to meddle in the war of Lewis XIV. against the allies. But the duke of Marlborough thought there was no prince so much a slave to his word, as not to sacrifice it to his grandeur and his interest. He therefore went from the Hague with a design to sound the intentions of the king of Sweden. As soon as he arrived at Leipsic, where Charles was at that time, he addressed himself secretly, not to count Piper, the first minister, but to baron Goerts, who began to divide the king's favour with Piper. He told Goerts that it was the design of the allies very shortly to propose to the king of Sweden to be mediator a second time, between them and France. He spoke thus in hopes of discovering, by Goert's answer, the intentions of the king, and because he liked much better to have Charles for an arbitrator than an enemy; at last he had his public audience at Leipsic. At his first addressing the king, he told him, in French, he should think himself happy if he could learn, under his command, what he yet wanted to know of the art of war. Afterwards he had a private audience of an hour, in which the king spoke in German, and the duke in French. The last, who was never too eager in making propositions, and who had acquired, by a long habitude, the art of distinguishing men, and discovering the correspondence there is between their most secret thoughts and their actions, gestures, and discourse, looked attentively on the king while he talked of the war in general. He thought he perceived in Charles XII. a natural aversion for France, and observed, that he was pleased to talk of the conquests of the allies. He mentioned the czar to him, and saw the king's eyes always kindled at the name, notwithstanding

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the moderation of the conference. He, moreover, perceived a map of Muscovy on a table. He wanted nothing more to make him judge that the true design of the king of Sweden, and his only ambition, were to dethrone the czar after the king of Poland. He comprehended, that if this prince staid in Saxony, it was to impose some conditions a little hard upon the emperor of Germany. He knew very well the emperor could not resist him, and that, therefore, the business would be easily determined; he left Charles XII. to his natural inclination, and being satisfied with having penetrated his designs, made him no proposition. As few negotiations are concluded without money, and ministers are sometimes known to sell the hatred or favour of their masters, it was believed all over Europe, that the duke of Marlborough had not succeeded with the king of Sweden, if he had not given a large sum to count Piper; and the memory of that Swede is reflected on upon this account to this day. For my own part, who have gone as far back into the source of this report as was possible, I have learnt that count Piper received a moderate present from the emperor, by the hands of count Wratislau, with the consent of the king his master, and nothing from the duke of Marlborough. Moreover, count Piper, who was sensible that the proceedings of his king, if they proved unfortunate, might one day be imputed to him, sent to the senate of Sweden his advice sealed up, to be opened after his death. Which advice was, that Charles ought to confirm Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and accept, afterwards, of the mediation between France and the allies, before he went to engage himself in Muscovy. It is true that Piper might, at the same time, counsel his master to that dangerous expedition, and be willing to clear himself from the blame of it to posterity; but it is also certain, that Charles was inflexible in his design of dethroning the emperor of the Russians; that he then took advice of none; and that he had no need of being counselled by count Piper to take a revenge of Peter Alexiowitz, which he had so long sought after. Lastly, what completes the justification of this minister, is the honour bestowed, a long time after, on his memory by Charles XII. who hearing that Piper was dead in Russia, ordered his corpse to be transported to Stockholm, and buried in a most magnificent manner at his own expense.

The king, who had not yet been crossed, or even found any delay in his successes, thought one year would be sufficient to dethrone the czar, and that he might then return straitway and make himself arbitrator of Europe, but he was first willing to humble the emperor of Germany. Count Zobor, Chamberlain to the emperor, had said some things not very respectful of the king of Sweden, in the presence of the Swedish ambassador at Vienna; for which the emperor did justice, though with regret, by banishing the count. The king of Sweden was not satisfied with this, he would have had count Zobor delivered up to him. The pride of the court of Vienna was forced to bend, and put the count into the king's hands, who sent him back after he had kept him sometime prisoner at Stetin. He moreover demanded, contrary to all the laws of nations, that there should be delivered up to him fifteen hundred unfortunate Muscovites, who having escaped his arms, had fled into the territories of the empire. The court of Vienna was obliged again to consent to this strange demand; and, if the Muscovite envoy at Vienna had not artfully contrived to let these wretches escape by different

routes, they had been all delivered into the hands of their enemies. The third and last of his demands was the strongest. He declared himself the protector of the protestant subjects of the emperor in Silesia, a province not belonging to the empire, but to the house of Austria. He would have the emperor grant them some liberties and privileges, which had indeed been settled by the treaties of Westphalia, but were extinct, or at least eluded by those of Ryswick. The emperor, who sought only how to get rid of so dangerous a neighbour, complied again, and granted all he desired. The Lutherans in Silesia had above one hundred churches, that the Roman Catholics were obliged to deliver up to them by this treaty; but many of these concessions, which were secured to them by the king of Sweden's fortune, were torn from them as soon as he was not in a condition to impose laws*.

The emperor, who made these forced concessions, and who yielded in every thing to the will of Charles XII. was named Joseph; he was eldest son of Leopold, and brother to the wise emperor Charles VI. who afterwards succeeded him. The pope's nuncio, who resided at that time in the court of Joseph, made some very sharp reproaches to him, that a Roman Catholic emperor like him, should yield the interests of his own religion to that of heretics. "You are happy," answered the emperor smiling, "that the king of Sweden did not propose to make me a Lutheran, for, if he would have had it so, I do not know what I should have done." Count Wratislau, his ambassador to Charles XII. brought to Leipsic the treaty in favour of the Silesians, signed by his master's hand. Charles then said, that he was satisfied, and that he was the emperor's best friend. Nevertheless, he could not see without uneasiness, that Rome had thwarted him as much as possible. He looked with contempt upon the weakness of that court, which, having at present one half of Europe its irreconcilable enemy, is always in distrust of the other, and supports its credit only by the skilfulness of its negotiations; in the mean time he thought how to revenge himself upon it. He said to count Wratislau, that the Swedes had formerly subdued Rome, and were not now degenerated like that. He gave the pope to understand, that he would one day demand back the effects that queen Christina had left at Rome. It is not known to what length this young conqueror would have carried his resentments and his arms, if fortune had prospered his designs. Nothing seemed then impossible to him: he had even sent privately several officers into Asia, and as far as Egypt, to draw the plans of towns, and inform him of the strength of those dominions. It is certain, if any one could have overthrown the Persian and the Turkish empires, and then have passed into Italy, it was Charles XII. He was as young as Alexander, as much a warrior, and as enterprising; more indefatigable, more robust, and more virtuous; and the Swedes, perhaps, were better than the Macedonians; but the same projects which are looked upon as godlike when they succeed, are treated but as chimeras if they miscarry.

At length, all difficulties being removed, all his desires executed: after

* Monsieur de la Motraye says, that this treaty was not put in execution till the time that M. de Voltaire supposes the emperor to have broke through it, viz. not till after the battle of Pultowa; and says, that he himself saw, in the year 1726, as he passed through Silesia on his return from Russia, those protestants in possession of their churches, and enjoying the privileges and liberties they had recovered by it.

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having humbled the emperor, given law to the empire, protected the Lutheran religion in the midst of Roman Catholics, dethroned one king, crowned another; and seeing himself the terror of every prince, he prepared for his departure. The pleasures of Saxony, where he lay idle one year, had not any ways softened his manner of living. He got on horseback three times a day, rose at four in the morning, dressed himself alone, drank no wine, sat at table but a quarter of an hour, exercised his troops every day, and knew no other pleasure but that of making Europe tremble. The Swedes did not know whither the king would carry them; it was doubted only in the army, that Charles would go to Muscovy. He ordered, some days before his departure, the grand marshal of his household to give him in writing the rout from Leipsic. . . . he stopped a moment at that word, and, for fear the marshal should guess at his projects, he added smiling, "To all the capital cities of Europe." The marshal brought him a list of all these routs, at the head of which he had affected to put in great letters, "The rout from Leipsic to Stockholm." The greatest part of the Swedes desired nothing more than to return thither; but the king was very far from letting them see their own country. He said, "I see, Sir, whither you would carry me, but we shall not return to Stockholm so soon." The army was already on its march, and passed near Dresden. Charles was at their head, continually riding, according to custom, two or three hundred paces before his guards. They rode every way, but could not find him. The army took the alarm in the moment; they halted; the generals assembled; they were all in a consternation; but learnt at last of a Saxon who was passing by, where he was got to. He had a mind, as he passed so near Dresden, to pay a visit to king Augustus: he entered the city on horseback with three or four general officers, and went directly and alighted at the palace. He was got up into the apartment of the elector, before the news was spread of his being in the city. General Fleming having seen the king of Sweden at a distance, had but just time to run and acquaint his master of it. All that could be done on such an occasion, was already come into the imagination of the minister; he talked to Augustus about it; but Charles came, booted as he was, into the chamber, before Augustus even had time to recover from his surprise. He was sick at that time, and in his gown; but made haste to dress himself. Charles breakfasted with him as a traveller, who came to take leave of his friend; he afterwards would see the fortifications. During the little time that he spent in going over them, a Livonian, condemned in Sweden, who served in the Saxon troops, believing that a more favourable opportunity could never offer to obtain his pardon, conjured king Augustus to ask it of Charles, being well assured that the king would not refuse so slight a request to a prince whose crown he had just taken away, and in whose power he was at that instant. Augustus very readily undertook the affair, and being at some distance from the king of Sweden, he talked to Hord, a Swedish general, about it: "I believe," said he, smiling, "your master will not refuse me." "You do not know him," replied general Hord, "he will refuse you here sooner than anywhere else." Augustus did not, however, decline asking the king's pardon for the Livonian in very pressing terms. Charles refused him in such a manner that he did not ask him a second time. After having spent some hours in this strange visit, he

embraced king Augustus and went away. He found upon his rejoining the army, all his generals assembled in a council of war; he asked the reason of it; general Renschild told him, "They had determined to besiege Dresden if his majesty had been detained prisoner." "Good," said the king, "they durst not, they durst not." The next day, upon hearing that Augustus held an extraordinary council at Dresden, "You see," said Renschild, "they are deliberating to day upon what they ought to have done yesterday."

BOOK VI.

CHARLES at length took leave of Saxony, in September 1707, followed by an army of 43,000 men, formerly covered with steel, but then shining with gold and silver, and enriched with the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Each soldier carried away with him fifty crowns in ready money; all the regiments were not only complete, but there were in every company many supernumeraries, waiting for vacancies. Besides this army, count Levenhaupt, one of his best generals, staid for him in Poland with 20,000 men. He had moreover, another army of 15,000 men in Finland, and new recruits were coming to him from Sweden. With all these forces, it was not doubted but he would dethrone the czar. The emperor was at that time in Lithuania, employed in reanimating a party which king Augustus seemed to have renounced; his troops, that were divided into several bodies, fled every way at the first report of the king of Sweden. He had himself ordered all his generals never to wait for the conqueror with unequal forces. The king of Sweden, in the midst of his victorious marches, received a solemn embassy from the Turks. The ambassador had his audience in count Piper's quarters, for all ceremonies of state were always performed at that minister's; he supported the dignity of his master by his extraordinary magnificence, and the king, always worse lodged, worse served, and more plainly dressed than the meanest officer in his army, would say, that his palace was Piper's quarters. The Turkish ambassador presented Charles with a hundred Swedish soldiers, who, having been taken by the Calmucks and sold into Turkey, were redeemed by the grand seignior, and sent by that emperor to the king, as the most agreeable present he could make him: not that the Ottoman pride stooped to pay homage to the glory of Charles XII. but because the sultan, a natural enemy to the emperors of Muscovy and Germany, was willing to strengthen himself against them by the friendship of Sweden and the alliance of Poland. The ambassador complimented Stanislaus on his accession to the throne. Thus this king was acknowledged as such in a very little time by Germany, France, England, Spain, and Turkey. There was only the pope who was unwilling to acknowledge him, till time had confirmed that crown on his head, which one disgrace might have thrown off.

Charles had no sooner given audience to the ambassador from the Ottoman Porte, then he went in search of the Muscovites. The czar had gone out of Poland and returned into it about twenty times during the course of the war: this country being open on all sides, and having no strong places to cut off the retreat of an army, it left the Muscovites at liberty of ap-

pearing again often in the same place where they had been beaten; and of penetrating into the country as far as the conqueror. During Charles's stay in Saxony, the czar had advanced as far as Leopold, on the southern extremity of Poland. He was then towards the north at Grodno in Lithuania, a hundred leagues from Leopold. Charles left Stanislaus in Poland, who, assisted by 10,000 Swedes and his new subjects, was to preserve his kingdom from his enemies, both foreign and domestic; for his own part he put himself at the head of his cavalry, and marched towards Grodno in the midst of ice and snow, in the month of January 1708. He had already passed the Niemen about two leagues from the town, and the czar as yet, knew nothing of his march. Upon the first news of the Swedes' arrival, the czar went out at the north gate, and Charles entered the town at the South. The king had with him no more than six hundred guards, the rest not being able to follow him. The czar fled with above two thousand men, persuaded that a whole army was come into Grodno. He learnt the same day, by a Polish deserter, that he had quitted the place to six hundred men only, and that the main body of the enemy's army was still above five leagues distant. He lost no time, but detached fifteen hundred horse in the evening, to go and surprise the king of Sweden in the town. The fifteen hundred Muscovites arrived, favoured by the darkness of the night, as far as the first Swedish guard without being known. Thirty men composed this guard, who alone sustained for half a quarter of an hour, the effort of fifteen hundred. The king, who was at the other end of the town, presently came up with the rest of his six hundred guards. The Muscovites fled with precipitation. His army was not long without joining him, nor he long without pursuing the enemy. All the bodies of the Muscovite army dispersed in Lithuania, retired in haste on the eastern side, into the palatine of Minsky, near the frontiers of Muscovy, where was their rendezvous. The Swedes, whom the king also divided into several bodies, followed them without cessation above thirty leagues of the way: those who fled, and those who pursued, made very long marches almost every day, although it was in the midst of winter. All seasons of the year had for a long time been equal both to the soldiers of Charles and the czar. The terror only which the name of king Charles carried with it, made the difference between the Muscovites and the Swedes. From Grodno to the Borysthènes, towards the east, are nothing but morasses, deserts, mountains, and immense forests. In the places that are cultivated there was no provisions to be found; the country people had buried all their grain under ground, and whatever else could be preserved there. They were obliged to sound the earth with long poles, that had iron at the end of them, to find out these subterraneous magazines. The Muscovites and the Swedes made use of these provisions by turns; but they did not always find them, neither were they sufficient when they did. The king of Sweden, who foresaw these extremities, having ordered biscuit to be carried for the subsistence of his army, there was nothing to stop his march. After he had crossed the forest of Minsky, where he was obliged to cut down trees every moment to make a way for his troops and his baggage, he found himself on the 25th of June 1708, before the river Beresina, over against Borislow.

The czar had got together again the greatest part of his forces in this

place, where he had entrenched them to the best advantage. His design was to hinder the Swedes from passing the river. Charles posted some regiments on the banks of the Beresina, opposite to Borislow, as if he would attempt the passage in sight of the enemy. At the same time he went with his army three leagues higher towards the source of the river; there he had a bridge thrown over; passed through a body of 3000 men, who defended the post, and marched to the enemy's army without stopping. The Muscovites did not wait for him, but decamped, and retreated towards the Borysthenes, spoiling all the roads, and destroying every thing in their way, at least to retard the Swedes. Charles surmounted all obstacles, advancing still towards the Borysthenes. He met in his way, with 20,000 Muscovites entrenched in a place called Hollosin, behind a morass, which was not to be approached without crossing the river and morass. Charles did not wait for the arrival of the rest of his infantry to attack them; but flung himself into the water at the head of his foot-guards, and crossed the river and morass, with the water often times above his shoulders. While he went thus to the enemy, he ordered his cavalry to go round the morass to take them in flank. The Muscovites, astonished to find that no barrier could defend them, were routed at the same time by the king, who attacked them on foot, and by the Swedish horse. These horse, having made their way through the enemy, joined the king in the midst of the battle. He then mounted his horse; but some time after, finding a young Swedish gentleman, named Gullensteirn, whom he had a great value for, much wounded and unable to march, he forced him to take his horse, and continued to command on foot at the head of the infantry. Of all the battles he had fought, this was perhaps the most glorious; that in which he had been in the most danger; and in which he had shewn the most ability. The memory of it is preserved by a medal, with this inscription on one side, *Silvæ, paludes, aggeres, hostes victi*. And on the other, *Victoris copias alium laturos in orbem*. The Muscovites, chased every way, repassed the Borysthenes, which separates the dominions of Poland from their own country. Charles made no delay in pursuing them; he crossed this great river after them at Mohilow, the last town in Poland, which sometimes belongs to the Poles, and sometimes to the czar, the common fate of frontier places.

The czar, who then saw his empire, wherein he had just introduced arts and commerce, falling a prey to a war, capable of overturning in a very little time, all his great designs, and perhaps his throne, began to think of treating of a peace, and ventured some propositions by a Polish gentleman, who came to the Swedish army. Charles XII. accustomed only to grant peace to his enemies in their own capitals, answered plainly, "I will treat with the czar at Moscow." When this haughty answer was reported to the czar, "My brother Charles," said he, "will still act the Alexander; but I flatter myself he wont find a Darius in me." From Mohilow, the place where the king crossed the Borysthenes, if you go northward along this river, still on the frontiers of Poland and Muscovy, you will find, at about thirty leagues distance, the country of Smolensko, through which is the great road that goes from Poland to Moscow; the czar retreated this way, the king followed him by long marches. A part of the Muscovite rear-guard was more than once engaged with the dragoons of the Swedish van-guard.

The latter had almost always the advantage; but they weakened themselves instead of conquering, in the little skirmishes, which could decide nothing, and in which, they always lost a great many men. On the 22d of September, in the year 1708, they attacked near Smolensko, a body of 10,000 horse, and 6000 Kalmucs. These Kalmucs are Tartars who dwell between the kingdom of Astracan, a dominion of the czar, and that of Samarcande, a country of the Usbeck Tartars, the dominion of Timour, known by the name of Tamerlane. The country of the Kalmucs extends itself on the east as far as the mountains which separate the Mogul from the western Asia. Those who inhabit towards Astracan are tributary to the czar; he claims an absolute dominion over them; but their vagabond life hinders him from being master of it, and forces him to behave towards them, as the grand seignior does towards the Arabs, sometimes suffering their robberies, and sometimes punishing them. There are always some of these Kalmucs in the troops of Muscovy; and the czar had even disciplined these like the rest of his soldiers. The king fell upon this army, having with him no more than six regiments of horse and 4000 foot. He engaged the Muscovites first at the head of his regiment of Ostrogothia. The enemy retreated, the king advanced upon them through rough and uneven ways, where the Kalmucs were hid; they then appeared, and threw themselves between the regiment were the king fought, and the rest of the Swedish army. In an instant the Muscovites and Kalmucs encompassed this regiment, and pierced quite through to the king. They killed two aide-camps, who fought near his person. The king's horse was killed under him; an equerry presented another to him; but the equerry and horse were both struck dead at once. Charles fought on foot, surrounded by some officers who immediately ran to encompass him about. Several were taken, wounded, or killed, or carried to a distance from the king by the crowd that fell upon them; and there were only five men left about him. He was quite wearied with the fatigue; for he had killed more than a dozen of the enemy with his own hand, without receiving one single wound, by that inexpressible good fortune, which till then, had every where attended him, and upon which he constantly relied. At last a colonel named Dardorf, made his way through the Kalmucs with one company only of his regiment; he arrived time enough to disengage the king; and the rest of the Swedes put these Tartars to the sword. The army recovered its ranks; Charles got on horseback, and fatigued as he was, pursued the Muscovites for two leagues. The conqueror was still in the great road to the capital of Muscovy. From Smolensko, near which the battle was fought, to Moscow, is about one hundred French leagues; the roads were not in themselves worse than those through which the Swedes had already passed; but they were told that the czar had not only rendered all the roads impassable, either by laying under water those places which were near the marshes, by making deep ditches at proper distances, or by covering the ways with the forests which he had cut down; but that he had also burnt all the villages on the right and left. Winter approached; there was but a small appearance of making any speedy advances into the country, none of subsisting there; and all the Muscovite forces reunited, might come upon the king of Sweden through different ways which he was unacquainted with. Charles having reviewed his army,

and made them give an account of their provisions, saw that they had not enough for fifteen days. General Levenhaup, who was to have brought some, with a reinforcement of 15,000 men, was not come; he resolved therefore to quit the road to Moscow, and to turn to the south towards Ukrania, into the country of the Cossacks, situated between little Tartary, Poland, and Muscovy. This country is about one hundred leagues from south to north, and almost as many from east to west. It is divided into two, almost equal parts, by the Borysthenes, which crosses it in running from the north-west to the south-east; the principal town is Bathurin, upon the little river Sem. The most northern part of Ukrania is cultivated and rich: the most southern is one of the most fertile countries in the world, and the most desert; the bad government destroying there all that nature produces for the good of man. The inhabitants of these cantons, in the neighbourhood of Little Tartary, neither sow nor plant, because the Tartars of Bougiac, those of Precrop, and Moldavia, all robbers, may come and destroy their plains and harvests. Ukrania has always aspired to be free; but being surrounded by Muscovy, the dominions of the grand seignior, and Poland, she has been obliged to seek a protector, and consequently a master in one of those three states. She first put herself under the protection of Poland, who kept her under too much subjection; she then gave herself up to the Muscovite, who enslaved her as much as he was able. At first the Ukrainians enjoyed the privilege of choosing a prince under the name of general; but they were soon deprived of this right, and their general was named by the court of Moscow. The person who filled this place, at that time, was a Polish gentleman named Mazeppa, born in the palatine of Podolia. He was brought up as page to king John Casimir, and, in his court, had got some tincture of learning. An intrigue which he had in his youth, with the wife of a Polish gentleman being discovered, the husband had him whipped with rods, then tied him stark naked on a wild horse, and set him going in that condition. The horse, which was of the country of Ukrania, returned thither, and carried Mazeppa with him, half dead with fatigue and hunger. He was succoured by some country people, among whom he remained a long time, and signalized himself in several actions against the Tartars. The superiority of his understanding gave him a very great esteem among the Cossacks; his reputation increasing every day, obliged the czar to make him prince of Ukrania. One day being at table with the czar at Moscow, that emperor proposed to him to discipline the Cossacks, and render those people more dependent: Mazeppa answered, "that the situation of Ukrania, and the genius of that nation were insurmountable obstacles to it;" the czar, who began to be heated with wine, and who could not at all times command his passion, called him traitor, and threatened to have him impaled. Mazeppa at his return into Ukrania, formed the project of a revolt; the Swedish army, which appeared soon after on the frontiers, gave him an opportunity to facilitate the means of it; he resolved to be independent, and to form a powerful kingdom for himself of Ukrania and the ruins of the Russian empire. He was a man of great courage, enterprising, and of indefatigable labour: he privately leagued with the king of Sweden to hasten the fall of the czar, that he might answer his own ends by it. The king fixed the rendezvous near the river Desna, where Mazeppa

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promised to meet him with 30,000 men, ammunition, provisions, and his treasures, which were immense. The Swedish army marched therefore to that side, to the great astonishment of all the officers, who knew nothing of this treaty of the king with the Cossacks. Charles sent orders to Levenhaup to bring his troops and provisions with all expedition into Ukrania, where he designed to pass the winter, to the end, that having secured that country to himself, he might conquer Muscovy in the spring following; and in the mean while advanced towards the river Desna, which falls into the Borysthenes at Kiow. The obstacles which he had hitherto met in his rout were very slight, in comparison with those he found in this new way. There was a forest of fifty leagues to be crossed, which was full of marshes. General Lagercron, who marched before with 5000 men, and pioneers, wandered with the army above thirty leagues out of the true road. After four days march, the king found Lagercron's mistake, and got, with difficulty, into the right way; but almost all their artillery, and all their waggons were set fast, or swallowed up in the mud. At last, after so painful a march for twelve days, in which the Swedes had consumed the little biscuit they had left, this army, quite spent with weariness and hunger, arrived upon the banks of the Desna, in the place where Mazeppa had appointed to meet them; but, instead of finding that prince, they saw a body of Muscovites advancing to the other side of the river. The king was surprised, but resolved immediately to pass the Desna, and attack the enemy. The banks of this river were so steep, that they were forced to let the soldiers down with ropes. They crossed the river after their usual manner, some on floats easily made, and others by swimming. The body of Muscovites, who arrived at the same time, were not above 8000 men, who resisted not long; and this obstacle was also surmounted. Charles advanced into this dismal country, certain neither of his road, nor of the fidelity of Mazeppa; this Cossack appeared, at length, but rather like a fugitive than a powerful ally. The Muscovites had discovered and prevented his designs; they had fallen upon the Cossacks, whom they cut to pieces, his principal friends were taken sword in hand, and thirty of them broke upon the wheel. His towns were reduced to ashes, his treasures plundered, the provisions which he prepared for the king of Sweden seized; and it was with difficulty that he escaped himself with six thousand men, and some horses laden with gold and silver. Nevertheless, he brought the king hopes of supporting him, by his intelligence, in this unknown country, and the affection of all the Cossacks, who, enraged against the Muscovites, came in troops to the camp, and brought means to subsist it. Charles hoped, at least, that his general Lavenhaup would come to repair this ill fortune. He was to bring 15,000 Swedes, which were worth more than 100,000 Cossacks, and with them ammunition and provisions; but when he arrived, it was almost in the same condition with Mazeppa. He had already passed the Borysthenes above Mohilow, and advanced twenty leagues farther on the road to Ukrania. He brought the king a convoy of 8000 waggons, with money which he raised in Lithuania, and upon his march. When he was coming towards Lesno, near the place where the rivers Pronia and Sossa join, to empty themselves, a good deal lower, into the Borysthenes, the czar appeared at the head of 50,000 men. The Swedish general, who had not 16,000 men complete,

would not intrench himself. So many victories had given such confidence to the Swedes, that they never inquired after the number of the enemy, but only after the place where they were. Levenhaup therefore marched against them, without pausing, on the 7th of October 1708, in the afternoon. At the first charge they killed 1500 Muscovites. The czar's army was put into confusion, and fled on every side. The emperor of Russia saw the instant in which he was going to be entirely defeated. He perceived that the safety of his dominions depended on the success of that day, and that he must be lost if Levenhaup joined the king of Sweden with a victorious army. As soon as he saw his troops began to give way, he ran to the rear-guard, where were the Cossacks and Kalmucs, "I command you," said he, "to fire on every man who shall attempt to run away, and to kill even myself if I should be so cowardly as to fly." From thence he returned to the van-guard, and rallied his troops, assisted by prince Menzikof and prince Gallitsin. Levenhaup, who had pressing orders to join his master, chose to continue his march rather than renew the battle, thinking he had done enough to prevent the enemy's pursuing him. The next morning at eleven o'clock the czar attacked him at the entrance of a morass, and extended his army that he might surround him. The Swedes every where faced about, and the battle continued for two hours with equal resolution on either side. The Muscovites lost three times the number of men; but no one gave ground, and the victory was undecided. At four o'clock general Baur brought the czar a reinforcement of troops. The battle was then renewed for the third time with more fury and slaughter than before; it lasted till night; at last, it was carried by numbers: the Swedes were broken, routed and driven as far as their baggage. Levenhaup rallied his troops behind his waggons; the Swedes were conquered but did not fly. There was about 9000 men, not one of which went away; the general drew them up in order of battle as easily as if they had not been vanquished. The czar on the other side, was all night under arms; and forbade his officers, on pain of being broken, and his soldiers, on pain of death, to go out of their ranks to plunder. The next day, as soon as it was light, he ordered a new attack. Levenhaup was retired some miles to a more advantageous place, after having spiked part of his cannon, and set fire to his waggons. The Muscovites arrived soon enough to prevent the whole convoy being consumed in the flames, and seized upwards of 6000 waggons, which they saved. The czar, who was anxious to finish the defeat of the Swedes, sent one of his generals named Flug, to attack them the fifth time; this general offered them an honourable capitulation; but Levenhaup refused it, and ventured a fifth battle as bloody as any of the former. Of 9000 soldiers, he then had, he lost one half, the other could not be broken. At length, the night coming on, Lavenhaup, after having maintained five battles against 50,000 men, swam over the Sossa followed by the 5000 men he had left, the wounded were carried over on floats. The czar lost above 20,000 men in these five battles, in which, he had the glory of overcoming the Swedes; and Levenhaup, that of disputing the victory for three days, and to retire without being broken in his last post. He came to his master's camp with the honour of having so well defended himself, though he brought with him neither ammunition nor army.

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King Stanislaus would have been glad to have joined Charles at the same time; but the Muscovites, the conquerors of Levenhaup, would have cut him off in his way, and Sinlauský employed him in Poland. The king of Sweden thus found himself, without any provisions, without any communication with Poland, encompassed by enemies, and in the midst of a country where he had scarce any refuge but his courage. In this extremity, the memorable winter of 1709, more terrible on these frontiers of Europe than elsewhere, destroyed a part of his army. Charles would brave the seasons as he had done his enemies, and made long marches with his troops during this excessive cold weather. It was in one of these marches that 2000 men fell down dead with the cold almost before his eyes. The horsemen's boots were quite worn out, and the foot were without shoes, and almost without clothes. They were reduced to make stockings of the skins of beasts as well as they could, and often times they wanted bread. They were forced to throw almost all their cannon into bogs and rivers, for want of horses to draw them. This army, so flourishing before, was reduced to 24,000 men, ready to perish with hunger. They heard no longer from Sweden, nor were able to send thither; in this condition, an officer making complaint, "What," said the king, "you are uneasy that you are so far from your wife! If you are a true soldier, I will carry you so far that you can scarce hear from Sweden above once in three years." A soldier murmuring one day, had the boldness to present to him, in the sight of the whole army, a piece of bread black and mouldy, made of barley and oats, which was the only nourishment they had at that time, nor even enough of that: the king took the bread without any emotion, eat it up, and said afterwards very coolly to the soldier, "It is not good, yet it may be eaten." This turn, as little as it was, if any thing that increases respect and confidence may be called little, contributed more than all the rest to support the Swedish army under extremities which would have been intolerable with any other general. In this situation he at length received news from Stockholm; but it was only that of the death of the dutchess of Holstein his Sister, who was taken off by the small-pox in the month of December 1708, in the 27th year of her age. She was a princess as mild and compassionate as her brother was imperious in his desires, and implacable in his revenge. He always had a great affection for her, and was the more afflicted for her loss, as he was just then beginning to feel misfortunes himself, and therefore the more sensible of them. He learnt also that they had raised troops and money according to his orders; but nothing could be sent so far as his camp; because, between that and Stockholm, there were five hundred leagues to cross over, and enemies superior in number to contend with. The czar, as active as the king of Sweden, after having sent fresh troops to succour the confederates in Poland, reunited against Stanislaus under general Siniauski, advanced presently into Ukrania, in the midst of this hard winter, to make head against the king of Sweden. There he continued with the policy of weakening his enemy by small engagements, judging very well that the Swedish army must entirely perish in length of time, since it could not be recruited, whilst he could draw fresh forces every moment out of his own dominions. The cold must have been excessively great, since the two enemies were constrained to agree to a suspension of arms. But on the 1st of February they began to

engage again in the midst of ice and snow. After several little skirmishes, and some disadvantages, the king saw, in the month of April, that he had but 18,000 Swedes left, Mazeppa alone, that prince of the Cossacks, subsisted them; without whose succour the army must have perished with hunger and want. The czar in this conjuncture, made proposals to Mazeppa to draw him again under his dominions; but the Cossack was faithful to his new ally. I will not pretend to determine whether the fear of the dreadful punishment of the wheel by which his friends were destroyed, had kept him so, or whether it was out of a desire of revenge.

Charles, with his 18,000 Swedes and as many Cossacks, had given over neither his design, nor hopes of penetrating as far as Moscow. He went towards the end of May to invest Pultowa, upon the river Vorskla, on the eastern extremity of Ukrania, three long leagues from the Boryshenes, in which place the czar had made a magazine. If the king took it, it would have opened to him the road to Moscow, and he might at least have waited, in an abundance of every thing, till the supplies he still expected from Sweden, Livonia, Pomerania, and Poland, came to him. His only refuge being therefore in taking Pultowa, he carried on the siege with vigour. Mazeppa, who had intelligence in the town, assured him that he would soon be master of it. Some hope began to revive in the army, and the soldiers looked upon the taking of Pultowa as the end of all their miseries. The king perceived, from the beginning of the siege, that he had taught his enemies the art of war. Prince Menzikof, in spite of all his precaution, flung succours into the town; and the garrison by that means was nearly 10,000 strong. The king continued the siege with still more vigour: he carried the advanced works, gave two assaults even to the body of the place, and took the courtain. The siege was in this condition when the king, having advanced on horseback to reconnoitre some of the works, received a shot of a carbine, which pierced his boot and broke the bone of his heel. There was not the least change in his countenance to be observed, by which it might be suspected that he was wounded. He continued to give his orders calmly, and remained near six hours on horseback. One of his domestics perceiving the sole of his boot bloody, ran to fetch the surgeons: and his pain began to be then so sharp, that they were forced to help him off his horse and carry him into his tent. The surgeons viewed his wound, where a gangrene* being al-

* M. de la Motraye says, "This gangrene was not begun till the king came to Bender, and that Mr. Newman was not able to make him sensible of his danger, or get him to let him dress his wound, during their hard march from Pultowa to Bender, where he told him, if he would not let him dress it, he would infallibly lose his leg; and added, that his majesty would never perhaps be able to mount his horse more. Upon this the king presenting him his boot to draw off, said to him, "See, fall to work." Newman, finding the wound worse than he expected, changed colour; and the king observing his surprise, asked him what was the matter; and on the information this surgeon gave him, that a mortification was begun, and that he desired another surgeon's assistance, with the advice of a physician; "Why," said the king, "dout you know what is to be done?"—"Yes, Sir," replied Newman, "but I dare not proceed farther, without the assistance I have asked; for I must not treat your majesty as I would a common dragoon." The king was uncommonly angry at this expression, repeating these words several times, "I expect you should have the same regard to the meanest soldier in my service, as to myself." Then Newman did as he was bid, without replying a word. That able surgeon having the most patient person in the world to deal with, made use of his instruments and caustics so opportunely, that having

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ready begun, they were of opinion that his leg was to be cut off. The consternation of the army was inexpressible. A surgeon named Newman, more skilful and more courageous than the rest, affirmed, that by making deep incisions he could save the king's leg. "To work then presently," said the king, "cut boldly, and fear nothing!" He held his leg himself with his two hands, looking on the incisions that were made as if the operation had been making on another. At the same time that his wound was dressing, he gave orders for an assault the next day, but he had hardly given them, when word was brought him that the czar appeared with an army of more than 70,000 men: he was then obliged to take another resolution. Charles, wounded and incapable to act, saw himself shut up between the Borysthènes and the river which runs to Pultowa, in a desert country, without places of safety, and without ammunition, opposed to an army which cut off his retreat and his provisions. In this extremity he called no council of war, as so many accounts have given out; but in the night between the 7th and 8th of July, he sent for the Velt-marshal Renschild into his tent, and ordered him without deliberation, and without any uneasiness, to have all things ready to attack the czar the next day. Renschild did not dispute, but went out to obey him. At the door of the king's tent he met count Piper, with whom he had been at variance for a long time, as it often happens between the minister and the general. Piper asked him if he had no news? "No," said the general coldly, and went on to give his orders. As soon as Piper came into the tent, "Has Renschild told you any thing?" said the king. "Nothing," answered Piper; "Well, I will tell you then," replied the king—"To-morrow we give battle." Count Piper was amazed at so desperate a resolution, but knowing very well that there was no altering his master's opinion, he shewed his amazement only by his silence, and let Charles sleep till break of day. It was on the 8th of July, in the year 1709, that the decisive battle of Pultowa was fought, between the two most famous monarchs at that time in the world: Charles XII. illustrious through nine victorious years; Peter Alexiowitz, through nine years labour in forming troops equal to those of Sweden: one glorious for having disposed of dominions; the other for civilizing his own: Charles, loving dangers, and fighting only for glory; Alexiowitz, not flying from danger, but making war only for his interest: the Swedish monarch, liberal through a greatness of soul; the Muscovite never giving any thing but with some view: that, of a sobriety and continency without example, of a natural magnanimity, and never cruel but once; this, not having got quite rid of the rudeness of his education and his country, was as much dreaded by his subjects as admired by strangers, and too much given to excess, which even shortened his days. Charles had the title of Invincible, which might be taken from him in a moment; the nations around him had already given Peter Alexiowitz the name of Great, which one defeat could not take from him, because he owed it not to victories.

To have a clear idea of this battle, and the place where it was fought, we

taken out a little bone already rotten, his majesty found himself in a capacity to walk in the middle of August. The bone was sent to the princess Ulrica Eleonora, the king's sister, who was afterwards elected queen of Sweden, which she put herself, with a torrent of tears running from her eyes, into the coffin, when his body was brought embalmed from Norway to Stockholm.

must suppose Pultowa on the north, the king of Sweden's camp on the south, drawing a little towards the east, his baggage about a mile behind him, and the river of Pultowa on the north of the town, running from east to west. The czar had passed the river about a league from Pultowa on the western side, and had begun to form his camp. At break of day the Swedes appeared out of their trenches, with four iron cannons for their whole artillery; the rest were left in the camp, with about 3000 men: 4000 remained with the baggage; so that the Swedish army marched against the enemy with about 25,000 men, of which there were not above 12,000 regular troops. The generals Renschild, Field, Levenhau, Slipenback, Horn, Sparre, Hamilton, the prince of Wirtemberg, a relation to the king, and some others, who had most of them seen the battle of Narva, put all the subaltern officers in mind of that day, when 8000 Swedes destroyed 100,000 Muscovites in an intrenched camp; the officers said the same thing to the soldiers, all encouraging one another in their march. The king conducted the march, carried in a litter at the head of his infantry. A party of his horse advanced by his order to attack that of the enemy; the battle began with this engagement at half past four in the morning; the enemy's cavalry lay westward, on the right of the Muscovite camp; prince Menzikof and count Gallowin had disposed them in intervals between redoubts fortified with cannon. General Slipenback, at the head of the Swedes, fell upon them. All who have served in the Swedish troops, know that it is almost impossible to resist the fury of their first shock. The Muscovite squadrons were broken and routed. The czar himself ran to rally them, and had a musket ball shot through his hat; Menzikof had three horses killed under him; the Swedes cried out victory! Charles did not doubt but the battle was gained; he had sent general Creuts at midnight with 5000 horse or dragoons, who were to take the enemy in flank while he attacked them in front; but Creuts unfortunately went out of the way and did not appear. The czar, who thought himself lost, had time to rally his horse. He fell, in his turn, upon that of the king, which not being supported by the detachment of Creuts was likewise broken. Slipenback himself was taken prisoner in this engagement. At the same time seventy-two pieces of cannon fired from the camp upon the Swedish horse, and the Russian foot opening from their lines came to attack that of Charles. The czar by a presence of mind, and a penetration, which, in such moments only belong to truly great men, detached prince Menzikof to post himself between Pultowa and the Swedes; prince Menzikof executed with ability and readiness his master's order; he not only cut off the communication between the Swedish army, and the troops that remained in the camp before Pultowa, but meeting with a corps de reserve of 3000 men, he surrounded and cut them in pieces. In the mean time the Muscovite foot came out of their lines, and advanced in battalia into the plain. On the other side the Swedish horse rallied within a quarter of a league of the enemy's army; and the king, assisted by his Velt-marshal Renschild, ordered all things for a general battle. He ranged in two lines what troops he had left; his foot were in the centre, his horse made the two wings. The czar disposed his army in the same manner; he had the advantage of numbers, and that of seventy-two pieces of cannon, while the Swedes could oppose him only with but

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four, and already began to want powder. The Muscovite emperor was in the centre of his army, having then only the rank of major-general, and seemed to obey general Cseremetoff. But he went as emperor from rank to rank mounted on a Turkish horse, which was a present from the grand seignior, exhorting the captains and soldiers, and promising rewards to each of them. Charles did all he could to get on horseback at the head of his troops, but not being able to sit without great pain, he was again put into his litter, holding his sword in one hand and a pistol in the other. At nine in the morning the battle was renewed; one of the first discharges of the Muscovite cannon carried away both horses of his litter; he ordered two more to be put to it: a second discharge tore the litter to pieces and overturned the king. The troops that fought near him thought he was slain. The Swedes, in a consternation, gave way, and their powder failing, and the enemy's cannon continuing to molest them, the first line fell back upon the second, and the second fled. In this last action, one line of the Muscovite foot only, of 10,000 men, routed the Swedish army; so much were things changed. The king, carried upon pikes by four grenadiers, covered with blood and all over bruised with his fall, hardly able to speak, cried out, Swedes! Swedes! Anger and grief giving him fresh strength, he tried to rally some regiments. The Muscovites pursued them with swords, bayonets, and pikes. The prince of Wirtemberg, general Renschild, Hamilton, and Stakelberg, were already taken prisoners; the camp before Pultowa forced, and all in confusion, which was not to be remedied. Count Piper, with all the officers of the chancery, were come out of the camp, and knew neither what they were to do, nor what was become of the king; they ran from one side of the plain to the other. A major named Bere offered to conduct them to the baggage, but the clouds of dust and smoke which covered the field, and the hurry of spirits, which is natural in a time of such desolation, carried them directly to the counterscarp of the town, where they were taken by the garrison. The king would not fly, and could not defend himself; he had by him at that instant, general Poniatowsky, a colonel of the Swedish guards of king Stanislaus, a man of uncommon merit, whose attachment to Charles's person had engaged him to follow him into Ukrania without any command. He was one, who, in all the occurrences of his life, and in dangers, where others have at most but valour, took such measures as were always successful. He made a sign to a young Swede named Frederick, first valet de chambre to the king, and a man as intrepid as his master; they took the king under the arms, and assisted by a Drabant, who came up to them, set him on horseback, notwithstanding the extreme pain of his wound. Frederick rode near his master, and supported him from time to time.

Poniatowsky, although he had no command in the army, became on this occasion a general by necessity, and rallied five hundred horse near the king's person; some were Drabants, some officers, and others only common troopers. This troop, reassembled and reanimated by the misfortune of their prince, made their way through above ten Muscovite regiments, and conducted Charles through the midst of the enemy for the space of a league to the baggage of the Swedish army.

This was a most surprising retreat in so great distress; but he was obliged to fly farther; among the baggage they had found count Piper's coach,

for the king never had one after he left Stockholm. They put him into that, and took, with allspeed, the road to the Borysthenes. The king who, from the moment they set him on horseback till he came to the baggage, had not spoken one word, asked them what was become of count Piper. "He is taken with all the chancery," they answered him; "and General Renschild, and the duke of Wittemberg?" added he—"They are also prisoners," said Poniatowsky to him. "Prisoners among the Muscovites!" replied Charles, shrugging his shoulders; "Come on then, let us rather go among the Turks. There was not, however, the least change to be observed in his countenance; and whosoever had seen him at that time, and been ignorant of his condition, would not have suspected him to be conquered or wounded. Whilst he was removing, the Muscovites seized his artillery in his camp before Pultowa, his baggage, and his military chest, in which they found six millions in specie, the spoils of Poland and Saxony. Near 9000 Swedes were killed in the battle, about 6000 were taken, 3 or 4000 ran away, who have never been heard of since. There still remained near 18,000 men, Swedes, Poles, and Cossacks, who fled towards the Borysthenes, under the conduct of general Levenhaup. He marched on one side with these fugitive troops; the king went by another road with some horsemen. The coach in which he was broke down in his march, and he was set on horseback again. To complete his distress, he wandered about all night in a wood; and there, his courage not being able longer to supply his exhausted spirits, the pain of his wound becoming insupportable by the fatigue, and his horse falling under him with weariness, he lay for some hours at the foot of a tree, in danger every moment of being surprised by the conquerors, who searched for him every way.

At length, on the 9th of July, at night, he found himself on the banks the Borysthenes, and Levenhaup was come up with the remnant of his army. The Swedes, with joy mixt with sorrow, saw again their king, whom they thought dead. The enemy approached, and they had no bridge to cross the river, nor time to make any; nor powder to defend themselves against the enemy, who advanced towards them; nor provisions to keep the army from starving, who had eat nothing all day; but the greatest uneasiness of the Swedes was the danger of their king. By good luck, he still had a very ordinary calash left, that had been brought through all difficulties to that place; it was put on board a little boat, the king and general Mazeppa went over in another. The last had saved several chests full of money; but the stream being too rapid, and a violent wind beginning to blow, he threw three fourths of his treasure into the river, to lighten the boat. Mullern the king's chancellor, and count Poniatowsky, a man more than ever necessary to the king, from those ready turns which his great genius always supplied him in times of difficulty, crossed with some officers in other barks. Three hundred of the king's horse guards, and a great number of Poles and Cossacks, trusting to the goodness of their horses, ventured to swim over the river; their troop, keeping close together, resisted the stream and broke the waves; but all those who went a little lower were carried away and swallowed up by the tide. Of all the foot that ran the risk of the passage, not one got to other the side. While the remains of the army were in this extremity, prince Menzikof came up with 10,000 horse, each having a foot

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soldier behind him. The carcasses of the Swedes dead in the road, of their wounds, their fatigues, and of hunger, shewed prince Menzikof well enough the rout that the gross of the army had taken. The prince sent a trumpet to the Swedish general to offer him a capitulation. Four general officers were immediately sent to receive the law of the conqueror. Before this day 16,000 of Charles's soldiers would have attacked all the forces of the Muscovite empire, and perished to the last man before they would have yielded; but after a battle lost, and having fled for two days together, without seeing their prince, who was obliged to fly himself, the strength of each soldier being spent, and their courage not kept up by any hope, the love of life got the better of their intrepidity. The whole army were made prisoners of war. Some soldiers out of despair, and dreading to fall into the hands of the Muscovites, flung themselves into the Borysthenes, the rest were made slaves. They drew off in the presence of prince Menzikof, laying their arms at his feet, as 30,000 Muscovites had done nine years before, in the presence of the king of Sweden at Narva; but with this difference, that the king sent back at that time, all the Muscovite prisoners, whom he did not fear, but the czar kept all the Swedes taken at Pultowa. The unhappy men were afterwards dispersed in the czar's dominions, particularly in Siberia, a vast province of Great Tartary, which on the eastern side, extends as far as the Chinese empire. In this barbarous country, where even the use of bread was unknown, the Swedes grew ingenious by necessity, and exercised there the trades and arts that they had any notion of. All distinctions which fortune makes among men were at that time banished. The officer, who knew no trade, was to cleave and carry wood for the soldier, who was become a tailor, draper, joiner, mason, or smith, and could get wherewithal to subsist. Some officers became painters, and others architects. There were some taught languages and mathematics; and even established public schools, which in time were so useful and so well known, that children were sent thither from Moscow to be educated. Count Piper, the king of Sweden's first minister, was for a long time shut up in Petersburg. The czar was persuaded, with the rest of Europe, that this minister, had sold his master to the duke of Marlborough, and drawn upon Muscovy the arms of Sweden, which might have given peace to Europe; and this made his captivity the harder. This minister died a few years after at Moscow, but little succoured by his family, who lived at Stockholm in opulence, and uselessly lamented by his king, who would never stoop to offer a ransom for his minister, which he feared the czar would not accept; for there was never any cartel of exchange between Charles and the czar.

The Muscovite emperor, filled with a joy that he was under no pain to dissemble, received, upon the field of battle, the prisoners who were brought to him in crowds, and asked every moment, "Where then is my brother Charles?" He did the Swedish generals the honour to invite them to his table. Among other questions, he asked general Renschild, "what were the number of his master's troops before the battle?" Renschild answered, "That the king only kept the list, which he never communicated to any one; but he believed the whole might amount to about 35,000 men; 18,000 thousand of which were Swedes, and the rest Cossacks. The czar seemed surprised, and asked, "how they durst venture to penetrate into so

remote a country, and besiege Pultowa with such a handful of men?" "We were not always consulted," replied the Swedish general; "but, as faithful servants, we always obeyed our master's orders without contradiction." The czar upon this answer turned towards some of his courtiers, who had been formerly suspected of entering into a conspiracy against him; "Ah," said he, "see how a sovereign ought to be served." Then taking a glass of wine, he drank to the health of his masters in the art of war. Renschild asked him "who those were that he honoured with so great a title." "You, Gentlemen, the Swedish generals," replied the czar. "Your majesty is very ungrateful then," said the count, "to treat your masters so ill." The czar, after dinner, ordered their swords to be restored to all the general officers, and treated them as a prince, who would give lessons to his subjects of that generosity and politeness he was so well acquainted with. Nevertheless, that Swedish army which went so triumphantly out of Saxony was no more. Half of it had perished through want; and the rest either enslaved or massacred. Charles XII. had lost in one day the fruit of nine years labour, and of near a hundred battles. He fled in an old calash, having major-general Hord by his side, dangerously wounded. The rest of his troops followed, some on foot, some on horseback, and some in waggons, through a desert, where they saw neither huts, tents, men, animals, nor roads; every thing was wanting even to water. It was in the beginning of July; the country situated in the 47th degree; the dry sand of the desert rendered the heat of the sun insupportable; the horses fell, and the men were ready to die with thirst. Count Poniatowsky, who was better mounted than the rest, advanced a little into the plains, and having discovered a willow, judged that there must be water not far off, and searched about till he found a spring. This happy discovery saved the life of the king of Sweden's little troop. After five days march he found himself upon the banks of the river Hippanis, at present called the Bogh, by the barbarians, who have disfigured, even to their names, those countries which the Greek colonies formerly made flourish. This river joins some miles from thence to the Borysthenes, and falls with it into the Black Sea. Below the Bogh, on the south side, is the little town of Oczakow, a frontier of the Turkish empire. The inhabitants seeing a troop of warlike men coming upon them, whose dress and language they were unacquainted with, refused to let them into it, without an order from Mahomet, pacha of the town. The king sent an express to this governor, to demand entrance, the Turk uncertain what to do, in a country where one false step is often punished by death, durst resolve on nothing till he had first obtained permission from the Pacha of the province, who resides at Bender, in Bassarabia, thirty leagues from Oczakow. This permission came with an order to give the king all the honours due to a monarch, who was in alliance with the Porte, and to furnish him with all things necessary. During these delays, the Muscovites, after having passed the Borysthenes, pursued the king without ceasing; and if he had been stopt one hour longer, he had certainly been taken. He had hardly crossed the Bogh in the Turkish boats, when his enemy appeared to the number of near 6000 horse; the king had the grief to see five hundred of his little troop, who had not yet crossed, seized by the Muscovites, on the other side of the river. The Pacha of Oczakow asked pardon, by an interpreter,

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for the delay which occasioned these five hundred men to be taken, and begged him not to complain of it to the grand seignor. Charles promised he would not, but not till he had given him a severe reprimand, as if he had been talking to one of his own subjects. The commandant of Bender who was at that time serasquier, a title which answers to that of general, and bashaw of the province, which signifies governor, sent an aga, with all speed, to compliment the king; and offer him a magnificent tent, with provisions, baggage, waggons, officers, and every thing necessary to conduct him with splendour to Bender; for it is the custom of the Turks, not only to defray the expense of ambassadors to the place of their residence, but to furnish with all abundance, princes who have taken refuge among them, all the time of their abode.

BOOK V.

ACHMET III. governed at that time the Turkish empire. He was placed upon the throne, in the year 1703, in the room of his brother Mustapha, by a revolution like that, which, in England, gave the crown from James II. to his son-in-law William III. Mustapha being governed by his Mufti, whom the Turks abhorred, raised against him the whole empire. His army, with which he designed to punish the mal-contents, joined with them. He was taken, deposed in form, and his brother fetched out of the the seraglio to be made sultan, hardly without one drop of blood being shed. Achmet shut up the deposed sultan in the seraglio of Constantinople, where he lived several years, to the great astonishment of Turkey, accustomed to behold the death of their princes always upon their being dethroned. The new sultan, as a recompense for the crown, which he owed to the ministers, the generals, the officers of the Janissaries, and in short, to those who had any share in the revolution, had them all put to death, one after another; for fear they might one day attempt to bring about a second. By sacrificing so many brave men, he weakened the strength of the empire, but he established his own throne. He afterwards applied himself to amass treasure; and was the first of the Ottomans who dared make the least alteration in the money, and lay new taxes; but he was obliged to put a stop to both these enterprises, for fear of an insurrection; for the rapacity and tyranny of the grand seignor hardly ever extends farther than to the officers of the empire, who, in what degree soever they are, are domestic slaves to the sultan; but the rest of the Musselmens live in a profound security, having nothing to fear for their lives, their fortunes, or their liberty. Such was the emperor of the Turks, to whom the king of Sweden went to seek an asylum. As soon as Charles was in his territories at Oczakow, he wrote the sultan the following letter, dated July 13, 1709:

“To the most high, most glorious, invincible, and august emperor of many empires, king of many kingdoms, chief and protector of many nations, may the Almighty bless and prolong your reign.—We give your imperial highness to understand by this letter, signed by our royal hand, that after having chastised, with as much success as justice, the perfidious viola-

tors of the faith of treaties, and the law of nations; after having driven king Augustus out of Poland, of which, he was rather the tyrant, than the king, and given the Poles a king of their own nation, who is a friend of your sublime Porte; after having pursued the czar, flying before us as far as Pultowa, Heaven has permitted that our army, tired out with long marches, and in want of every thing, should be overwhelmed by the enemy, that were three times, our number, and that this day should be unfortunate to us. Not being in a place to raise new forces, and abhorring to fall into barbarous and perfidious hands, we are come to seek, in the dominions of your imperial highness, an asylum and means to return into Poland to rejoin our armies, and support the king we have made there. What we desire is, to have your friendship, and to give you ours. For a proof of our sincere affection, we represent to you, that if the czar, whose ambition is governed neither by justice, nor honour, nor true courage, has the time to take advantage of our misfortune, he will fall upon your territories, when you least expect him, as he attacked our provinces; but why do I say when you least expect him? Has he not already built forts upon the Tanais and the Palus Mæotis? Has he not already fleets which threaten you? Nothing is more likely to prevent him than a new alliance between your sublime Porte and us; so that we may return into Poland, and our own states, with your valiant troops, and carry our arms again into the empire of this perfidious czar, to put a stop to his unjust ambition. We shall never forget the favours that we receive from you, and shall account it our glory to be inviolably your faithful friend,

CHARLES XII. Son of Charles XI."

The king suffered this letter to be sent away too abusive of his enemies, and belying his own character; perhaps, after having treated the czar and king Augustus with respect in his victories, he was soured by his defeat, or, perhaps, he thought that it was the style of Turkey to rail at those against whom one craves assistance. Achmet, who had been beforehand with him, by sending a solemn embassy in the time of his triumphs, made him sensible now what difference he placed between an emperor of the Turks, and a king of one part of Scandinavia, a Christian vanquished and fugitive. He did not answer him till six months after; and then, without explaining himself upon the alliance proposed against the czar.—This proposition, said the sultan, requires a serious examination. I shall leave it to the prudence of my great Divan. I value your friendship, and grant you mine with my protection. I have sent orders to the Pachas of Natolia, and Romelia, to provide you with a guard to conduct you with safety were you desire to go. Jussuf Pacha, serasquier of Bender, will furnish you with 500 dollars a-day*, and all necessary provisions for yourself, for those who attend you, and for your stables, that you may live as a king. Given at Constantinople, the first of the moon of Sheval, the 1121 year of the Hegira."

Charles, from the first moment that he retired into the Turkish dominions, conceived the design of arming the Ottoman empire against his enemies. He already fancied he saw himself at the head of an army of Turks, bringing Poland again to the yoke, and subduing the Muscovite. M. de Neugbaver went from Oczakow to Constantinople in quality of

* A dollar is worth near as much as a French crown of three livres.

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Charles's envoy extraordinary. Count Poniatowsky, a man of ability and courage, insinuating and subtle, born with the gift of persuading and pleasing all nations, attended the Swedish embassy, but without any character, privately to sound the dispositions of the ministry of Constantinople, without the incumbrance of ceremonials, and not to give too much cause of suspicion, he found the way in a very short time, to gain the good will of the grand vizier, who loaded him with presents; and had the art to get a letter delivered from the king of Sweden to the sultana Valide, mother of the reigning emperor, who had been formerly ill-treated by her son, but was now beginning to recover her interest in the seraglio. He made a strict friendship with a Frenchman named Bru, who had been chancellor to the French embassy. This man was continually talking of the king of Sweden's exploits to the sultana's chief eunuch, and he charmed his mistress with the recital of them. The sultana, by a secret inclination with which most women feel themselves surprised in favour of extraordinary men, even without seeing them, took this prince's part, with a great deal of warmth in the seraglio. She always called him her lion; and when will you, said she, sometimes to the sultan her son, help my lion to devour this czar? She even went so far beyond the severe rules of the seraglio as to write several letters with her own hand, to count Poniatowsky, in whose possession they still were at the time of writing this history. One of those who seconded the designs of Poniatowsky with the greatest address, was Fonseca, a Portuguese physician settled at Constantinople, a learned and good-natured man, who joined the knowledge of men to that of his art, and whose profession procured him admission to the Ottoman Porte, and oftentimes the confidence of the viziers. At length, the king of Sweden's party was become so powerful at Constantinople, by the skilful management of Poniatowsky, that the faction of the Muscovite envoy thought that they had no refuge but in poisoning him. They got one of his domestics into their design, who was to give him poison in his coffee; but the crime was discovered before the execution of it. The poison was found in the servant's hands, in a little vial, which was carried to the grand seignior. The poisoner was tried in full divan, and condemned to the galleys; for the Turks never punish with death such crimes as have not been executed. The grand vizier seemed as eager as the sultana Valide to serve the king of Sweden. He said to Poniatowsky, giving him at the same time a purse of 1000 ducats—"I will take your king in one hand, and a sword in the other, and lead him to Moscow, at the head of 200,000 men." This vizier, by name Chourlouly Ali-Pacha, was a very great minister, well versed in the art of war, and a better politician than those in his post commonly are. He had put the revenues of the empire in very good order. He gave away small sums willingly, which made him creatures; but he received large ones much more willingly when he was upon any important negotiations; which made it much wondered at that he should appear so favourable to an unfortunate king, who had at that time very little to give. He was the son of a peasant in the village of Chourlou. Among the Turks it is no reproach to a great man to be of such an extraction: birth is looked upon as nothing in that country; but merit and services are every thing. It is not uncommon to see the son of a labourer raised to be a chief minister, and the son of a vizier following the plough.

In the mean time, the king was conducted with honour to Bender, through the desert formerly called the Wildrness of Getæ. The Turks took care that nothing should be wanting on the road that might make his journey agreeable. Several Poles, Swedes, and Cossacks, who had escaped one after another out of the hands of the Muscovites, came by different ways to augment his train on the road. He had with him eighteen hundred men when he arrived at Bender, who were all fed and lodged, they and their horses, at the expense of the grand seignor. The king chose to encamp near Bender rather than be in the town. The serasquier Jussuf Pacha, ordered him a magnificent tent, and furnished all the lords of his train with others. Some time after, the king built himself a house in this place: his officers, by his example did the same, and the soldiers raised barracks; so that this camp became insensibly a little town. The king, not being yet cured of his wound, was forced to have a carious bone taken out of his foot; but as soon as he was able to mount his horse he renewed his usual fatigues, always rising before the sun, tiring three horses a-day, and making his soldiers perform their exercises: only sometimes he would play at chess with general Poniatowsky, or M. de Grothusen, his treasurer. Those who would please him, attended him in his horse-courses, and were all day long in their boots. One morning going into the house of his chancellor, Mullern, who was yet asleep, he forbade any one to awake him, and waited in the anti-chamber: there was a large fire in the chimney, and near it several pairs of shoes, which Mullern had made in Germany for his use. The king threw them all into the fire, and went away. When the chancellor, upon his waking, smelt the burnt leather, and had learnt the reason of it, "What a strange king is this," said he, "who would have his chancellor aways booted." He found at Bender an abundance of every thing, which was very extraordinary for a vanquished and fugitive prince; for, besides the provisions, which were more than sufficient, and the five hundred crowns a day which he received from the Ottoman liberality, he drew money out of France, and borrowed of the merchants of Constantinople. Part of this money served to manage his intrigues in the seraglio, to buy the favour of the viziers, or to procure their ruin. He distributed the rest with profusion among his officers, and the Janissaries at Bender. Grothusen, his favourite and treasurer, the dispenser of his bounties, was a man, who, contrary to the custom of those in his station, loved to give as well as his master. He brought him one day an account of sixty thousand crowns in two lines, ten thousand crowns given to the Swedes and Janissaries by the generous order of his majesty, and the rest spent himself. "See," said the king, "how I would have my friends give me their accounts. Mullern makes me read whole pages for the sum of ten thousand Franks: I like this laconic style of Grothusen much better." One of his old officers, suspected to be a little covetous, complained that his majesty gave all to Grothusen. "I give money," answered the king, "only to those who know how to make use of it." This generosity oftentimes reduced him to have nothing to give. More economy in his liberalities had been as honourable, and more to his advantage; but it was the fault of this prince to carry all his virtues to an excess. Many strangers went from Constantinople to see him. The Turks and the neighbouring Tartars came thither in crowds; all respected, and all admired him. His so rigidly abstaining from wine, and

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regularly attending the public devotions twice a day, made them say he was a true Muselman, and long with impatience to march with him to the conquest of Muscovy. In the leisure time he had at Bender, which was much longer than he expected, he got into a taste of reading. Baron Fabricius, son to the duke of Holstein's first minister, an amiable young man, who had that gaiety of wit and easy turn which is always pleasing to princes, was the person who engaged him first to read. He was sent envoy to him at Bender to take care of the interest of the young duke of Holstein, and succeeded there by rendering himself agreeable. He had read all the good French authors, and prevailed upon the king to read the tragedies of the great Corneille, those of Racine, and the works of M. Despreaux. The king had no relish for the satires of the last, which, indeed, are not the best of his writings : but liked his other pieces ; though when he read that epistle to Lewis XIV. in which the author treats Alexander as a fool and a madman, he tore the leaf out of the book. Of all the French tragedies, Mithridates was that which pleased him the most, because the situation of that king, vanquished and breathing vengeance, was like his own. He pointed out with his finger to M. Fabricius the places that struck him, but would read none of them aloud, nor ever ventured to speak one word of French : nay, when he afterwards saw M. Desaleurs at Bender, who was the ambassador of France at the Porte, a man of distinguished merit, but who knew only his mother-tongue, he answered him in Latin, and upon Desaleurs protesting that he did not understand four words of that language, the king, rather than speak French, sent for an interpreter. Such were the employments of Charles XII. at Bender, where he expected an army of Turks would come to his assistance. To induce the Ottoman Porte to determine on this war, he detached about eight hundred Poles and Cossacs of his retinue, to whom he gave orders to pass the Neister, which runs by Bender, and to go and observe what was doing on the frontiers of Poland. The Muscovite troops dispersed in those quarters, did not fail to fall upon this little company, and pursue them even to the territories of the grand seignior : which was what the king of Sweden expected. His ministers and emissaries at the Porte cried aloud against this irruption, and excited the Turks to vengeance ; but the czars money got the better of them. Tolstoy, his envoy at Constantinople, gave to the grand vizier and his creatures, part of the six millions that had been found at Pultowa in the king of Sweden's military chest. With such an advocate, the divan could not find the czar guilty. So far from talking of making war with him, they granted to his envoy such honours and privileges as no Muscovite ministers and ever enjoyed at Constantinople before ; they suffered him to have a seraglio, that is, a palace in the quarters of the Franks, and to converse with the foreign ministers. The czar even thought he might require general Mazeppa to be delivered up to him, as Charles XII. had done by the unfortunate Patkul. Chourlouly, Ali-Pacha could no longer refuse a prince any thing he asked with giving millions. Thus the same grand vizier, who before had promised to carry the king of Sweden into Muscovy with 200,000 men, had the assurance to propose to him to consent to the sacrificing general Mazeppa. Charles was enraged at this demand. It is not known how far the vizier might have carried this matter, if Mazeppa, who was seventy years of age, had not died

at this critical conjuncture. The grief and resentment of the king was very much augmented when he heard that Tolstoy, now become the czar's ambassador at the Porte, was publicly served by the Swedes who were made slaves at Pultowa, and that these brave soldiers were sold every day at the market in Constantinople. The Muscovite ambassador even declared openly, that the Muselman troops at Bender were there rather to secure the king than do him honour. Charles, abandoned by the grand vizier, and vanquished by the czar's money in Turkey as he had been by his arms in Ukraina, saw himself deceived, disdained by the Porte, and almost a prisoner among the Tartars. His train began to despair. He alone continued firm, and never seemed dejected for a moment. He thought the sultan was ignorant of the intrigues of Chourlouly Ali, his grand vizier; he resolved to acquaint him with them, and Poniatowsky charged himself with this bold commission. The grand seignior goes every Friday to the mosque encompassed by his solacks, a sort of guard, whose turbans are adorned with feathers so high, that they hide the sultan from the sight of the people. When any one has a petition to represent to the grand seignior, he endeavours to mix himself among these guards, and holds the petition high up. Sometimes the sultan deigns to take it himself; but most commonly he orders an aga to take care of these petitions, and give them to him when he returns from the mosque. It is not to be feared that he should be troubled with impertinent and trifling petitions, since they write less at Constantinople in a whole year, than at Paris in one day. There is less danger of any petitions against the ministers, because the sultan usually remits them, unread, to these very men against whom they are proffered. Poniatowsky had no way but this to convey the king of Sweden's complaints to the grand seignior. He drew up a weighty memorial against the grand vizier. M. de Ferfol, at that time the ambassador of France, got it translated into the Turkish language. Some money was given to a Greek to present it. This man, mixing among the guards, held the paper up so high, so long a time, and made so great a noise, that the sultan perceived it and took it from him himself. Some days after, the sultan sent the king of Sweden, in answer to his complaints, twenty-five Arabian horses, one of them, which had carried his highness, was covered with a saddle and housings, enriched with precious stones, and stirrups of massy gold. This present was accompanied by an obliging letter, but conceived in such general terms, as gave reason to suspect that the minister had done nothing without the consent of the sultan. Chourlouly, who knew how to dissemble, sent also five very fine horses to the king. Charles said to the person who brought them very haughtily: "Return to your master and tell him, I never receive presents from my enemies."

M. Poniatowsky, having already ventured to present a memorial against the grand vizier, conceived, at that time, the bold design of deposing him. He knew that this vizier was displeasing to the sultaness mother, and that the kislar aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and the aga of the Janissaries, hated him: he excited them all three to speak against him. It was a thing somewhat surprising to see a Christian, a Pole, an agent without character of a Swedish king, who was a refugee himself among the Turks, caballing almost openly at the Porte against a vice-roy of the Ottoman empire, who was both useful and agreeable to his master. Poniatowsky had never suc-

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ceeded, and the bare notion of this project had cost him his life, if a power, stronger than all those in his interest, had not given the last blow to the fortune of Chourlouly. The sultan had a young favourite, who has since governed the Ottoman empire, and was killed in Hungary in the year 1716, at the battle of Peterwaradin, gained over the Turks by prince Eugene of Savoy. His name was Coumourgi Ali-Pacha. His birth was not different from that of Chourlouly; for he was the son of a coal porter, as Coumourgi signifies, for *coumour* is coal in the Turkish tongue. The emperor Achmet II. father of Achmet III. meeting Coumourgi, when he was a child, in a little wood near Adrianople, was so struck with his great beauty, that he sent him to the seraglio. He pleased Mustapha, the eldest son and successor of Mahomet *; and Achmet III. made him his favourite. He was at no time a friend to Charles, or any other Christian prince, or any of their ministers; but on this occasion he served king Charles XII. without designing it; he joined with the sultana Valide and the great officers of the Porte, to pull down Chourlouly, whom they all hated. This old minister, who had long and well served his master, fell a victim to the caprice of a boy, and the intrigues of a stranger. He was stripped of his dignity and his riches; his wife was taken from him, who was daughter of the last sultan Mustapha, and he was banished himself to Caffa, formerly Theodosia, in Crim Tartary. The bull, that is to say, the seal of the empire, was given to Numan Couprougly, grandson to the great Couprougly, who took Candia. This new vizier was what misinformed Christians would hardly imagine of a Turk, a man of inflexible virtue, and so scrupulous an observer of the law, that he would oftentimes oppose justice to the will of the sultan. He would not hear any mention made of a war with the Muscovites, which he thought was unjust and unnecessary; but that same attachment to laws which hindered him from making war with the czar, contrary to the faith of treaties, made him strictly maintain the duties of hospitality, with respect to the king of Sweden. He would say to his master, "The law forbids you to attack the czar, who has given you no offence? but it commands you to succour the king of Sweden, who is unfortunate in your dominions." He sent to this prince eight hundred purses, each purse worth five hundred crowns, and advised him to return peaceably into his own kingdom, through the emperor of Germany's country, or by some French vessels, which were then at the port of Constantinople; and which M. de Feriol, ambassador from France to the Porte, offered Charles to transport him to Marseilles. The king of Sweden, who in his prosperity had provoked the German emperor, and disoblged Lewis XIV. thought it would be humbling himself too much to owe his return to France, and risking his liberty too much to pass through the territories of the empire. He refused, with disdain, both these ways of returning to his dominions, and sent word to the vizier and M. de Feriol, that he should rely on the promise of the grand seignor, and hoped to re-enter Poland as a conqueror, with an army of Tarks. Whilst he made his destiny depend on the caprice of a vizier, and was reduced to receive favours and affronts from the Ottoman court, all his enemies renewed their attacks on his country.

* It is thus in the original; but this should be Achmet II. or Achmet II. above, should be Mahomet; for Mustapha and Achmet III. were sons of the same father.

The battle of Pultowa was immediately the signal of a revolution in Poland. King Augustus returned thither, protesting against his abdication, against the peace of Alraustad, and publicly accusing Charles XII. whom he no longer feared, of robbery and cruelty. He put Finsten and Imof, his plenipotentiaries, in prison, for signing his abdication, as if in that they had gone beyond their orders, and betrayed their master. His Saxon troops, which had been the pretence of dethroning him, brought him back to Warsaw, accompanied by the greatest part of the Polish palatines, who having formerly sworn fidelity to him, had afterwards done the same to Stanislaus, and were now returned to do it afresh to Augustus. Siniausky himself came into his party, and, losing the hopes of making himself king, was contented to remain grand general of the crown. Fleming, his first minister, who durst not continue in Saxony, for fear of being delivered up as Patkul was, contributed very much, by his management, at that time, to bring over to his master's interest a great part of the Polish nobility. The pope absolved his people from the oath of fidelity they had taken to Stanislaus. This step of St. Peter, seasonably made, and supported by the forces of Augustus, was of great weight; it confirmed the credit of the court of Rome in Poland, where they had no mind, at that time, to contest with the chief pontiffs their chimerical right of intermeddling with the temporals of kings. Every one voluntarily returned to Augustus's authority, and received, without any opposition, a useless absolution, which the nuncio took great pains to persuade them was highly necessary. The power of Charles, and the grandeur of Sweden, drew then very near their last period. More than ten crowned heads had, for a long time seen, with fear or envy, the Swedish government extending its natural bounds, beyond the Baltic sea, from the Duna, even to the Elbe. The misfortunes of Charles, and his absence, awakened the interests and jealousies of all these princes, laid asleep a long time by treaties, and the want of power to break them. The czar, more powerful than all of them together, making very soon the best use of his victory, took Vibourg, and all Carelia, poured his troops into Finland, sat down before Riga, and sent an army into Poland to assist Augustus in recovering his throne. This emperor was, at that time, what Charles had been before, the arbiter of Poland and the North; but he consulted only his interests; whereas, Charles never listened to any thing but the notions he had of revenge and glory. The Swedish monarch had assisted his allies, and overthrown his enemies, without requiring to reap the least fruits from his victories. The czar, in his behaviour, having more of the prince and less of the hero, would not assist the king of Poland, but on condition that he should yield up Livonia to him; and that this province, for which Augustus had kindled the war, should belong to the Muscovites for ever. The king of Denmark, forgetting the treaty of Travendal, as Augustus had that of Alraustad, thought, from that time, to make himself master of the dutchies of Holstein and Bremen, to which he renewed his pretensions. These three princes met at Dresden, about the end of the year 1709. Thus Augustus, who two years before had received Charles there as his conqueror, saw in the same city, those very allies whom the king of Sweden had forced him to renounce. Peter Alexiowitz, Augustus, and Frederick, settled, at this interview, the division of the conquests they were going to make. The king

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of Prussia also received these three monarchs in his castle of Potsdam, and entered into their alliance. He had an ancient right to the Swedish Pomerania, which he was willing to revive. The duke of Mecklenburg saw, with uneasiness, Sweden still in possession of Wismar, the finest city in his dutchy: This prince had married a niece of the Muscovite emperor, and his uncle wanted only a pretence to establish him in Germany, after the example of the Swedes. George, elector of Hanover, sought also to enrich himself with the spoils of Charles. The bishop of Munster likewise would have been glad to have made the best of some pretensions he had, if he could have had power sufficient. Twelve or thirteen thousand Swedes defended Pomerania, and the other countries which Charles possessed in Germany; it was there the war was to be carried. This storm alarmed the emperor and his allies; and it is a law of the empire, that whosoever attacks one of its provinces, is deemed an enemy to the whole Germanic body. But there was yet a greater difficulty. All these princes except the czar, were at that time in a confederacy against Lewis XIV. whose power had been for some time as dreadful to the empire as that of Charles. Germany found itself hard pressed, in the beginning of the century from south to north, between the armies of France and Sweden. The French had passed the Danube, and the Swedes the Oder: if their forces, at that time victorious, had joined, the empire had been lost: but the same fatality that depressed Sweden, had also humbled France. Nevertheless Sweden had still a refuge to fly to, and Lewis XIV. made war with vigour, although unsuccessfully. If Pomerania and the dutchy of Bremen, had been made the theatre of the war, it was to be feared that the empire would suffer by it, and, being weakened on that side, would be less able to oppose Lewis XIV. To prevent this danger, the emperor, the princes of Germany, Anne queen of England, and the states general of the united provinces, concluded at the Hague, at the end of the year 1709, one of the most singular treaties that ever was signed. It was stipulated, by these powers, that the war against the Swedes should not be carried on in Pomerania, nor in any of the provinces of Germany, but that the enemies of Charles XII. might attack him every where else: the king of Poland, and the czar themselves acceded to this treaty, and had an article inserted in it as extraordinary as the treaty itself; which was, that 12,000 Swedes who were in Pomerania, should not go out of it to defend their other provinces. To secure the execution of this treaty, it was proposed to raise an army to preserve this imaginary neutrality, which was to encamp on the banks of the Oder. This was an uncommon sort of novelty, to raise an army to prevent a war. Even those who were to keep it in pay, were for the most part interested to bring about the war they pretended to avoid. By the treaty it was to be composed of the troops of the emperor, the king of Prussia, the elector of Hanover, the landgrave of Hesse, and the bishop of Munster. It happened, as might be naturally expected from such a project, that it was never put in execution; the princes who were to furnish their quotas to raise this army gave nothing, and there were not two regiments formed. They talked much of a neutrality, but no body regarded it; and all the princes of the north, whose interest it was to break with the king of Sweden, were at full liberty to dispute the spoils of that prince. At this conjuncture, the czar, having quartered his troops in

Lithuania, and given orders for the siege of Riga, returned himself to Moscow, to shew his people a sight as new as any thing he had ever done in his dominions: this was a triumph, very little short of those of the ancient Romans. He made his entry into Moscow on the first of January 1710, under seven triumphal arches erected in the streets, and adorned with every thing the climate could furnish, and a flourishing trade, through his care, had brought thither. A regiment of guards began the procession, followed by pieces of artillery taken from the Swedes at Lesno and Pultowa, each drawn by eight horses covered with scarlet housings reaching to the ground; after those came the standards, kettle-drums, and colours, wone in those two battles, and carried by the officers and soldiers who had taken them: all these spoils were followed by the choicest of the czar's troops. After they had filed off, there was to be seen in a chariot, made for that purpose, the litter of Charles XII. found in the field of battle, at Pultowa, broken all to pieces by two cannon-shot; behind this litter all the prisoners marched two and two, among whom were count Piper, first minister of Sweden, the famous marshal Renschild; count Levenhaup; generals Slipenback, Stakelberg, and Hamilton, and all the officers and soldiers who were afterwards dispersed in Great Russia. The czar appeared immediately after them, upon the same horse he was mounted on at the battle of Pultowa; a few paces behind him, came the generals who had any share in the success of that day; after them followed another regiment of guards, and the procession was closed by the ammunition waggons of the Swedes. This pomp was attended by all the bells ringing in Moscow, by the sound of drums, trumpets, and an infinite number of musical instruments, which were answered by salutes from two hundred pieces of cannon, and the acclamations of 500,000 people, crying out at every stop the czar made, in this triumphal entry, "Long live the emperor our father." This delusive shew very much increased the people's veneration for him, all that he had done of real good for them perhaps did not make him appear so great in their eyes. In the mean time he continued the blockade of Riga, and the generals seized on the rest of Livonia, and a part of Finland. At the same time the king of Denmark came with his whole fleet to make a descent upon Sweden, where he debarked 17,000 men, whom he left under the command of count Reventlau. Sweden was then governed by a regency, composed of some senators, whom the king had appointed when he left Stockholm. The body of the senate, who thought the government of right belonged to them, were jealous of the regency; and the state suffered by these divisions; but the first news they received at Stockholm, after the battle of Pultowa, being that the king was at Bender, at the mercy of Turks and Tartars; and that the Danes had made a descent on Schonen, and taken the town of Elsinburg, their jealousies ceased, and they thought only how to save Sweden. She was almost drained of all her regular troops, for although Charles always made his great expeditions at the head of small armies, yet the innumerable battles he had fought in nine years, the continual necessity he was under to recruit his troops and maintain his garrisons, and the armies that were always to be kept on foot in Finland, Ingria, Livonia, Pomerania, Bremen, and Verden, had cost Sweden, during the course of the war, above 250,000 soldiers. There were not remaining 8000 men of the old troops, who, with

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the new-raised forces, were all Sweden had to depend upon. King Charles XI. among many laws which made him accused of tyranny, had established some that deserved the acknowledgments of his country. He formed a militia that subsists to this day, which is neither a charge to the public treasury, nor burthensome to particular persons, and which always furnishes soldiers for the state, without taking the labourers from the fields. The richest villages, or lordships, which were anciently, or at this time, the king's domains, maintain a horseman at their own expence. The peasants of every village furnish foot soldiers in proportion to their circumstances; that is to say, a man must have a certain estate; as for example, ten or twelve thousand livres to be obliged to equip a foot soldier; the peasant who has but five or six thousand livres, must join with another who has as much, and he who has but 3000, contributes his share with several others, who all together supply the state with a man. If the revenue of the whole village does not produce above 10,000 livres, the village sends but one man. When a soldier dies, the same people put another in his place; thus the number of the militia is always the same, after it has been once settled by the states-general. The peasants build a house or cottage for the soldier they maintain, and assign to him and his family a portion of land, which he is obliged to cultivate. These soldiers, dispersed in villages, rendezvous, at appointed times in the principal town of the canton, under the command of their officers, who are paid out of the public treasure.

In the provinces, the best peopled, each village has a corporal who exercises his company once a-week. The serjeant, who has a larger district, sees his every fortnight, and so on, from one degree to another, to the colonel, who reviews his regiment every three months. Sweden was thus a nursery for soldiers, during the wars of Charles XII. This nation is warlike by nature, and all people insensibly copy after their king. There was nothing talked of, from one end of the country to the other, but the prodigious actions of Charles and his generals, and of the old troops that fought under them at Narva, Duna, Crassau, Pultusk, and Holosin. The lowest among the Swedes conceiving, from thence, a spirit of emulation and glory. Their love of their king, their sympathy, and their irreconcilable hatred to the Danes, still added to this. In many other countries the peasants are slaves, or treated as such; but these making a body in the state, are regarded as citizens, and had a higher opinion of themselves, and in a short time became the best troops of the north. General Steinbock, by order of the regency, put himself at the head of 8000 men of the old troops, and about 12,000 of these new militia, to drive away the Danes, who ravaged all the country about Elsinburg, and laid some distant places under contribution.

Both time and means were wanting to clothe the militia with proper habits; the greatest part of these boors came in their flaxen frocks, having pistols tied to their girdles with cords. Steinbock, at the head of this extraordinary army, came within sight of the Danes, three leagues from Elsinburg, on the 10th of March 1710. He would have given his troops a few days rest, to intrench himself, and make his new soldiers acquainted with the enemy; but all these peasants demanded to fight the same day they arrived. Some officers who were there, told me they observed them almost all foaming with rage, such is the national hatred of the Swedes

against the Danes. Steinbock took advantage of the disposition they were in, which at the time of battle is of greater use than military discipline. The Danes were attacked, and then was to be seen, what perhaps there are not two more instances of, new raised militia to equal, in the first fight, the intrepidity of old troops. Two regiments cut in pieces the king of Denmark's regiment of guards, of which there were not ten men left. The Danes being entirely defeated, made their retreat under the cannon of Elsinburg. The passage from Sweden to Zealand is so short, that the king of Denmark learned the same day, at Copenhagen, the news of the defeat of his army in Sweden, and sent his fleet to bring off the remains of his troops. The Danes left Sweden, with precipitation, five days after the battle; but not being able to bring away their horses, and unwilling to leave them to the enemy, they killed them all about Elsinburg, and set fire to their provisions, burning their corn and their baggage, and leaving, in Elsinburg, 4000 wounded men, the greatest part of which died of the infection occasioned by so many dead horses, and the want of provisions, which their own countrymen had deprived them of, to prevent their falling into the possession of the Swedes. At the same time the peasants of Dalecarlie, having heard in the midst of their forests, that their king was a prisoner among the Turks, sent a deputation to the regency, and offered to go at their own expence, to the number of 20,000 to deliver their master out of the hands of his enemies. This proposal, which was of no use, shewed the courage and affection of the people, and was therefore heard with pleasure, though it was rejected; nor did they fail to inform the king of it, when the account was sent him of the battle of Elsinburg. Charles received this comfortable news, in his camp near Bender, in the month of July 1710, a little while after another accident had confirmed him in his hopes. The grand vizier Couprougly, who had opposed his designs, was deposed after a ministry of two months. The little court of Charles XII. and those that still stood up for him in Poland, gave out that he made and unmade the viziers, and governed the Turkish empire in his retreat at Bender; but he had no hand in the disgrace of this favourite. The rigid probity alone of the vizier was the cause of his fall; his predecessor never paid the Janissaries out of the imperial treasury, but with money that he got by extortions; Couprougly paid them out of the treasury. Achmet reproached him with preferring the interests of the subjects to that of his emperor. "Your predecessor Chourloulou," said he, "could find other means to pay my troops." The grand vizier answered, "If he had the art to enrich your highness by rapine, it is what I am proud to be ignorant of." The profound silence of the seraglio rarely permits such discourses to get abroad; but this was known with the disgrace of Couprougly. This vizier did not pay for his boldness with his head, because true virtue oftentimes gains respect, even from those to whom it is displeasing. He was allowed to retire to the island of Negropont. The grand seignior then sent to Aleppo for Baltagi Mahomet, pacha of Syria, who had been already grand vizier, before Chourloulou. The baltagis of the seraglio, so called from *batta*, which signifies an ax, are slaves who cut wood for the use of the princes of the Ottoman family, and the sultanas. This vizier had been a baltagi in his youth, and always retained the name, according to the custom of the

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Turks, who take, without blushing, the name of their first profession, of their father, or the place of their birth. During the time that Baltagi Mahomet had been a servant in the seraglio, he was so happy as to have done some little services for prince Achmet, then prisoner of state under the empire of his brother Mustapha. It is the custom of the seraglio for the princes of the Ottoman blood to have for their pleasure some women, who are past child-bearing, (which is very soon in Turkey) but yet handsome enough to please. Achmet, when he became sultan, gave one of these slaves, whom he had much loved, to Baltagi Mahomet in marriage. This woman, by her intrigues, made her husband grand vizier; another intrigue displaced him; and a third made him vizier again. When Baltagi Mahomet received the bull of the empire, he found the king of Sweden's party prevailing in the seraglio. The sultana Valide, Ali-Coumourgi, the grand seignior's favourite, the Kiskar Aga, chief of the black eunuchs, and the Aga of the Janissaries, were for war against the czar, and the sultan had agreed to it. The first order he gave the grand vizier was to go against the Muscovites with 200,000 men. Baltagi Mahomet knew nothing of war; but he was no fool, as the Swedes, who did not like him represented him to be. He said to the grand seignior, in receiving from his hand a sabre set with precious stones; "Your highness knows that I have been brought up to use a hatchet to cleave wood, and not a sword to command armies; I will do my best to serve you; but if I should not succeed, remember that I have beseeched you not to blame me." The sultan assured him of his friendship, and the vizier prepared to obey him. The first step of the Ottoman Porte was to imprison the Muscovite ambassador in the seven Towers. The custom of the Turks is to begin with seizing the ministers of the princes against whom they declare war. Although they are strict observers of hospitality in every thing else, yet in this they violate the most sacred law of nations. They commit this injustice under the pretence of equity, imagining, or being willing to have it believed, that they never undertake any wars but what are just, because they are always consecrated by the approbation of their Mufti. Upon this principle they think themselves armed to chastise the violators of treaties, which oftentimes they break themselves, and punish the ambassadors of kings, their enemies, as accomplices of their master's infidelity. To this reason may be added the ridiculous contempt they affect towards Christian princes, and their ambassadors, whom they commonly regard only as consuls of the merchants.

The Han of Crim Tartary, whom we call the Kam, received orders to be in readiness with 40,000 Tartars. This prince governs Nogai Boudgiac, with part of Circassia, and all the Crim, a province known to antiquity by the name of Taurica Chersonesus, whither the Greeks carried their commerce and their arms, building large cities there, and whither the Genoese have since penetrated when they were masters of the trade of Europe. There are to be seen in this country the ruins of Greek towns, and some monuments of the Genoese, still subsisting amidst desolation and barbarism. The kam, by his subjects, is called emperor, but with this great title he is not less a slave to the Porte. The Ottoman blood, from which the kams are descended, and the right they have to the Turkish empire, on failure of the grand seignior's race, makes their family respected, even by the sultan him-

self, and their persons formidable. For this reason, the grand seignior dares not destroy the race of the kams of Tartary; but he hardly ever lets any of them grow old upon the throne. Their conduct is always watched by the neighbouring pacha's, their dominions encompassed by Janissaries, their inclinations crossed by the grand viziers, and their designs always suspected. If the Tartars complain of the kam, the Turks depose him on that pretence; if he is too much beloved, it is a greater crime, and for which he is sooner punished; thus, almost all of them pass from sovereignty into banishment, and finish their days at Rhodes, which is commonly their prison and their grave. The Tartars, their subjects, are the most thievish people upon earth, and, at the same time, which is hardly to be conceived, the most hospitable. They will go fifty leagues out of their country to attack a caravan or destroy villages; but if a stranger, let him be what he will, pass through their country, he is not only received and lodged every where, and his expenses borne, but, in some places, the inhabitants will dispute who shall have the honour of being his host: the master of the house, the wife, and the daughters, all strive who shall give him the most attendance. The Scythians, their ancestors, transmitted to them this inviolable regard to hospitality, which they have preserved; because, the few strangers that travel among them, and the low price of provisions, do not render this virtue very burthensome to them.

When the Tartars go to war with the Ottoman army, they are maintained by the grand seignior: the booty they get is their own pay, and therefore they are better at pillaging than a regular fight. The kam, gained by the presents and the intrigues of the king of Sweden, obtained leave that the general rendezvous of the troops should be at Bender, even under the eye of Charles XII. the better to assure him that the war was undertaken on his account. The new vizier, Baltagi Mahomet, not having the same engagements, would not flatter a foreign prince so far. He changed the order, and it was at Belgrade that this great army was brought together. The Turkish troops were not at this time so formidable as they have been, when they conquered so many states in Asia, Africa, and Europe: their strength of body then, their valour and number, triumphed over enemies less robust and worse disciplined than themselves. But, at present, the Christians understanding the art of war better, almost always beat the Turks in a set battle, even with forces unequal. If the Ottoman empire has lately made some conquests, they have been only over the republic of Venice, esteemed more wise than warlike, defended by strangers, and ill-assisted by the Christian princes, who are always divided among themselves. The Janissaries and the Spahis attack in disorder, and are incapable to hear the word of command, or to rally; their cavalry, which ought to be excellent, considering the strength and swiftness of their horses, could not stand the shock of the German cavalry; the infantry know not yet how to use the bayonet at the end of the musket to any advantage: besides, the Turks have not had a great general among them since Couprougly, who conquered the island of Caudia. A slave, brought up in the idleness and silence of the seraglio, made vizier by favour, and general against his inclination, commanded an army raised in a hurry, without experience and without discipline, against Muscovite troops, inured to war for twelve years, and proud of having van-

quished the Swedes. The czar, to all appearance, must have overcome Baltagi Mahomet; but he was guilty of the same fault with the Turks, that the king of Sweden had with him: he despised his enemy too much. On the news of the Turkish armament, he left Moscow, and having given orders to change the siege of Riga into a blockade, he assembled his troops, consisting of 86,000 men, on the frontiers of Poland. With this army he took his route towards Moldavia and Walachia, formerly the country of the Daci, but at this time inhabited by Greek Christians, tributaries to the grand seignior. A Greek named Cantemir, made prince of Moldavia by the Turks, went over to the side of the czar, whom he already looked upon as a conqueror, and made no scruple to betray the sultan, from whom he held his principality, in favour of a Christian from whom he expected greater advantages. The czar having made a secret treaty with this prince, and having received him into his army, marched into that country, and arrived, in the month of June 1711, on the northern borders of the river Hierasus, now called the Pruth, near Yassi, the capital of Moldavia. As soon as the grand vizier learnt that Peter Alexiowitz was marched from that side, he immediately quitted the camp at Belgrade, and following the course of the Danube, went to cross that river by a bridge of boats near a town called Saccia, at the same place where Darius formerly built a bridge that bore his name. The Turkish army made so great expedition, that they soon appeared in sight of the Muscovites, the river Pruth being between them. The czar, sure of the prince, did not expect that the Moldavians would have failed him; but very often the prince and his subjects have different interests. The last loved the Turkish government, which is never fatal but to the great ones, and which affects a lenity to the people that are tributary to it; the Turks dreaded the Christians, and especially the Muscovites, who had already treated them with inhumanity. They carried all their provisions to the Ottoman army; the undertakers, who had engaged to supply the Muscovites, performed the same agreement to the grand vizier that they had made with the czar. The Walachians, their neighbours, shewed the same affection to the Turks: so much were their minds alienated from the Muscovites by the remembrance of their former cruelties.

The czar thus deceived in his hopes, perhaps too lightly taken up, found his army all on a sudden without provisions or forage: in the mean time the Turks crossed the river that parted them from the enemy; all the Tartars swam over, according to custom, holding by their horses tails. The Spahis, which are the Turkish horse, did the same, because the bridges were not ready soon enough. At length, all the army being got over, the vizier formed an intrenched camp. It was surprising that the czar did not dispute the passage of the river, or at least repair that fault by giving the Turks battle immediately after it, instead of giving them time to destroy his army by hunger and fatigue. That prince, in this campaign, seemed to do every thing that might ruin him. He found himself without provisions, having the river Pruth behind him, near 150,000 Turks before him, and about 40,000 Tartars harassing him continually on the right and left. In this extremity he said publicly, "Behold me in as bad a condition, at least, as my brother Charles was at Pultowa." Count Poniatowsky, the indefatigable agent of the king of Sweden, was in the grand vizier's army with some

Poles and some Swedes, who all thought the ruin of the czar was inevitable. As soon as Poniatowsky saw that the armies would infallibly come together, he sent to the king of Sweden, who immediately left Bender, followed by forty officers, and enjoyed in his mind the pleasure of fighting the Muscovite emperor before he came near him. After several losses and ruinous marches, the czar being driven back on the Pruth, had no retrenchments left but a few chevaux-de-frise and waggons. Some of the troops of the Janissaries and Spahis fell on his army thus ill-intrenched, but they attacked in disorder, and the Muscovites defended themselves with such vigour, as only the presence of their prince, and their own despair could give them. The Turks were twice repulsed. The next day M. Poniatowsky advised the grand vizier to starve the Muscovite army, who, wanting every thing, would, in a day's time, be forced to surrender at discretion with their emperor. The czar has since owned, more than once, that he never felt so great uneasiness in all his life as that night. He revolved in his mind all that he had been doing for so many years for the glory and happiness of his country; and the many great designs, continually interrupted by wars, which perhaps were now going to perish with him, before they were accomplished: he was either to die with hunger, or to engage near 200,000 men with feeble troops, diminished to half their number; a cavalry almost all dismounted, and foot soldiers worn out with famine and fatigue. He called general Cseremetof in the beginning of the night, and without hesitation or asking advice, ordered him to have every thing ready by day break to attack the Turks with bayonets at the end of the muskets. He, moreover, gave express orders to burn all the baggage, and that no officer should keep above one waggon, that, if they were overcome, the enemy might make less advantage of the booty than they expected. After having settled every thing with the general for the battle, he retired into his tent overwhelmed with grief, and seized with convulsions, a distemper he was often troubled with, and which always came with double violence when he was under any great uneasiness. He forbade every one coming into his tent that night upon any pretence whatever, not willing to have any remonstrances made to him against a necessary though desperate resolution, and still more unwilling to have any witnesses of the sorrowful condition he was in. In the mean time the greatest part of the baggage was burnt, according to his order: all the army followed this example, but with regret, and many of them buried what things they had of value. The general officers had already given orders for the march, and endeavoured to inspire the army with a confidence that they wanted themselves: all the soldiers, worn out with hunger and fatigue, marched without spirit or hope. The women, of whom there were too many in the army, filled their ears with such cries that still more disheartened them: every one expected the next morning death or slavery. There was at that time in the Muscovite camp, a woman as singular, perhaps, as the czar himself. She was then only known by the name of Catharine: her mother was a poor peasant, called Erb-Magden, of the village of Ringen, in Estonia, a province under the dominion of Sweden; she never knew her father, but was baptized by the name of Martha, and registered among the bastards. The vicar of the parish brought her up out of charity till she was fourteen, at which age she went to service at Marienburg, and lived with a Lutheran minister

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named Gluk. In the year 1702, at the age of eighteen, she married a Swedish dragoon. The next day after the wedding, a party of the Swedish troops having been beat by the Muscovites, this dragoon, who was in the action, disappeared, without his wife's knowing whether he was killed or taken prisoner, or being able to learn ever after what became of him. Being taken prisoner herself, some days after, she served general Cseremetof, who gave her to Menzikof, a man who has known the extreme vicissitudes of fortune, being raised from a pastry cook's boy to be a general and a prince, afterwards stripped of every thing, and banished to Siberia, where he died in misery and despair. The emperor saw her one night when he supped with prince Menzikof, and fell in love with her. He was privately married to her in the year 1707, not that he was seduced by any female artifices, but because he found in her a most astonishing genius, and a resolution of mind fit to second his great enterprises, and even to continue them after him. He had long since been divorced from his first wife Ottokesa, the daughter of a Boyar, who was not only accused of adultery, but of opposing the changes he made in his government, which last crime was the greatest in the eyes of the czar. He would have nobody in his family who did not think as he did. He thought in this foreign slave, were met all the qualities of a sovereign, although she had not one of the virtues of her sex. For her sake he despised those prejudices that never check great minds, and caused her to be crowned empress. The same genius that made her wife to Peter Alexiowitz, gave her the empire after the death of her husband. Europe has seen with surprise a woman, without modesty, who could neither read nor write, by her courage, make amends for the want of education and her failings, and fill with glory the throne of a legislator.

When she married the czar, she quitted the Lutheran religion, in which she was born, for the Muscovite, and was rebaptized according to the ceremonies of the Russian church, taking upon her, instead of Martha, the name of Catharine, by which she has been known ever since. This woman being then in the camp at Pruth, held a private consultation with the general officers, and the vice-chancellor Shaffirof, while the czar was in his tent. They concluded that it was necessary to sue the Turks for peace, and that the czar was to be persuaded to take that course. The vice-chancellor wrote a letter to the grand vizier in the name of his master: the czarina went with this letter into the czar's tent, notwithstanding his prohibition, and having, after many prayers, and disputes, and tears, prevailed with him to sign it, she immediately got together all her jewels, every thing she had that was valuable, and all her money, and even borrowed some of the officers, all which, heaped together, making a considerable present, she sent to Osman Aga, the grand vizier's lieutenant, with the letter signed by the Muscovite emperor. Mahomet Baltagi, preserving at first the pride of a grand vizier and a conqueror, answered, "Let the czar send his first minister to me, and I will see what may be done." The vice-chancellor, Shaffirof, came immediately, and offered the grand vizier publicly some presents, which were considerable enough to show they stood in need of him, but too little to corrupt him. The first demand of the vizier was, that the czar, with all his army, should surrender at discretion: the vice-chancellor Shaffirof answered, that his master was going to attack him in a quarter of

an hour, and that the Muscovites would lose the last drop of their blood rather than submit to so infamous conditions. Osman added his remonstrances to what Shaffirof said. Mahomet Baltagi was no warrior: he saw the Janissaries were repulsed the day before; and therefore was easily persuaded by Osman, not to put advantages that were certain to the hazard of a battle. He first agreed to a suspension of arms for six hours, in which time the terms of the treaty were agreed to. In the mean while, there happened a little accident by which it may be seen, that the Turks have oftentimes more regard to their word than we believe them to have. Two Italian gentlemen, related to M. Brillo, the lieutenant-colonel of a regiment of grenadiers in the czar's service, having wandered a little into the country to look for forage, were taken by Tartars, who carried them to their camp, and offered to sell them to an officer of the Janissaries; the Turk, enraged at their thus daring to violate the truce, seized the Tartars, and carried them himself, with their two prisoners to the vizier. The vizier sent back the two gentlemen to the czar's camp, and cut off those Tartars' heads who had been the most busy in carrying them away.

The kam of Tartary very strenuously opposed the conclusion of a treaty, which took from him all his hopes of plunder: Poniatowsky seconded the kam with very pressing reasons. But Osman got the better of the impatience of the Tartar, and the insinuations of Poniatowsky. The vizier thought he had done enough to conclude an advantageous peace for the grand seignior his master. He insisted on the Muscovites giving up Asoph; on their burning the galleys that were in that Port; their demolishing the most important citadels built upon the Palus Mæotis; and on all the cannon and ammunition of these fortresses being left to the grand seignior: on the czar's withdrawing his troops out of Poland; and giving no more disturbance to the few Cossacks that were under the protection of the Poles, nor to those who were dependant on Turkey; and on his paying henceforth a subsidy to the Tartars of 40,000 sequins a year, an odious tribute long since imposed, but from which the czar had delivered his country. At length the treaty was going to be signed, without so much as making mention of the king of Sweden. All that Poniatowsky could obtain of the vizier, was to have an article inserted, by which the Muscovite was obliged not to obstruct the return of Charles XII. and, what was something odd, it was stipulated in this article, that the czar and the king of Sweden, should conclude a peace between them, if they had a mind to it, and could agree about it. On these conditions the czar had leave to retire with his army, his cannon, his artillery, colours, and baggage. The Turks furnished him with provisions, and every thing abounded in his camp, two hours after signing the treaty, which was begun, concluded, and signed, on the 21st of July 1711. At the very time the czar escaped this danger and retired with drums beating, and colours flying, the king of Sweden arrived, impatient for the fight, and wishing to have his enemy in his hands. He had ridden full speed above fifty leagues, from Bender to Yassi, and alighting at count Poniatowsky's tent, the count came to him with a sorrowful countenance, and told him by what means he had lost an opportunity, that he might never recover. The king, enflamed with anger, went directly to the grand vizier's tent, and with fire in his face, upbraided him with the treaty he had concluded. "I have a right," said

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the grand vizier, very calmly, "to make war or peace. "But," answered the king, "have you not all the Muscovite army in your power?"—"Our law commands us," replied the vizier gravely, "to give peace to our enemies when they implore our mercy."—"And does it command you," said the king, in a passion, to make a bad treaty when you have it in your power to name your own conditions? Ought you not to have carried the czar prisoner to Constantinople?" The Turk, hard press'd, answered drily, "And who shall govern his empire in his absence? It is not proper for all kings to be out of their dominions." Charles replied only with a smile full of indignation, then throwing himself down on a sofa, and looking on the vizier with an air of anger and contempt, he stretched out his leg towards him, and entangling his spur, on purpose, in the robe of the Turk, tore it, and getting up immediately remounted his horse, and returned to Bender with his heart filled with despair. Poniatowsky remained some time with the grand vizier, to try if he could not, by softer means, prevail with him to make better terms with the Czar; but the time of devotion being come, the Turk, without making one word of answer, went to wash himself and say his prayers.

BOOK VI.

THE fortune of the king of Sweden, so much altered from what it was, now persecuted him in the smallest affairs. At his return, he found his little camp at Bender, and all his lodgings quite drown'd by the overflowing of the Dneister. He retired to a place some miles distant, near a village called Varnitza; and, as if he had some secret presages of what was to happen to him, built there a large stone house, capable on occasion to hold out a siege of some hours. He furnished it very magnificently, contrary to his custom, that he might draw more respect from the Turks. He built also two others, one for his chancery, and another for his favourite Grothusen, who kept one of his tables. While the king built thus near Bender, as if he had a mind to continue always in Turkey, Baltagi Mahomet, fearing more than ever the intrigues and complaints of this prince at the Porte, sent the emperor of Germany's resident himself to demand, at Vienna, a passage for the king of Sweden, through the hereditary dominions of the house of Austria. This envoy, in three weeks time, brought back a promise from the imperial regency, that they would pay all the honours to Charles XII. that were due to him, and conduct him with safety into Pomerania. This application was made to the regency at Vienna, because the emperor of Germany, Charles, the successor of Joseph, was at that time in Spain, where he disputed the crown with Philip V. While the German envoy executed this commission at Vienna, the grand vizier sent three pachas to the king of Sweden, to let him know that he must quit the territories of the Turkish empire. The king, who knew the order they were bringing to him, sent them word, that if they dared propose any thing to him contrary to his honour, or that shewed a want of respect, he would hang them all three that instant. The pacha of Thessalonica, who carried the message, disguised the rough-

ness of his commission under the most respectful terms; Charles finished the audience without vouchsafing to give them any answer; but his chancellor, Mullern, who staid with the three pachas, explained to them his master's refusal, which they had well enough understood before by his silence. The grand vizier was not to be put off so, he ordered Ismael Pacha, the new serasquier of Bender, to threaten the king with the resentment of the sultan, if he did not come to a resolution without delay. This serasquier was of a sweet temper, which had conciliated to him the good will of Charles, and of all the Swedes. The king entered into a conference with him; but it was only to let him know that he would not depart until Achmet had granted him two things, viz. to punish his grand vizier, and furnish him with 100,000 men to return into Poland. Baltagi Mahomet saw plainly that Charles staid in Turkey to ruin him, and therefore took care to place guards upon all the roads from Bender to Constantinople to intercept his letters. He went further, and cut off his thaim, that is, the provision with which the Porte furnishes princes to whom they grant an asylum. That of the king of Sweden was immense, consisting of five hundred crowns a-day in money, and a profusion of every thing that might contribute to support a court in splendour and abundance. As soon as the king heard that the vizier had cut off his subsistence, he turned to the steward of the household, and said to him, "You have had but two tables hitherto, let there be four to-morrow."

The officers of Charles XII. had been used to find nothing impossible that he ordered, but, having neither money nor provisions, they were forced to borrow at twenty, thirty, and forty per cent. of the officers, domestics, and Janissaries, who were grown rich by the king's extravagance. M. Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein, gave all that he had; but these supplies would not have lasted a month, if a Frenchman, named La Motraye, who had been some time in the Levant, and was come out of curiosity to Bender, to see the king of Sweden, had not offered to go through all the Turkish guards, to borrow money in the king's name at Constantinople. He put the letters that were given him to carry, in the cover of a book, from which he had tore out the pasteboard, and passed through the midst of the Turks, under the name of an English merchant, with his book in his hand, which he said was his prayer book. The Turks are not very suspicious, because they are but little used to business. The pretended merchant arrived at Constantinople with the king's letters; but the foreign traders did not care to venture their money: there was only an Englishman, named Cooke, who was willing to lend 100,000 livres, contented to lose them, if any accident happened to the king of Sweden, and sure to make his fortune if that prince lived. The French gentleman was so lucky as to bring the money safely to the king's camp, at Varnitza, just at the time when this supply was despaired of. In this interval M. de Poniatowsky wrote, even from the grand vizir's camp, a relation of the campaign of Pruth, in which he accused Baltagi Mahomet of cowardice and treachery. An old Janissary enraged at the weakness of the vizier, and moreover gained by the presents of Poniatowsky, having obtained leave to be absent, took charge of this letter, and presented it to the sultan himself. Poniatowsky left the camp some days after, and went to the Ottoman Porte to form intrigues against

the grand vizier, according to custom. Several circumstances seemed to favour him; the czar being at liberty did not make too much haste to fulfil his promises. It is the custom for princes, who deliver up any towns to the Turks, to send golden keys to the sultan; the keys of Asoph did not come, and the vizier, who was answerable for them, fearing, with just reason, the resentment of his master, durst not appear before him.

The old vizier Chourlouly, then in banishment at Mitylene, was willing to make use of this conjuncture to deprive Achmet III. of his empire, and place his nephew prince Ibrahim on the throne, who was the eldest son of Mustapha, and at that time prisoner of state with Mahmoud his brother. To succeed in this project, it was necessary to engage Mahomet Baltagi, and to march directly with the Janissaries to Constantinople. Mahomet was very little disposed to rash enterprises; therefore, the old vizier applied himself to his lieutenant, Osman Aga, who governed him in every thing; but the letters being intercepted, Chourlouly and Osman were beheaded, (an ignominious punishment among the Turks) and their heads laid in the hall of the divan. There was found among Osman's treasure the czarina's ring, and 20,000 pieces of gold in Saxon, Polish, and Muscovite coin. As to Baltagi Mahomet, he was banished to Lemnos, where he died three years after, for having been chosen, without his knowledge, to be the instrument of Chourlouly and Osman's designs. The grand seignior did not seize on his estate after his death, because he was not rich; which is a plain proof that the czar did not purchase the peace of him at an immense rate, as it was reported in Europe. To this grand vizier succeeded Jussuf, that is to say Joseph, whose fortune was as remarkable as that of his predecessors. Born a Muscovite, and taken prisoner by the Turks, at six years old, with all his family, he was sold to a Janissary, and having been a long time a servant in the seraglio, he at length, became the second person of that empire where he had been a slave; but he was only the shadow of a minister. The young Selictar Ali-Coumourgi raised him to this slippery post, till it was time to place himself in it; and Jussuf, his creature, had no other business but to set the seals of the empire to whatever this favourite had a mind to have done. The policy of the Ottoman court seemed quite changed in the beginning of this vizier's administration; the czar's plenipotentiaries, who remained at Constantinople, as ministers, or hostages, were better treated than ever; the grand vizier confirmed the peace of Pruth with them; but what most of all mortified the king of Sweden, was, to learn that the secret alliance, made at Constantinople with the czar, was brought about by the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland.

Constantinople, since the retreat of Charles to Bender, was become, what Rome had been so often, the centre of business in Christendom. Count Desaleurs, the French ambassador, maintained there the interests of Charles and Stanislaus; the emperor of Germany's minister opposed them; the Swedish and Muscovite factions fell foul of one another, as for a long time those of France and Spain have done at the court of Rome. England and Holland seemed neutral, but were not so; the new trade which the czar had opened at Petersburg, was not to be slighted by those two trading nations. The English and Dutch will always be for that prince who most favours their commerce. There was a great deal to be got, at that time, by

the czar; it was no wonder, then, that the ministers of England and Holland should privately serve him at the Ottoman Porte. One of the conditions of this new alliance was, that they should immediately get Charles out of the Turkish dominions; either because the czar thought of seizing him on the road, or that he would be less dangerous in his own country than in Turkey, where he was always on the spot to arm the Ottoman forces against the Russian empire. The king of Sweden continually solicited the Porte to send him back through Poland with a numerous army. The divan indeed were resolved to send him back, but it was only with a guard of 7 or 8000 men, not as a king whom they would succour, but as a guest they wanted to be rid of. To which end, the sultan Achmet, wrote him a letter in the following terms:

“ Most powerful among the kings who worship Jesus, redresser of wrongs and injuries, and protector of justice in the ports and republics from south to north; shining in majesty; lover of honour and glory, and of our sublime Porte, Charles king of Sweden, whose undertakings God crown with success.—As soon as the most illustrious Achmet, formerly Chiaoou Pachi, shall have the honour to deliver this letter to you, adorned with our imperial seal, be persuaded and convinced of the truth of our intentions therein contained, viz. That although we had designed to send our ever victorious troops once more against the czar, yet that prince, to avoid the just resentment he had given us, by retarding the execution of the treaty concluded on the banks of Pruth, and since renewed at our sublime Porte, having surrendered to our empire the castle and city of Asoph; and sought, by the mediation of the ambassadors of England and Holland, our ancient allies, to cultivate with us the ties of a lasting peace: we have complied with him, and given to his plenipotentiaries, who remain as hostages, our imperial ratification, after having received his from their hands. We have given to the most honourable and valiant Delvet Gherai, Han of Boudgiak, in Crim Tartary, of Noghai, and Circassia; and to our wise counsellor and noble serasquier of Bender, Ismael, whose magnificence and prudence God preserve and augment, our salutary orders for your return through Poland, according to your first design, which has been renewed to us in your behalf; you must therefore prepare to depart, under the care of providence, and with an honourable guard, the next winter, to your own dominions, taking care to pass as a friend through those of Poland. All that is necessary for your journey shall be furnished by my sublime Porte, as well money as men, horses, and waggons. We recommend to you, and exhort you, above all things, to give the most positive and express orders to all the Swedes, and others about you, to commit no disorder, or be guilty of any action that may tend directly, or indirectly, to violate this peace and alliance. You will hereby preserve our good-will, of which we shall give you as great and frequent proofs as occasions shall offer. Our troops designed to attend you, shall receive orders agreeable to our imperial intentions hereupon. Given at our sublime Porte at Constantinople, the 14th of the month Rebyul Euxeb 1124, which agrees with the 19th of April 1712.

This letter did not yet take all hopes from the king of Sweden; he wrote to the sultan, that he was ready to depart, and that he should always acknowledge the favours his highness had loaded him with; but believed that

the sultan was too just to send him away with no other guard than a flying camp, through a country still covered with the czar's troops. Indeed, the Muscovite emperor, contrary to the first article of the peace of Pruth, by which he was obliged to withdraw his troops out of Poland, had sent new ones thither; and, what seems strange, the grand seignior knew nothing of it. The bad policy of the Porte, and vanity in suffering the ambassadors of Christian princes at Constantinople, without having a single agent in any Christian court, give the latter an opportunity of penetrating into, and sometimes directing the most secret resolutions of the sultan, and of keeping the divan in a profound ignorance of what is done publicly among Christians. The sultan, shut up in his seraglio among women and eunuchs, sees only with the eyes of his grand vizier: this minister, as inaccessible as his master, employed in the intrigues of the seraglio, and without any correspondence abroad, is commonly deceived himself, or deceives the sultan, who deposes or strangles him for the first fault, to make choice of another as ignorant or as treacherous, who, behaving like his predecessors, is as soon dispatched. Such is, for the most part, the inactivity, and profound security of this court, that if the Christian princes were all to league against it, their fleets might be at the Dardanells, and their army at the gates of Adrianople, before the Turks would think of defending themselves; but the different interests that always divide Christendom, will save the Turks from a destiny, which their little policy, and ignorance of war, and maritime affairs, seem at present to lay them open to. Achmet was so little acquainted with what passed in Poland, that he sent an aga to see if the czar's forces were still there. Two of the king of Sweden's secretaries, who understood the Turkish language, accompanied the aga, that they might be witnesses against him if he made a false report. The aga saw the truth of it with his own eyes, and returned to give the sultan an account of it. Achmet enraged, was going to strangle the vizier; but the favourite protected him, and thinking he might have occasion for him, got his pardon, and kept him some time longer in the ministry. The Muscovites were openly protected by the vizier, and privately by Ali-Coumourgi, who had changed sides; but the sultan was so irritated, the infraction of the treaty so manifest, and the Janissaries who oftentimes make the ministers, the favourites, and even the sultans tremble, demanded the war so loudly, that no one in the seraglio durst speak moderately in the affair. The grand seignior immediately committed the Muscovite ambassadors to the seven Towers, who were as much accustomed to go to prison as to audience. The war was declared afresh against the czar, the horse-tails displayed; and orders given to all the pachas to raise an army of 200,000 fighting men. The sultan himself left Constantinople, and came to settle with his court at Adrianople, that he might be at less distance from the theatre of the war. During this time a solemn embassy, sent to the grand seignior, from Augustus and the republic of Poland, was on the road to Adrianople; the palatine of Masovia was at the head of it, with a train of about three hundred persons.

Every one of these was arrested and imprisoned in the suburbs of the city; the king of Sweden's party had never greater hopes than at this time; nevertheless, these great preparations were of no use, and all their expectations were frustrated. If we may believe a public minister, who was a

man of wisdom and penetration, and who resided at that time at Constantinople, young Coumourgi had other designs in his head than to dispute for deserts, with the czar of Muscovy in a doubtful war. He was projecting how to take the Peloponnesus, now called the Morea, from the Venetians, and to make himself master of Hungary. To execute his great designs, he waited only for the employment of grand vizier, which was kept from him on account of his youth. With this view he wanted to make an ally, rather than an enemy, of the czar. It was neither his interest nor his inclination to keep the king of Sweden any longer, much less to raise an army for him in Turkey. He was not only for sending that prince away, but declared openly, that no Christian minister ought henceforth to be suffered at Constantinople; that all these ambassadors were but honourable spies who corrupted or betrayed the viziers, and had too long given motion to the intrigues of the seraglio; that the Franks, settled at Pera and in the towns of the Levant, were merchants who had occasion only for a consul and not an ambassador. The grand vizier, who owed his rise, and even his life, to this favourite, and who was moreover afraid of him, complied with him in every thing, and especially as he had sold himself to the Muscovites, hoping to be revenged on the king of Sweden, who would have ruined him. The Mufti, a creature of Ali-Coumourgi's, was also a slave to his will. He had advised the war against the czar, when the favourite was for it, and thought it unjust, as soon as this young man had changed his opinion; so that the army was hardly got together, but they talked of propositions of accommodation. The vice-chancellor Shaffirof, and young Cseremetof, the plenipotentiaries and hostages of the czar at the Porte, promised, after many negotiations, that the czar should withdraw his troops from Poland. The grand vizier, who knew that the czar would not execute this treaty, did not refuse to sign it, and the sultan, contented with the appearance of giving laws to the Muscovites, continued still at Adrianople. Thus, in less than six months, peace was made with the czar, war declared again, and the peace renewed. The principle article in all these treaties was always, that the king of Sweden should be forced to depart. The sultan would not forfeit his own honour, and that of the Ottoman empire, by exposing the king to be taken by his enemies on the road. It was stipulated, that he should go, but that the ambassadors of Poland and Muscovy should answer for the safety of his person; these ambassadors swore, in the names of their masters, that neither the czar nor king Augustus should molest him in his passage; and Charles, on his side, was not to attempt to raise any commotions in Poland. The divan having thus settled what Charles was to do, Ismael, serasquier of Bender, went to Varnitza, where the king was encamped, and gave him an account of the resolutions the Porte had taken; letting him understand, in a handsome manner, that he must make no delay, but depart. Charles made no other answer, but that the grand seignior had promised him an army, and not a guard; and that kings ought to keep their word. In the mean time, general Fleming, the minister and favourite of king Augustus, maintained a secret correspondence with the kam of Tartary and the serasquier of Bender. A German colonel named La Mare had made more than one journey from Bender to Dresden, and had carried messages backward and forward between the kam and Fleming. King Au-

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gustus was several times heard to say, speaking of Charles, "I keep my bear tied at Bender. Just at this time, the king of Sweden caused a courier to be stopped on the frontiers of Walachia, who was sent by Fleming to the Tartarian prince. The letters were carried to him and decyphered; in which, was discovered a correspondence between the Tartars and the court of Dresden, but in so general and ambiguous terms, that it was not easy to find out, whether the design of king Augustus was only to draw off the Turks from the king of Sweden's party, or the kam was to deliver up Charles to the Saxons as he conducted him to Poland. It is scarce to be imagined that so generous a prince as Augustus, by seizing the person of the king of Sweden, would endanger the lives of his ambassadors, and of the three hundred Polish gentlemen, who were detained at Adrianople as pledges for the security of Charles. On the other hand Fleming, the absolute minister of Augustus, was known to be very little restrained by any scruples of conscience. The outrages the king elector had suffered from the king of Sweden, seemed to make any revenge excusable; and it might be supposed, that if the court of Dresden could buy Charles of the kam of Tartary, they might as easily buy, of the Ottoman court, the liberty of the Polish hostages. These reasons were weighed between the king, his private chancellor Mullern, and his favourite Grothusen. They read the letters over and over, and the unhappy situation they were in making them more suspicious, they were determined to believe the worst. Some days after, the king was confirmed in these suspicions by the hasty departure of count Sapieha, who had been a refugee with him, but now went all on a sudden into Poland to throw himself into the arms of Augustus. Upon all other occasions, he regarded Sapieha as a malecontent; but, at this nice conjuncture, he made no scruple to believe him a traitor. The repeated instances that were made to him at that time to be gone, turned his suspicions into certainty. The obstinacy of his temper, joined to all these probabilities, confirmed him in the opinion that they intended to betray him, and deliver him up to his enemies, although the plot was never proved.

He might be mistaken in the notion he had of king Augustus's bargaining for his person with the Tartars, but he was much more mistaken in relying upon succours from the Ottoman court: however, he was resolved to gain time. He told the pacha of Bender, that he would not go away till he had wherewithal to pay his debts; for though they had for a long time restored him his thaim, yet his liberalities had obliged him to borrow: the pacha asked what he would have? The king answered at a venture, 1000 purses, which amount to 150,000 French livres good money. The pacha wrote about it to the Porte; the sultan, instead of the one thousand purses he desired, ordered him 1200, and wrote the following letter to the pacha. The grand seignior's letter to the pacha of Bender:—"The design of this imperial letter is to let you know, that, upon your recommendation and representation, and upon that of the right noble Delvet Gherai, kam to our sublime Porte, our imperial munificence has granted to the king of Sweden 1000 purses, which shall be sent to Bender under the care and management of the most illustrious Mahomet Pacha, formerly Chiaoux Pachi, to remain in your custody till the time of the departure of the king of Sweden, who, steps God direct, and then to be delivered to him with 200 purses more."

a mark of our imperial liberality beyond what he desires. As to the route of Poland, which he is resolved to take, you and the kam, who are to attend him, are to take your measures so prudently, that during the whole passage none of the troops under your command, nor the people belonging to the king of Sweden, may do any damage, or commit any action that may be deemed contrary to the peace now subsisting between our sublime Porte and the kingdom and republic of Poland, so that the king of Sweden may pass as a friend under our protection. Doing this, (which you are to recommend to him in the most express terms), he will receive all the honours and respect due to his majesty on the part of Poland, of which we have been assured by the ambassadors of king Augustus and the republic, who have offered themselves, and several other of the Polish nobility, if required, on this condition, to be hostages for the security of his passage. When the time is come which shall be agreed upon between you and the noble Delvet Gherai for the march, you shall put yourself at the head of your brave soldiers, among whom must be the Tartars, having the kam at their head, and under their guard conduct the king of Sweden and his people. And may it please the only and Almighty God to direct your steps and theirs; the pacha of Aulis shall continue at Bender to defend it in your absence, with a body of Spahies and another of Janissaries; and in following our imperial orders and intentions in all these points and articles, you will render yourself worthy of the continuance of our imperial favour, as well as of the praises and recompences due to all those who observe them. Done at our imperial residence at Constantinople the 2d of the month Cheval, 1124 of the Hegira." While they waited for this answer from the grand seignior, the king wrote to the Porte, to complain of the treason of which he suspected the kam of Tartary to be guilty; but the passages were well guarded, and the ministry moreover being against him, his letters never came to the sultan; the vizier even hindered M. Desaleurs from coming to Adrianople, where the Porte then was, for fear that minister, who acted for the king of Sweden, should do any thing to prevent the design they had of sending him away. Charles, enraged to see himself in a manner hunted out of the territories of the grand seignior, determined not to go at all. He might have asked to have returned through the territories of Germany, or to have embarked in the Black Sea to be carried up the Mediterranean to Marseills; but he chose rather to ask nothing, and wait the event.

When the 1200 purses were arrived, his treasurer, Grothusen, who had learnt the Turkish language by being so long in the country, went, without an interpreter, to wait upon the pacha, with a design to get the money from him, and afterwards to form some new intrigue at the Porte, going always upon this false supposition, that the Swedish party would at last arm the Ottoman empire against the czar. Grothusen told the pacha, that the king could not get his equipage ready without money; but, said the pacha, we shall defray all the expenses of your journey: your master will be at no charge while he continues under my protection. Grothusen replied, that there was so much difference between the equipages of the Turks and those of the Franks, that they must be obliged to have recourse to the Turkish and Polish artificers, who were then in Farniza. He assured him that his master was disposed to go, and that this money would facilitate and hasten

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his departure. The pacha, too credulous, gave him the 1200 purses; and came some days after to desire the king, in the most respectful manner, to give him orders about his departure. His surprise was very great when the king told him he was not ready to go, and that he wanted 1000 purses more. The pacha, confounded at his answer, was for some time unable to speak; but retired towards a window, where he was seen to shed tears: afterwards, addressing himself to the king, "It will cost me my head," said he, "for having obliged your majesty: I have given you the 1200 purses against the express orders of my sovereign." Having said these words, he was going away full of grief. The king stopped him and said, "He would excuse it to the sultan:"—"Ah!" replied the Turk, in going away, "my master knows not how to excuse faults, but he knows how to punish them." Ismael Pacha went to acquaint the kam with this news, who having received the same orders not to deliver the 1200 purses till the king's departure, and having consented to it, was as much afraid of the resentment of the grand seignior as the pacha himself. They both wrote to the Porte to justify themselves; protesting that they did not deliver the 1200 purses, but upon positive promises from the king's minister, that he should depart without delay; and beseeched his highness that the king's refusal might not be attributed to their disobedience. Charles, still persisting in the notion that the kam and the pacha would deliver him up to his enemies, ordered M. Funk, his envoy to the grand seignior, to make his complaint of them, and to ask for 1000 purses more. His extreme generosity, and the little account he made of money, hindered him from seeing the meanness of this proposal. He made it only to be refused, and by that means to have a pretence for staying; but it was being reduced to strange extremities, to have need of such artifices. Savaria, his interpreter, a cunning enterprising man, carried his letter to Adrianople in spite of the strictness with which the grand vizier had guarded the passages, Funk was obliged to make this dangerous demand, and instead of an answer was clapped into prison. The sultan, very much exasperated, called an extraordinary divan, and spoke in it himself, which is very uncommon. His speech was as follows, according to the translation then made of it: "I hardly knew the king of Sweden but by his defeat at Pultowa, and by the entreaty he made me to grant him an asylum in my empire: I have not, I believe, any need of him, nor any reason to love or to fear him; nevertheless, without consulting any other motives than the hospitality of a Muselman, and my own generosity, which sheds the dew of its favours on the great as well as the little, on strangers as well as my own subjects: I have received and succoured him, his ministers, officers, and soldiers, and have not ceased for three years and a half to load him with presents. I have granted him a considerable guard to conduct him home to his own country. He asked for 1000 purses to defray some expenses, although I pay them all; instead of 1000, I granted him 1200; after getting these out of the hands of the serasquier of Bender, he asks for 1000 more, and will not depart under pretence that his guard is too little, notwithstanding it is too large to pass through the country of a friend. I ask, then, if it is a violation of the laws of hospitality to send away this prince? and if foreign powers ought to accuse me of cruelty and injustice, if I should be reduced to do it by force?" All the divan answered, that the

grand seignior might do it with justice. The Mufti declared; that hospitality is not commanded from Musselmen to infidels, much less to the ungrateful; and he gave his fetfa, a sort of mandate, which almost always accompanies the important orders of the grand seignior. These fetfas are revered as oracles, although the persons from whom they come are as much slaves to the sultan as any others. The order and the fetfa were carried to Bender by the Bouïouk Imraour, grand master of the horse, and a Chiaoux Pacha, the first usher. The pacha of Bender received the order at the kam of Tartary's; he went immediately to Varnitza, to ask the king if he would go away as a friend, or, if he must be forced to execute the sultan's orders. Charles XII. thus threatened, was not master of his temper. "Obey your master if you dare," said he, "and begone out of my presence." The pacha, enraged, galloped away, contrary to the manner of the Turks. In his return he met Fabricius, and cried out to him as he was galloping on, "The king will not hear reason; you will see strange things." The same day he retrenched the king's provisions, and took away his guard of Janissaries. He sent word to the Poles and the Cossacks at Varnitza, that if they would have provisions, they must leave the king of Sweden's camp and come to Bender under the protection of the Porte. They all obeyed, and left the king with only the officers of his household and three hundred Swedes, against 20,000 Tartars and 6000 Turks. There was no longer any provision in the camp for man or horse. The king ordered them to shoot, without the camp, twenty of the fine Arabian horses which the grand seignior had sent him, saying, "I will neither have their provisions nor their horses:" this was a fine regale for the Tartars, who, it is known, think horse-flesh delicious eating. In the mean time the Turks and Tartars, in a moment, invested the king's little camp. This prince, without any surprise, ordered regular intrenchments to be made by his 300 Swedes, and worked at them himself; his chancellor, treasurer, secretaries, valet-de-chambres, and all his domestics assisted. Some barricadoed the windows, others placed beams behind the doors in form of buttresses. When the house was well barricadoed, and the king had taken a turn round his imaginary fortifications, he sat himself down very calmly to play at chess with his favourite Grothusen, as if every thing had been in perfect safety. Very luckily Fabricius, the envoy of Holstein, did not lodge at Varnitza, but at a little village between that and Bender, where also resided Mr. Jeffreys, the envoy of England to the king of Sweden. These two ministers, seeing the storm that was ready to fall; took upon them to be mediators between the Turks and the king. The kam, and especially the pacha of Bender, who had no inclination to use any violence, received with pleasure the offers made them by the two ministers; they had two conferences together at Bender, at which, the usher of the seraglio and the grand master of the horse, who brought the sultan's order, and the fetfa of the mufti, were present. M. Fabricius* owned to them, that his Swedish majesty had just cause to believe that they would deliver him into the hands of his enemies in Poland. The kam, the pacha, and the rest, swore upon their beards, and putting their hands upon their heads, called God to witness that they detested so horrible a treachery, and that they would lose their blood rather than suffer so much as any disrespect to be shown the king

* All this is related in Fabricius's Letters.

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in Poland. They said they had the Muscovite and Polish ambassadors in their hands, whose lives should answer for the least affront that any one should dare to offer to the king of Sweden: and, afterwards, complained bitterly of the unjust suspicions that the king had conceived against persons who had so well received and treated him. Although oaths are oftentimes the language of treachery, yet M. Fabricius suffered himself to be persuaded by these barbarians; he thought he saw in their protestations that air of truth which is but imperfectly imitated by falsehood. He knew very well there had been a private correspondence between the kam of Tartary and king Augustus, but was convinced that the design of that negotiation, was only to oblige Charles XII. to go out of the grand seignior's territories. Whether Fabricius was mistaken or not, he assured them that he would represent to the king the injustice of these jealousies; but do you intend to force him away? added he—"Yes," said the pacha, "such is our master's orders." Then he desired them to consider again if that order was to shed the blood of a crowned head. "Yes" replied the kam in a passion, "if that crowned head disobeys the grand seignior in his empire."

In the mean while, every thing being ready for the attack, the death of Charles XII. seemed inevitable; but the sultan's order not being positively to kill him in case of resistance, the pacha prevailed upon the kam to suffer him to send an express immediately to Adrianople, where the grand seignior then was, to receive his highness's last command. Mr. Jeffreys and M. Fabricius having obtained this small respite, ran to acquaint the king of it; they came with all the earnestness of persons who bring joyful news; but were very coolly received, and called officious mediators, the king still persisting that the sultan's order and the festa of the mufti were forged, since they had just sent for fresh orders from the Porte. The English minister went away, resolved not to meddle any more in the affairs of a prince who was so obstinate: M. Fabricius, beloved by the king, and more used to his humour than the English minister, continued with him to conjure him not to hazard a life so precious on so unprofitable an occasion. The king answered him only by shewing him his fortifications, and desired him to employ his mediations no otherwise than to procure him provisions; the Turks very readily consented to let provisions pass to the king's camp until the courier returned from Adrianople. The kam himself had forbid his Tartars, who were eager for the plunder, to attempt any thing against the Swedes until they had fresh orders; so that Charles XII. went sometimes out of his camp with forty horse, through the midst of the Tartarian troops, who very respectfully left the passage open to him; he even marched directly through their ranks, and they opened to him rather than resist him. The grand seignior's order being come, to put all the Swedes to the sword who made the least resistance, and not even to spare the life of the king, the pacha had the complaisance to shew it to Fabricius, that he might make his last effort on the resolution of Charles. Fabricius went to acquaint him with this sorrowful news. "Have you read the order you speak of?" said the king, "Yes," answered Fabricius: "Well then, tell them from me," replied the king, "this is the second order they have forged, and that I will not go. Fabricius flung himself at his feet, was even in a passion, reproached him

with his obstinacy, but all was to no purpose. "Return to your Turks," said the king smiling, "if they attack me, I know how to defend myself."

The king's chaplains also fell upon their knees before him, conjuring him not to expose, to a certain massacre, the unhappy remains of Pultowa, and above all his own most sacred person; assuring him moreover that this resistance was unjust, and that he violated the laws of hospitality, by persisting to stay, whether they would or no, among strangers, who had so long and so generously succoured him. The king, who was not angry with Fabricius, fell into a rage against his priests, and told them, he had taken them to pray, and not to give their advice. Generals Hord and Dardoff, whose opinion it was always not to hazard a battle when the consequence must be fatal, shewed him their breasts covered with wounds received in his service; and assuring him, that they were ready to die for him, begged that it might be at least, upon a more necessary occasion. "I know by your wounds and my own," said Charles, "that we have fought valiantly together: you have done your duty hitherto, do it again to day." They had nothing left but to obey, they were ashamed not to court death with the king. He prepared for the assault, and flattered himself with the pleasure and honour of sustaining, with three hundred Swedes, the efforts of a whole army. He placed every one at his post: his chancellor Mullern, secretary Empreus, and the clerks, were to defend the chancery-house. Baron Fief at the head of the officers of the kitchen were at another post; the grooms had another place to guard; for with him every man was a soldier. He rode from his intrenchments to his house, promising rewards to every one, creating officers, and assuring the meanest servants they should be made captains if they fought with courage. It was not long before they saw the army of the Turks and Tartars coming to attack their little fortifications, with ten pieces of cannon and two mortars. The horse tails waved in the air, the clarions sounded, and the cry of Alla! Alla! was heard on all sides. Baron Grothusen remarked that they did not mix any ill language against the king in their cries, and only called him *demisbash*, "head of iron." He resolved immediately to go alone out of the fortifications unarmed, and advancing up to the line of the Janissaries, who had almost all received money from him, "Ah! what my friends!" said he to them in their own language, "are you come to massacre three hundred defenceless Swedes? you brave Janissaries, who spared 100,000 Muscovites, upon their crying *ammon* "pardon." Have you forgot the favours you have received from us? and would you assassinate that great king of Sweden whom you loved so much, and who has been so liberal to you? My friends, he asks but three days, and the sultans orders are not so severe as you are made to believe." These words had an effect which Grothusen did not expect himself. The Janissaries swore upon their beards, that they would not attack the king, but give him the three days he required. In vain was the signal given for the assault; the Janissaries were so far from obeying, that they threatened to fall upon their chiefs if they did not allow the king of Sweden three days: they went in an uproar to the pacha of Bender's tent, crying, that the sultan's orders were forged; the pacha had nothing to oppose to this unexpected sedition but patience. He pretended to be pleased with this generous

resolution of the Janissaries, and ordered them to retreat to Bender. The kam of Tartary, a man of a violent temper, would have given the assault immediately with his own troops; but the pacha, who did not intend that the Tartars should have the honour alone of taking the king, whilst he might be punished, perhaps, for the disobedience of the Janissaries, persuaded the kam to wait till the next day. The pacha, at his return to Bender, assembled all the officers of the Janissaries and the oldest soldiers, and read to them, and shewed them the positive order of the sultan, and the fetfa of the mufti. Sixty of the most ancient, with venerable grey beards, who had received a thousand presents from the king's hands, proposed to go themselves, and beseech him to put himself into their hands, and suffer them to serve him as a guard. The pacha consented to it, there was no expedient that he would not try, rather than be forced to put the king to death. These sixty old men accordingly went the next morning to Varnitza, having nothing in their hands but long white staffs, the only arms of the Janissaries when they are not going to battle, for the turks look upon it as a barbarous custom, among Christians, to wear swords in time of peace, and to go armed into the houses of friends, and into churches. They addressed themselves to baron Grothusen, and chancellor Mullern; they told them they were come to serve as faithful guards to the king; and that they would conduct him to Adrianople, where he might speak himself to the grand seignior. At the time they were making this proposal, the king read letters that came from Constantinople, and which Fabricius, who could not see him any more, had sent to him privately by a Janissary. They were from count Poniatowsky, who could neither serve him at Bender nor Adrianople, having been stopped at Constantinople, by order of the Porte, since the indiscreet demand of 1000 purses. He let the king know that the sultan's order to seize, or massacre his royal person in case of resistance, was but too true; that indeed the sultan was imposed upon by his ministers, but that the more the emperor was imposed upon, the more he would be obeyed; that he must give way to the times, and yield to necessity; that he took the liberty to advise him to try what might be done with the ministers by way negotiation; not to be inflexible where the softest measures were to be taken, and to expect by policy and time to cure an evil which violence would but increase beyond a remedy. Neither the proposals of the old Janissaries, nor the letters of Poniatowsky, could persuade the king that he could yield without dishonour. He would rather die by the hand of the Turks, than be in any sort their prisoner: he sent the Janissaries back without seeing them, and ordered them to be told, that if they did not go about their business, he would cut off their beards, which is accounted, in the east, the greatest of all affronts. These old men, filled with the sharpest resentment, returned, crying, "Ah, the head of iron! since he will perish, let him perish." They gave the pacha an account of their commission, and told their comrades at Bender, what strange reception they had met with. Every one swore then to obey the pacha's orders without delay; and were as much for the assault, at that time as they had been against it the day before. The order was given that instant; they marched up to the intrenchments; the Tartars were already waiting for them; and the ten pieces of cannon began to play. The Janissaries on

one side, and the Tartars on the other, immediately forced this little camp. Hardly twenty Swedes had time to draw their swords before the three hundred soldiers were surrounded and taken prisoners without resistance. The king was then on horseback, between his house and his camp, with the generals Hord, Dardoff, and Sparre; and seeing that all his soldiers had suffered themselves to be taken before his face, he said very calmly to those three officers, let us go and defend the house, we will fight adds he smiling, *pro aris et focis*. He immediately galloped with them towards that house, where he had about forty domestics placed as centinels, and which was fortified as well as they were able. These generals, accustomed as they were to the obstinate intrepidity of their master, could not but wonder that, in cold blood, and in a jesting manner, he should think of defending himself against ten pieces of cannon and a whole army; they followed him with some guards and some domestics, making all together about twenty in number. But when they came to the door, they found it besieged by Janissaries; nay, almost two hundred Turks and Tartars were already got in at the window, and made themselves masters of all the apartments except a great hall, into which the king's domestics were retired. This hall was luckily near the door by which the king with his little troop of twenty persons designed to enter; he flung himself off his horse with pistol and sword in hand, and those who followed him did the same. The Janissaries fell upon him on all sides, being encouraged by the promise the pacha had made them, of having every one eight ducats of gold who did but touch his clothes if he was taken. He wounded or killed all that came near him. One Janissary, whom he had wounded, presented his piece full in his face, and had certainly killed him, if the arm of a Turk had not jostled him, which was occasioned by the crowd that pressed backward and forward like waves; the ball grazed upon his nose, took off a piece of his ear, and then broke the arm of general Hord, whose fate it was always to be wounded by the side of his master. The king plunged his sword into the Janissary's breast, and at the same time, his domestics, who were in the great hall, opened the door to him. He went in as swift as an arrow, followed by his little troop: they shut the door again in an instant, and barricadoed it with every thing they could find. Behold Charles XII. shut up in this hall with all his train, which consisted of about sixty men, officers, guards, secretaries, valet de chambres, and domestics of every kind. The Janissaries and the Tartars plundered the rest of the house, and filled the apartments. "Come, let us drive these barbarians out of my house," said he; and putting himself at the head of his people, he opened the door himself that led to his bed-chamber, went into it, and fired upon the plunderers. The Turks, laden with booty, being terrified at the sudden appearance of that king whom they were always accustomed to respect, flung down their arms, and jumped out of the window, or retreated even to the cellars; the king taking advantage of their disorder, and his people being encouraged by this success, followed the Turks from one room to another, killing and wounding those who did not fly, and in a quarter of an hour cleared the house of the enemy. The king, in the heat of the engagement, perceived two Janissaries, who hid themselves under his bed; he killed one with his sword, the other asked pardon,

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crying *ammon*. "I give you your life," said the king, "upon condition that you give a faithful account to the pacha of what you have seen." Grothusen interpreted these words to him, the Turk very readily promised to do so, and was then suffered to jump out of the window as the others had done. The Swedes being at last masters of the house, shut and barricadoed the windows again. They did not want arms; a ground room full of muskets and powder had escaped the tumultuous search of the Janissaries, and was very serviceable to them, for, firing out of the windows upon this multitude of Turks, they killed two hundred in less than half a quarter of an hour. The cannon played against the house, but the stones being very soft, it only made holes without beating any thing down. The kam of Tartary, and the pacha, who would take the king alive, being ashamed to lose time and men, and employ a whole army against sixty persons, thought it proper to set fire to the house, to oblige the king to surrender. They ordered arrows twisted round with lighted matches to be shot on the roof, and against the doors and windows, which presently set the house in a flame. The roof on fire was just ready to fall upon the Swedes. The king very calmly gave orders to extinguish the flames, and finding a little barrel full of liquor, he laid hold of it himself, and assisted by two Swedes, flung it on the place where the fire was most violent. This proved to be a barrel of brandy, but the hurry that is inseparable from such a confusion, hindered him from thinking of it. The rage of the fire was redoubled by this, the king's apartment was consumed, and the great hall where the Swedes were, was filled with a terrible smoke, mixed with fresh flames, that burst through the doors into the neighbouring apartments. Half of the roof fell in, the rest tumbled down without, cracking among the flames. One of the guards, named Walberg, dared, in this extremity to cry out, that they ought to surrender. "See, there is a strange fellow," said the king, "who thinks it not better to be burnt than made a prisoner." Another of the guards, named Rosen, had the thought to say, that "the chancery house, which was not above fifty paces distant, had a stone roof, and was proof against fire; that they ought to sally out to gain that house, and defend themselves there."—"This is a true Swede," cried the king, embracing him, and made him a colonel upon the spot. "Come on my friends," said he, "take all the powder and ball you can carry, and let us gain the chancery sword in hand."

The Turks, who all the while encompassed this house in flames, saw with an admiration mixed with fear, that the Swedes did not come out of it; but their astonishment was greatly increased, when they saw the doors open, and the king and his people desperately falling upon them. Charles and his principal officers were armed with sword and pistols; each fired two pistols at the instant that the door opened, and in the twinkling of an eye, throwing away their pistols, they drew their swords, and drove the Turks fifty paces back; but the moment after, this little troop was surrounded. The king being in boots, according to custom, was thrown down by his spurs entangling one in another. One-and-twenty Janissaries immediately fell upon him, disarmed him, and carried him to the pacha's quarters, some holding him by the arms and some by the legs, as a sick person is carried, for fear of incommoding him. The moment the king was taken, the violence of his temper, and the fury that so long and terrible a fight had

put him into, gave way, on a sudden, to a gentle and quiet behaviour. Not one impatient word dropt from him, nor one angry look. He beheld the Janissaries smiling, and those who carried him, crying *Alla*, with an indignation mixt with respect. His officers were taken at the same time, and stript by the Turks and Tartars. It was on the 12th of February 1713, that this strange adventure happened, which was also attended by some uncommon consequences.

BOOK VII.

THE pacha of Bender waited in a solemn manner for Charles in his tent, having by him Marco, an interpreter; he received this prince with a profound respect, and desired him to repose himself on a sopha; but the king, taking no notice of the civilities of the Turk, continued standing. "Blessed be the Almighty," said the pacha, "that your majesty is alive; I have been greatly afflicted that your majesty forced me to put the orders of his highness in execution." The king, only concerned that his three hundred soldiers should suffer themselves to be taken in their intrenchments, said to the pacha, "Ah! if they had defended themselves as they ought, we should have held out these ten days."—"Alas!" said the Turk, "what pity it is such courage should be so ill employed." He ordered the king to be carried back to Bender on a horse richly caparisoned. His Swedes were either killed or taken; his equipage, his goods, papers, and most necessary clothes were plundered or burnt. The Swedish officers were to be seen on the roads half naked, and chained two and two, following the Tartars or Janissaries on foot. The chancellor and generals had no better fate, but were all slaves to the soldiers to whose lot they fell.

The most unfortunate destiny of all the prisoners, was that of young Frederick, the king's first valet de chambre, who had saved his life at Pultowa, and who, seconding the bold undertaking of Poniatowsky, had conducted his master through his victorious enemies for the space of three long miles. Frederick maintained in the action at Bender the reputation he had acquired at Pultowa; he fought always by Charles's side, and was not taken till he had killed twelve Turks with his own hand. He was said to equal king Augustus in strength, and had withal a most beautiful person, which was the cause of his unhappy end. Several Tartars disputed this prize, and, inflamed with the fury of the battle, and an odious passion, not agreeing to whom the prey should belong, they cut Frederick in two with their sabres. Ismael Pacha having conducted Charles XII. to his seraglio in Bender, gave him his own apartment, and ordered him to be attended like a king; but took care to place Janissaries, as centinels, at the door of his chamber. A bed was prepared for him, but he flung himself, booted as he was, on a sopha, and slept profoundly. An officer, who waited near him, covered his head with a cap, but the king threw it away, as soon as he waked out of his first sleep, and the Turk, with astonishment, beheld a sovereign sleeping bare-headed in his boots. The next morning Ismael introduced Fabricius into the king's chamber, who found him with his clothes torn, his boots,

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hands, and whole person covered with blood and dust, his eye-brows burnt, but still his air was perfectly composed. Fabricius flung himself on his knees before him, without being able to speak a word; but soon recovering himself, by the free and affable manner in which the king spoke to him, he resumed his usual familiarity, and they discoursed very pleasantly on the battle of Bender. "It is reported," said Fabricius, "that your majesty killed twenty Janissaries with your own hand."—"Very good," replied the king, "stories of that kind are always increased by one half." During this conversation, the pacha presented to the king his favourite Grothusen, and colonel Ribbins, whom he had the generosity to ransom at his own expence. Fabricius undertook to redeem other prisoners. Jeffreys, the English envoy, joined with him to defray the expence; and La Motraye, a French gentleman, whom curiosity had brought to Bender, and who has written of some of these events, gave what he had. These strangers, assisted by the care, and even the money of the pacha, redeemed not only the officers, but their very clothes from the hands of the Turks and Tartars.

The next day they conducted the king prisoner, in a chariot covered with scarlet, towards Adrianople; his treasurer Grothusen was with him; chancellor Mullern, and other officers followed in another; several officers went on horseback, who, when they saw the king's chariot, could not refrain from tears. The pacha was at the head of the convoy. Fabricius told him it was shameful to let the king be without a sword, and prayed the pacha to give him one. "God forbid," said the pacha, "he would cut our beards with it;" nevertheless, he did let him have one some hours after. As they were thus conducting, disarmed, and a prisoner, that king, who a few years before had given laws to so many states, and who was the arbiter of the north, and the terror of Europe, there was seen in the same place another example of the frailty of human greatness. King Stanislaus, having been seized in the Turkish dominions, was brought prisoner to Bender, at the very time that Charles XII. was carrying out of it. Stanislaus, no longer supported by the hand that made him king, being without money, and of consequence without a party in Poland, retired first to Pomerania, and, not being able to preserve his own kingdom, defended, as well as he was able, the dominions of his benefactor. He went himself to Sweden, to hasten the succours that were wanted in Livonia and Pomerania. At last, having done all that could be expected from him, as the king of Sweden's friend, and struggled with ill-fortune, he thought it best to give up the crown, he could keep no longer. He conferred about it with Fleming, king Augustus's first minister, who was much indebted to him, and promised him advantageous terms, if not out of gratitude, at least for his honour, or, which is most likely, to deceive him. Stanislaus could not, however, decently abdicate the crown without the consent of Charles, to whom he owed it. He wrote therefore to him to Bender, to desire him to consent to an abdication, become necessary at that conjuncture, and not dishonourable from the motives to it; he beseeched him no longer to sacrifice his true interests for the sake of an unhappy friend, who was willing to make a sacrifice of himself to the public repose. Charles XII. received these letters at Varnitza, and said in a passion to the courier, before many witnesses, "If he wont be a king, I shall know how to make another so." Stanislaus, thinking his pre-

sence might have a better effect than his letters, went away for that purpose, taking with him baron Sparre, who has been since the ambassador of Sweden in France; he quitted his Polish habit for fear of being discovered on the road, and passed the frontiers of Hungary and Transilvania continually afraid of being stopt, nor thought himself in safety till he came into Moldavia, at Yassi, on the Turkish territories, near that place where the czar had so narrow an escape out of their hands; but at Yassi he was stopt, and examined; they asked him what he was, he said a Swede, going on business to the king at Bender, imagining that at the very name of the king of Sweden, the Turks would let him pass with honour, being a stranger to what had happened. They seized his person as soon as he said he was a Swede, and carried him prisoner to Bender. It was soon known who he was, and the account of his being taken was brought to the pacha, at the time that he was attending the chariot of the king of Sweden. The pacha told what had happened to Fabricius, and he going up to the chariot of Charles XII. let him know that he was not the only king who was prisoner in the hands of the Turks, but that Stanislaus was within a few miles of him, conducted by soldiers. "Run to him, dear Fabricius," said Charles, "bid him never make peace with king Augustus; and assure him that our affairs will take a new turn in a very little time." Such was the inflexibility of Charles in his notions, that, abandoned as he was in Poland, invaded in his own dominions, a captive to the Turks, and carrying prisoner he knew not whither, yet he still reckoned on his fortune, and relied on the assistance of 100,000 men from the Ottoman Porte. Fabricius ran to discharge himself of his commission, accompanied by a Janissary, with the leave of the pacha. He found, at some miles distance, the body of soldiers who conducted Stanislaus; he addressed himself to one, who was in the midst of them, dressed after the French manner, and very ill mounted, and asked him in German, where the king of Poland was? The person he spoke to was Stanislaus himself, whom he did not know in that disguise; "What!" said the king, "have you then forgot me?" Fabricius then told him the sorrowful condition the king of Sweden was in, and how unshaken his constancy was, which was not at all useful to his design. When Stanislaus was near Bender, the pacha being returned, after having waited on Charles XII. a few miles, sent the Polish king an Arabian horse with magnificent furniture.

He was received at Bender with a discharge of the artillery, and, but that he wanted liberty, had no reason to complain of his treatment there. Charles in the mean time was on the road to Adrianople, which place was already filled with the noise of his battle; the Turks condemned and admired him; but the divan was so enraged, that he was threatened to be banished to one of the islands of the Archipelago.

Monsieur Desalours, who could have taken his part and prevented such an affront to Christian kings, was at Constantinople, as well as M. Poniatowsky, whose genius was ever fruitful of invention. The greatest part of the Swedes at Adrianople were in prison, and the throne of the sultan seemed inaccessible on every side to the complaints of the king of Sweden. The marquis de Fierville, a private agent from France to Charles at Bender, was then at Adrianople; and dared venture to do this prince a service when every one abandoned or oppressed him. He was very luckily seconded in

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this design by a French gentleman of an ancient family, named Villelongue, a man of intrepidity, who, not having at that time a fortune answerable to his courage, and charmed with the fame of the king of Sweden, was come into Turkey with a desire to get into the service of that prince. M. de Fierville, with the help of this young man, wrote a memorial in the name of the king of Sweden, in which that monarch demanded justice of the sultan for the insult offered, in his person, to all crowned heads: and against the treason, whether true or false, of the kam, and the pacha of Bender. The vizier, and other ministers, were accused in it, of having been corrupted by the Muscovites, of deceiving the grand seignior, of preventing the king's letters coming to his highness, and of obtaining, by artifices, from the sultan, an order so contrary to the hospitality of Musselmén, by which the law of nations was violated in a manner most unworthy of so great an emperor, by attacking, with 20,000 men, a king who had only his own domestics to defend him, and who relied on the sacred word of the sultan. When the memorial was drawn up, it was to be translated into the Turkish language, and wrote upon a particular sort of paper, made on purpose, for every thing that is presented to the sultan. They applied to some French interpreters, who were in the city; but the king of Sweden's affairs were so desperate, and the vizier declared so openly against him, that no one dared to translate M. de Fierville's writing. They found at last a stranger whose hand was not known at the *Porté*, and who, for the promise of a reward and the assurance of profound secrecy, translated the memorial into Turkish, and wrote it on the proper paper. Baron Arvidson, an officer in the Swedish troops, counterfeited the king's hand to it: Fierville, who had the royal signature, put that to it, and the whole was sealed with the arms of Sweden. Villelongue undertook himself to put this packet into the grand seignior's hand when he went to the mosque, according to custom. The same method had been used before to present memorials to the sultan against his ministers; but that rendered this enterprise the more difficult and dangerous. The vizier, who foresaw the Swedes would demand justice of his master, and who was but too well instructed by the ruin of his predecessors, had expressly forbid that any person should be suffered to approach the grand seignior, and, above all, had ordered that every one should be seized who were seen about the mosque with petitions. Villelongue knew this order, and that he ventured his head in what he was doing; he quitted his own habit, and put on that of a Greek, and having hid in his bosom the letter he was to present, he walked about very early near the mosque where the grand seignior was to come. He counterfeited the madman, and danced between two files of Janissaries, through which the grand seignior was to pass, now and then dropping some pieces of money out of his pockets to amuse the guards. As soon as the sultan approached, they would have made Villelongue get out of way; but he fell on his knees and struggled with the Janissaries, when, his cap falling off, the long hair he wore discovered him to be a Frank. He received several blows, and was very ill-used; the grand seignior, who was by this time very near, heard the tumult, and asked the reason of it. Villelongue cried, as loud as he could, *amman! amman!* "mercy!" and drew the letter out of his bosom. The sultan ordered him to approach; Villelongue ran that moment, embraced his stirrup, and present

ed the writing, saying, *Sued krall dan!* "It is the king of Sweden gives it thee." The sultan put the letter in his bosom and went on to the mosque. In the mean time Villelongue was secured, and led to prison in one of the outward buildings of the seraglio. The sultan, when he came from the mosque, after having read the letter, would interrogate the prisoner himself. He put off his imperial habit and turban, and disguised himself like an officer of the Janissaries, which he oftentimes does, and took with him an old Maltese for his interpreter. By the favour of this disguise, Villelongue received an honour which no Christian ambassador ever had, to have a personal conference, for above a quarter of an hour, with the Turkish emperor. He did not fail to lay open the complaints of the king of Sweden, to accuse the ministers, or to demand satisfaction; and this he did with the greater freedom, because, though talking with the sultan himself, he was to take no notice of him but as his equal. The pretended officer of the Janissaries said to Villelongue, "Christian, assure thyself the sultan, my master, has the soul of an emperor, and if thy king of Sweden is injured, he will do him justice." Villelongue was soon released; and, some weeks after, there was a sudden change in the seraglio, which the Swedes attributed wholly to this conference. The mufti was deposed, the kam of Tartary banished to Rhodes, and the serasquier, pacha of Bender, to one of the islands of the Archipelago. The Ottoman Porte is so subject to the like storms, that it is hard to determine, whether the sultan intended to appease the king of Sweden by these sacrifices or not. The manner of treating that prince afterwards, was no proof of their great eagerness to please him. The favourite, Ali-Coumourgi, was thought to have made all these alterations alone, for his own private interests. It was said, that he had the kam of Tartary, and serasquier of Bender, banished for delivering the 1200 purses to the king, contrary to the order of the grand seignior. He placed the son of the deposed kam on his father's throne, a young man of his own age, who cared little for his father, and upon whom Ali-Coumourgi depended very much in the war which he was meditating. As to the grand vizier, Jussuf, he was not deposed till some weeks after, when Soliman Pacha had the title of prime vizier. I must needs say, that M. de Villelongue, and several Swedes, have assured me, that the letter which he presented to the sultan in the king's name, was the cause of all these great alterations at the Porte; but M. de Fierville has told me quite the contrary. I have oftentimes met with the like contradictions in what has been related to me. All that an historian can do in such cases, is to tell the matters of fact ingenuously, without entering into the motives; and to relate precisely what he knows, without pretending to the gift of divination. In the mean time, Charles XII. was conducted to the little castle of Demirtash, near Adrianople. A crowd of Turks went there to see the arrival of this prince; he was carried out of his chariot upon a sofa; but, to prevent his being seen by the multitude, he put a cushion over his head. It was some days before the Porte would suffer him to reside at Demotica, a little town about six leagues from Adrianople, near the famous river Hebrus, called at present Marizza. Coumourgi said to the grand vizier Soliman, "Go, tell the king of Sweden he may remain at Demotica as long he lives; I will answer for it, before a year's at an end, he will desire to leave it; but be sure, above all things, to let him have no money."

Thus was the king removed to the little town of Demotica, where the Porte allowed him a considerable thaim of provisions for himself and his retinue, but only twenty-five crowns a-day in money to buy pork and wine, which are things that the Turks never provide; but his purse of five hundred crowns a-day, as he had at Bender, was quite taken away. He was hardly got to Demotica with his little court, before the grand vizier Soliman was deposed, and his place given to Ibrahim Molla, who was a man of an exceeding fierce and brutish temper. It will not be unnecessary to be acquainted with his history, that all the viceroys of the Ottoman empire may be particularly known, on whom the fortune of Charles so long depended. He was a common sailor at the accession of the sultan Achmet III. which emperor would often disguise himself as a private person, a priest, or dervis, and slip into the coffee-houses and public places at Constantinople, to hear what was said of him, and from thence to learn the sentiments of the people. He one day overheard this sailor complaining that the Turkish vessels never returned home with any prizes, and swore that if he was captain, he would never enter the porte of Constantinople without taking some ship from the infidels. The grand seignior, the very next day, ordered the command of a ship to be given him, and sent him on a cruise. The new captain returned in a few days with a Maltese bark, and a galley of Genoa. At the end of two years he was made captain-general of the sea, and at last grand vizier. As soon as he was in this post, he thought he might do without the favourite, and, to make himself necessary, he projected a war with the Muscovites: with this design he set up a tent near the place where the king of Sweden lived. He invited that prince to meet him there with the new kam of Tartary, and the French ambassador. The king being, by his misfortunes, the more sensible of affronts, looked upon this, of being sent for by a subject, as one of greatest that could be offered him, therefore sent his chancellor Mullern in his stead; and, for fear the Turks should fail in respect to him, and force him to do something beneath his dignity, this prince, who was extreme in every thing, took to his bed, and resolved to go no more abroad as long as he was at Demotica. He remained thus for ten months, pretending to be sick; none but chancellor Mullern, Grothusen, and colonel Dubens, ever eat with him. They had not any of the conveniences which are used by the Franks; they were stripped of those in the affair of Bender; so that all pomp and delicacy were wanting at their repasts, and they were forced to wait upon themselves: chancellor Mullern doing the business of cook for the whole time. Whilst Charles XII. thus passed his time in his bed-chamber, he received an account of the desolation of all his provinces situated out of Sweden. General Steinbock, famous for having driven the Danes out of Scandinavia, and overcoming their best troops, with a parcel of peasants, still maintained the glory of the Swedish arms. He defended, as well as he was able, Pomerania, Bremen, and what the king had left in Germany, but could not hinder the Danes and Saxons united from passing the Elbe and besieging Stade, a strong and considerable town near that river, in the dutchy of Bremen: it was bombarded and burnt to ashes, and the garrison forced to surrender at discretion, before Steinbock could come up to their relief. This general, who had about 12,000 men, half of them horse, pursued the enemy, who were as strong again, and ob-

liged them to repass the Elbe, and came up with them in the dutchy of Mecklenburg, near a place called Gadebush, and a little river of the same name, on the 20th of December 1712. The Saxons and Danes were posted with a morass before them, and were supported by a wood behind; they had the advantage both of number and ground, and there was no coming at them but by crossing the morass under the fire of their artillery. Steinbock went on at the head of his troops, arrived in order of battle, and began one of the most bloody engagements that ever happened between those two rival nations. After three hours fight the Danes and Saxons were overcome, and left the field of battle. A son of king Augustus, and the count of Konismar, known by the name of the count de Saxe, learned in this battle the art of war. This was the same count de Saxe who had the honour afterwards to be elected duke of Courland, though without success, and who wanted nothing but force to enjoy the most incontestable right that man ever had to sovereignty: I mean the unanimous suffrages of a people. He commanded a regiment at Gadebush, and had a horse killed under him. I heard him say, that the Swedes all kept their ranks, and that, even after the victory was gained, and their enemies lay dead at their feet, not one of the Swedish soldiers durst stoop to strip them till prayers were said in the field of battle: so stedfast were they in the severe discipline to which their king had used them. Steinbock, after the victory, remembering that the Danes had reduced Stade to ashes, went to be revenged upon Altena, which belonged to the king of Denmark. Altena is higher than Hamburgh, on the river Elbe, and receives pretty large vessels into its port. The king of Denmark granted many privileges to this town, with design of establishing a flourishing trade there. Already had the industry of the people, encouraged by the prudent views of their prince, brought their town into the number of those which are accounted trading and rich places. Hamburgh began to grow jealous of it, and desired nothing more than its destruction. As soon as Steinbock came within sight of it, he sent a trumpet to bid the inhabitants retire with what they could carry of their effects, for he was come to destroy their town. The magistrates came and flung themselves at his feet, and offered him a ransom of 100,000 crowns. Steinbock demanded 200,000; the Altenois begged him to let them send to their correspondents at Hamburgh, and assured him they would bring the money the next day; the Swedish general answered, that they must give it that instant, or he would burn their town without delay. It was said, that the Hamburghers gave a large sum privately to Steinbock to purchase the ruin of this town, which they so much dreaded; and that Steinbock, in this severity, satisfied his interest, his revenge, and that of his master. His troops were in the suburbs with torches in their hands; and a weak wooden gate and a dry ditch were the only defences of the town. The miserable inhabitants were obliged to quit their houses with precipitation at midnight: it was on the 9th of January 1713, in extreme cold weather, when a violent north wind helped to spread the flames, and render the sufferings more insupportable to the poor people, who were exposed in the open fields. Men, women, and children, bonding beneath the weight of goods they carried, and lamenting their hard fate, went to seek for safety on the neighbouring plains, covered with snow. -

Young people were seen bearing the old and bed-ridden on their shoulders,

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Women, newly delivered, carried their children to die with them of the cold on the hills, whilst they beheld at a distance the flames which were consuming their country. All the inhabitants were not got out of the town before the Swedes set fire to it. It burnt from midnight till about ten in the morning. The houses being chiefly timber, were soon consumed; and, in the morning, it did not appear as if a town had ever been in the place where it stood. The aged, the sick, and the women of the most weakly constitutions, who had lain on the ice while their houses were burning, came to the gates of Hamburgh, and begged to be let in to save their lives; but the Hamburghers refused them, on pretence that some contagious distemper had reigned in Altena. Thus the greatest part of these wretched people died under the walls, calling heaven to witness to the barbarity of the Swedes: and those of Hamburgh, who did not treat them with less inhumanity. All Germany complained of this violence; the ministers and generals of Poland and Denmark, wrote to count Steinbock to reproach him with so great cruelty, which being committed without necessity, could leave him no excuse, but must set both God and man against him.

Steinbock answered, "That he had not gone to these extremities, but to teach the king, his master's enemies, not to make war, for the future, like barbarians, but to shew some regard to the law of nations; that they had filled Pomerania with their cruelties, wasted that beautiful province, and sold near 100,000 of its inhabitants to the Turks; that his torches at Altena, were no more than reprisals for the red-hot bullets that had consumed Stade; that war was not the theatre on which mildness and moderation were to be shewn; that neither Lewis the XIV. who allowed the burning of the palatinate, nor those who had followed his example, and even exceeded him since, were looked upon as men more cruel than others; and lastly, if these excesses were to be condemned, the Muscovites, the Danes, and the Saxons, were first to be accused, who set the example." It was with this fury that the Swedes and their enemies made war upon one another; and if Charles XII. could have appeared at that time in Pomerania, it is to be believed, that he might have recovered his former fortune. His armies, though far from his presence, were still animated by his spirit; but as the absence of a chief is dangerous to affairs, and prevents the best advantage to be made of victories; so Steinbock lost by parcels, what he had gained in the most signal actions, and which at other times would have been decisive. As much a conqueror as he was, he could not prevent the Muscovites, Saxons, and Danes, from re-uniting. They seized his quarters; and he lost several of his men in little skirmishes; 2000 of his troops were drowned in the Eider, as they were going into winter quarters in Holstein; which losses were not to be retrieved, in a country where he was surrounded by powerful enemies. Holstein had for its sovereign, at that time, the young duke Frederick, but twelve years old, nephew to the king of Sweden, and son of that duke who was killed at the battle of Crassau. The bishop of Lubeck, his uncle, under the name of administrator, governed this unhappy country, which was hardly ever peaceably possessed by its sovereigns; and he fearing to lose the dominions of his nephew, would, in appearance, have preserved a neutrality; but that was impossible between an army of the king of Sweden, whose heir the duke of Holstein might be, and that of the al-

lies, who were ready to invade them. Count Steinbock, hard pressed by the enemy, and not able to preserve his little army, demanded of the bishop-administrator to be admitted into the castle of Tonnington. The bishop finding himself reduced to this hard dilemma of venturing the loss of all the king's army, or drawing upon Holstein the vengeance of Denmark, had recourse to cunning, the mean and dangerous refuge of weak minds; and ordered Wolf, the governor, to receive the Swedish troops into the place, but not to speak of any such order; and Steinbock on his side, swore to keep the negotiation a secret. Wolf was to take the blame upon himself of letting in the army, by his own authority, and disobeying the orders of his sovereign; but all this artifice turned only to the disadvantage of the duke, the country, and Steinbock. The czar, and the kings of Denmark and Prussia, blocked up Tonnington; and the provisions which should have come to the little army, they were disappointed of, by a fatality, that all along this war, attended the affairs of Sweden. At last Steinbock was forced to surrender himself prisoner with his troops, to the king of Denmark on the 17th of May 1713, and thus was that army dispersed, which had gained the two famous battles Elsinburg and Gadebush, under a general of whom the greatest hopes were conceived, and the king of Denmark had the satisfaction to have in his hands, the man who constantly stopt the progress of his arms, and had burnt his town of Altena to ashes. Steinbock, at his going out of Tonnington, assured the king of Denmark, that he had entered it by stratagem and deceived the governor, who swore the same, choosing rather the shame of being surprised than to divulge his master's secret. The duke of Holstein and the bishop-administrator, protested they had preserved the neutrality, and begged the mediation of the king of Prussia and the elector of Hanover; but all this artifice, not supported by force, did not hinder the king of Denmark from besieging Wolf in Tonnington, some time after, with his own army, and that of the czar. This governor surrendered, as Steinbock had done, and at length confessed the secret, which the Danes had always suspected. This was a fair pretence for the king of Denmark to seize the dominions of the duke of Holstein, of which there is but a very small part as yet restored to him. The same king of Denmark, who ravaged without scruple, the dutchy of Holstein, had the generosity to treat Steinbock in another manner, and shewed that kings are oftentimes more concerned for their interest than their revenge. He suffered the incendiary of Altena, to go free in Copenhagen on his parole; and affected to shew him uncommon civilities, till Steinbock endeavouring to escape, had the misfortune to be stopt, and convicted of breach of his parole. He was then close confined, and forced to ask the king's pardon, which was granted him. All Pomerania, except Stralsund, Rugen, and some neighbouring places, being without defence, became a prey to the allies, and was sequestered in the hands of the king of Prussia. The country of Bremen was filled with Danish garrisons. At the same time the Muscovites over-ran all Finland, and beat the Swedes, who now began to be disheartened, and being inferior in number to their warlike enemies, could no longer pretend to a superiority in courage. To complete the misfortunes of Sweden, the king resolved to stay at Demotica, and still fed himself with hopes of that assistance from the Turks which he had no reason to expect. Ibra-

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him Molla, that fierce vizier, who was so resolutely bent on a war with the Muscovites, contrary to the views of the favourite, was strangled between two doors. The place of vizier was become so dangerous, that no one dared to accept of it; but it remained vacant for six months. At last the favourite Ali-Coumourgi took the title of grand vizier. Then all the king of Sweden's hopes vanished. He knew Coumourgi would not serve him unless it was for his own interest. He had been eleven months at Demotica, buried in oblivion and inaction; this extreme idleness, succeeding all at once to the most violent exercises, gave him at last that illness which he had only feigned before. He was thought to be dead all over Europe; and the council of regency, which he had settled at Stockholm, when he left his capital, hearing no more from him, the senate, in a body, waited on the princess Ulrica Eleonora, to desire she would take the regency upon herself during the absence of her brother. She accepted it; but when she found that the senate would oblige her to make peace with the czar, and the king of Denmark, who attacked Sweden on every side, this princess judging her brother would never ratify such a peace, resigned the regency, and sent a long detail of this affair into Turkey. The king received his sister's packet at Demotica; and that despotic temper, which he had imbibed at his birth, made him forget that Sweden had ever been free, and that the senate formerly governed the kingdom jointly with the kings. He looked upon this body no otherwise than as a company of domestic servants, who would manage the house in the absence of their master; he wrote to them, that if they wanted to govern, he would send one of his boots to them, to which they might apply for orders. To prevent, therefore, any attempts in Sweden against his authority, and to defend his country, having lost all hopes of any thing from the Ottoman Porte, and depending only on himself, he signified to the grand vizier his desire of departing, and to return by the way of Germany. The French ambassador, Desaleurs, who transacted all the affairs of Sweden, made the demand for him. "Well," said the vizier to count Desaleurs, "did not I tell you, that the king of Sweden would want to go before the year was out? Tell him he may either go, or stay, as he pleases, but let him be resolved, and, if he goes, fix his day, that we may not be embarrassed a second time in an affair like that of Bender."

Count Desaleurs softened these words to the king. The day was set; but Charles, before he left Turkey, was willing to shew the state of a great king, although in the wretched condition of a fugitive. He gave Grothusen the title of ambassador extraordinary, and sent him in form to take leave at Constantinople, with a train of fourscore persons all richly clothed.

The private shifts he was put to in furnishing out this embassy were more mortifying than the design of it was pompous. M. Desaleurs lent the king 40,000 crowns. Grothusen had sent agents to Constantinople, who borrowed in his name, 1000 crowns, at 50 per cent. of a jew; 200 pistoles of an English merchant, and 1000 livres of a Turk. Thus they got together wherewithal to enable them to present the divan with the diverting comedy of a Swedish embassy, Grothusen received at Constantinople, all the honours that are done by the Porte to ambassadors extraordinary of kings on the day of their audience. The design of it was to obtain money from the grand vizier, but this minister was inexorable.

Grothusen proposes to borrow a million of the Porte. The vizier answered, "That his master knew how to give when he had a mind to it; but that it was beneath his dignity to lend; that the king should be furnished with all things necessary for his journey, in a manner worthy of him, that sent it them; and that perhaps the Porte might make him some present in gold or money; but that he must not depend upon it. At length, the king of Sweden left Turkey, and began his journey on the first of October 1714. A Capigi Pacha with six Chiaoux came to receive him at the castle of Demirtash, whither he had come to reside a few days before. He presented him, from the grand seignior, with a large scarlet tent, embroidered with gold, a sabre set with precious stones, and eight beautiful Arabian horses with magnificent saddles, and stirrups of massive silver. It is not beneath the dignity of an historian to tell, that the Arabian groom who had the care of these horses, gave the king their genealogy; it is a custom long established among these people to take more notice of the families of their horses than of their men; which is not perhaps very unreasonable, since among animals, when the breed is preserved without any mixture, it is never known to degenerate. Sixty waggons loaded with all sorts of provisions, and three hundred horses formed the convoy. The Capigi Pacha, knowing that several Turks had lent money to the people in the king's retinue at a very great interest, said, that, as usury was forbidden by the Mahometan law, he desired his majesty to liquidate the debts, and order the resident he should leave at Constantinople, to pay only the capital. "No," said the king, "if my servants have given notes for one hundred crowns, they should be paid, though they had but ten for them. He proposed to the creditors to follow him, assuring them they should be paid both their debts and their charges. Many of them undertook the journey to Sweden and Grothusen had orders to see them paid. The Turks to shew the more respect to there guest, made but short stages every day; but this respectful slowness tired the patience of the king. He rose as usual about three in the morning, and being dressed, went himself to call up the Capigi and Chiaoux, and ordered the march while it was dark. The Turkish gravity was very much discomposed by this new method of travelling, but the king took pleasure to plague them, and said, "He would revenge himself a little for the affair at Bender. When he came to the frontiers of Turkey, Stanislaus went by another road into Germany, to retire to the dutchy of Deux Ponts, a province that borders on the palatinate of the Rhine and Alsace, and which has belong'd to the kings of Sweden from the time that it was united to the crown by Charles X. the successor of Christina. Charles assigned to Stanislaus the revenue of this dutchy, then reckoned about 70,000 crowns; and this was the end of so many projects, so many wars, and so many hopes. Stanislaus would and could have made an advantageous treaty with king Augustus, but the untractable obstinacy of Charles XII. made him lose his lands and real possessions in Poland, to preserve only the title of king. This prince continued in the dutchy of Deux-Ponts until the death of Charles, but the dutchy falling then to a prince of the Palatine family, he retired to Wissemburg in French Alsatia. M. Sum, envoy from king Augustus, complaining of it to the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the duke made him this remarkable answer. "Sir,

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let the king your master know, that France has always been an asylum for unfortunate kings."

The king of Sweden being arrived on the confines of Germany, found that the emperor had given orders that he should be received, in all parts of his dominions, with the state that was due to him. All the towns and villages, through which his route was fixed, made preparations to receive him, and the people waited with impatience to see the extraordinary man, whose victories and misfortunes, nay, whose least actions, and even his lying still, had made so much noise both in Europe and Asia. But Charles had no relish for all this pomp, nor any inclination to make a shew of the prisoner of Bender: he had even resolved never to enter Stockholm, till he had done something to retrieve his ill fortune. When he came to Targowitz, on the frontiers of Transylvania, after having taken leave of the Turkish guards, he called his people together, and bade them be under no concern for him, but make what haste they could to Stralsund in Pomerania, about three hundred leagues from thence on the Baltic sea. He took nobody with him but a young man named During, whom he had lately made a colonel, and parted with his officers cheerfully, leaving them all in confusion, in fear, and sorrow. He put on a black peruke to disguise himself, for he always before wore his own hair; a gold laced hat, a grey suit of clothes, and a blue cloak, passing for a German officer, and rode post with only colonel During. He avoided, in his way, as much as he could, the countries of his secret or open enemies, and went through Hungary, Moravia, Austria, Bavaria, Wirtemberg, the Palatinate, Westphalia, and Mecklenburg: thus he almost made the tour of Germany, and lengthened his journey by one half more than he had occasion to do. After having rode, without stopping, the first day, young During, who was not used to such excessive fatigues, like the king of Sweden, fainted as he got off his horse. The king, who would not stop a moment upon the road, asked During, when he came to himself, how much money he had? During answering, that he had about 1000 crowns in gold: "give me half of them," said the king, "I see you are not in a condition to follow, I will go the rest of the journey by myself: During entreated him to vouchsafe only to take three hours repose, and assured him by that time he should be able to remount his horse, and follow his majesty; beseeching him, at the same time, to consider what risques he was going to run. The king would not listen to him; but made him give him the five hundred crowns, and called for horses. During, dreading the resolution of the king, made use of this innocent stratagem; he took the master of the post-house aside, and pointing to the king of Sweden, "this man," said he, "is my cousin, we are travelling together about the same business; he sees I am out of order, and yet he will not stay three hours for me; I desire you will give him the worst horse in your stable, and let me have a post-chaise, or something of that sort." He slipt a couple of ducats into the post-master's hand, who complied exactly with the request, and gave the king a horse that was both lame and restive. With this equipage, the monarch sat out, at ten o'clock at night, in the dark, the wind, the snow, and the rain. His fellow-traveller, after having slept a few hours, went after him in a chaise with two strong horses, and overtook him about break of day with his horse tired

and walking to the next post town. He was forced to get into the chaise with During, and slept upon the straw. Thus they continued their journey, riding on horse-back all day, and sleeping in a chaise all night, without stopping any where. After sixteen days travelling in this manner, and not without being more than once in danger of being taken, they arrived at last, upon the 21st of November 1714, at the gates of Stralsund, about one o'clock in the morning. The king told the centinel, "he was a courier, dispatched from the king of Sweden in Turkey, and that he must speak that moment with general Duker, the governor of the town." The centinel answered him, "that it was too late, that the governor was gone to bed, and that he must wait until it was day-break." The king replied, "that he came upon important business, and told them, that if they did not awake the governor without delay, they should be all hanged in the morning." At last a serjeant went and waked the governor; and Duker, imagining that it was, perhaps, one of the king's generals, ordered the gates to be opened, and this courier was introduced into his chamber. Duker, half asleep, asked, "what news from the king?" His majesty taking him by the shoulder, "what," said he, "Duker, have my most faithful subjects forgot me?" The general immediately knew him; but could scarce believe his eyes. He jumped out of his bed, and embraced his master's knees, with tears of joy in his eyes. The news was spread all over the town in an instant. Every body got up, and the soldiers surrounded the house of the governor. The streets were filled with people, who were inquiring of one another, if it was true the king was there? the windows were illuminated, and the conduits ran with wine, to the light of 1000 torches, and the noise of the artillery. In the mean time the king went to bed, which he had not done in sixteen days before: they were obliged to cut off his boots, his legs were so swelled with the fatigue he had undergone. He had neither linen nor clothes; but they got together a wardrobe for him in haste, of what things they could find in the town. When he had slept a few hours, he got up to review his troops and visit the fortifications; and the same day sent orders, every where, to renew the war with more vigour than ever against his enemies.

Europe was at that time in a condition very different from that in which it was when Charles left it in the year 1709. The war which had so long disturbed every place in the south, that is to say, Germany, England, Holland, France, Spain, Portugal, and Italy, was extinguished. This general peace was produced by some private quarrels that happened in the court of England. The earl of Oxford, an able minister, and the lord Bolingbroke*,

* I wonder a French poet, as Monsieur de Voltaire is, should say this of a person, who, on a certain occasion, to abuse some such unaccountable statesman as himself, said they were no better politicians than the French are poets: but indeed the French, upon other accounts, have reason to speak well of one who was so instrumental in making an advantageous peace for their monarch, after he had been beaten, for ten years successively, by those very Englishmen, which the same author, in his introduction to this history, says, are no more like the English in Cromwell's time, than the monks and monseigneurs, who fill the streets of Rome, are like the ancient Scipios. What, then, must those Frenchmen be, who have been so often mauled by them? As to this gentleman's fine parts, it has always been the opinion of wise men, that those shew the finest parts, who are capable of performing what is right and justifiable. Whether the giving up so many valuable branches of our trade, betraying our allies, and suf-

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a man of the finest parts and greatest eloquence of his time, had got the better of the famous Duke of Marlborough, and persuaded queen Anne to make peace with Lewis XIV. France having England no longer for an enemy, presently forced the other powers to an accommodation. Philip V. the grandson of Lewis XIV. began to reign peaceably over the ruins of the Spanish monarchy. The emperor of Germany being master of Naples and Flanders, was firmly established in his vast dominions. Lewis XIV. desired

seeing the poor unhappy Catalans to be sacrificed as they were by that treaty of peace, in the making which, this gentleman, of such fine parts and eloquence, had so great a share, he so or not, will not, I think, admit of a question. If honour, humanity, and gratitude, have nothing to do with fine parts, then he will not be deprived of the reputation of them by the expedition to Canada, nor by the returns he has made to some persons of high worth and truly fine parts, who were instrumental to procure him, not only the liberty of breathing his native air, but to enjoy his family estate. As a proof of his gratitude, and of the good opinion his country ought to have of him, I shall take leave to transcribe part of an account which lately fell into my hands, of the proceedings in parliament, in relation to the bill that was brought in to enable him to enjoy his estate. Mr. Ch—r of the Ex—r, on this occasion, said, in the house of commons, "That he was fully satisfied, that he had sufficiently atoned for his past offences, and therefore deserved the favour of that house, so far as to enable him to enjoy the family inheritance that was settled upon him; which, according to the opinion of the best lawyers, he could not do by virtue of his majesty's most gracious pardon, without an act of parliament." After a small dispute among the lawyers about the validity of such a pardon, in the present case, the right honourable Mr. M—en, comptroller of his majesty's household stood up, and strenuously opposed the motion. He said, among other things, "That as he had the honour to be one of the king's immediate servants, it might, perhaps, by some, be thought unbecoming his station to appear against a petition, to the presenting which, his majesty, in his royal clemency and goodness, had graciously been pleased to give his consent: but that, being at liberty to follow the dictates of his own conscience in this matter, he would freely declare his opinion, that the public crimes for which this petitioner stood attainted, were so heinous, so flagrant, and of so deep a dye, as not to admit of any expiation or atonement; and whatever he might have done to deserve his private grace and pardon, yet he thought him altogether unworthy of any national favour." Hereupon, Mr. Comptroller ripped up the late Lord B—'s scandalous conduct, while he had a share in the administration of affairs. "How he was the principal adviser of, and actor in, the wicked measures that were then pursued; his clandestine negotiation of peace, without the privity of the queen's allies, contrary to the express tenor of the grand alliance; his insolent behaviour to all the confederates in general, and the Dutch in particular; his sacrificing the interest of the whole confederacy, and the honour of his own country, particularly in abandoning the poor and brave Catalans; a transaction with which he had an opportunity to be so well acquainted, as having had the honour, at that juncture, to serve the nation as the queen's minister in Portugal; and, to sum up all his crimes in one, his traitorous design of defeating the Protestant Succession, the foundation of both our present and future happiness; and of advancing a popish Pretender to the throne, which would have involved his native country in endless misery." This speech made a great impression on the assembly; and several other eminent members spoke to the same effect, particularly A. O—w, Esq. the Lord William Pawlet, Sir Thomas Penkelly, Mr. Gybbon, and serjeant Miller. This last gentleman, in a concise, but pathetic manner, said, "He was against the motion for three very substantial reasons: first, because he thought it against the interest of the king; secondly, against the interest of his country; thirdly, against the interest of the present ministry. That he loved the king better than he loved himself; and hated his enemies more than he did: that he loved his country as he loved himself; and as he thought its interest inseparable from the king's, so he would not have public favour shewn to one who had acted in so notorious a manner against both: and, as for the present ministers, he was so well satisfied with their just, prudent, and successful management, that he was not willing to see them exposed to the cabals and intrigues of their inveterate, though seemingly reconciled, enemies." Thus far Mr. Miller; and so much for the debate.

nothing more than to finish his long course in peace. Anne, queen of England, died on the 1st of August 1714, hated by half her people for giving peace to so many states. Her B——, James Stuart, an unfortunate prince, excluded from the throne almost at his birth, not appearing in England to claim that succession, which there would have been new laws to have settled on him if his party had prevailed; George I. elector of Hanover, was unanimously acknowledged king of Great Britain: the throne belonging to this elector, not by right of blood, although he was descended from a daughter of James I. but by virtue of an act of parliament. Being called, at an advanced age, to govern a people whose language * he did not understand, and among whom he was a perfect stranger, he looked upon himself rather as the elector of Hanover, than as the king of England. All his ambition was to aggrandize his German dominions, whither he went every year to visit his subjects, who adored him. In other things, he was better pleased to live like a private man, than a ruler. The pomp of royalty was to him an uneasy burthen. He lived with a small number of old courtiers in great familiarity and freedom; and if he was not the king who made the most shining figure in Europe, he was one of the wisest, and the only one who knew how to taste, on a throne, the sweets of friendship and a private life. Such were the principal monarchs, and such the situation of the south of Europe. The alterations that happened in the north were of another nature. The kings were all at war, and all united against the king of Sweden. Augustus had been long restored to the crown of Poland, by the assistance of the czar, and with the consent of the emperor of Germany, queen Anne of England, and the states-general; who, all guarantees for the treaty of Altranstad, when Charles XII. imposed his own laws, desisted now from that obligation, when he was no longer to be feared. But Augustus did not enjoy the greatest tranquillity. The republic of Poland, in receiving their king again, renewed their fears of arbitrary power; they were all in arms to oblige him to agree to the *Pacta Conventa*, which is a sacred contract between the people and the king; and seemed to have called home their master only to declare war against him. In the beginning of these troubles there was not one word said of Stanislaus; his party seemed to be quite annihilated; and the king of Sweden was no longer remembered in Poland, but as a torrent, which, in its course had, for a time, bore all before it.

Pultowa, and the absence of Charles XII. which occasioned the fall of Stanislaus, brought on the ruin of the duke of Holstein, who being nephew to Charles, was stripped of his dominions by the king of Denmark. The king of Sweden tenderly loved the father, and was very much moved at the misfortunes of the son. Moreover, having done nothing in his life but for glory, the fall of sovereigns, whom he had made himself, or re-established on their thrones, affected him as sensibly as the loss of so many provinces would have done. Among those who enriched themselves by these losses, was Frederick William, soon after king of Prussia, who shewed as great an

* This is a very great mistake of M. de Voltaire, for that king was thoroughly acquainted both with the language and government of the English people, long before he came among them; though, from a reservedness in his temper, he did not choose to converse in a language which, perhaps, he could not pronounce like a native, but he knew every thing that was said to him in it.

inclination to war, as his father did to peace; and had Stettin, and a part of Pomerania delivered to him, for 400,000 crowns, which he paid to the king of Denmark, and the czar. George, elector of Hanover, who was then become king of England, had also sequestered in his hands the dutcy of Bremen and Verden, which had been pledged to him, by the king of Denmark, for 60,000 pistoles. Thus they disposed of the spoils of Charles XII. and those who had them to keep, became by their interests, as dangerous enemies, as those who took them from him. The czar was, without doubt, the most to be feared; his former defeats, his victories, his very faults, his perseverance to instruct himself, and teach his subjects what he had learnt, and his continual labours, made him a great man in every thing. Riga was already taken. Livonia, Ingria, Carelia, half of Finland, all provinces conquered by the ancestors of Charles, were now subject to the Muscovites. Peter Alexiowitz, who but twenty years before, had not one vessel in the Baltic, saw himself master of that sea, at the head of a fleet of thirty ships of the line. One of these ships he built with his own hands, and was the best carpenter, the best admiral, and best pilot in the north. There was not a difficult passage that he had not sounded himself, from the bottom of the Gulf of Bothnia to the ocean; having joined the labour of a common-sailor, to the experiments of a philosopher, and the great designs of an emperor; and becoming an admiral by degrees, and the help of victories, as he had before a general at land. While prince Gallicsin, a general he had formed, and one of those who best assisted his designs, finished the conquest of Finland, took Vasa, and beat the Swedes; this emperor put to sea to conquer the Isle of Alan, situated in the Baltic sea, about twelve leagues from Stockholm. He departed for this expedition in the beginning of July, 1714, whilst his rival, Charles XII. kept his bed at Demotica. He embarked at the port of Cronslot, which he had built a few years before, within four miles of Petersburg. This new port, the fleet that was in it, and the officers, and sailors who manned the fleet, were all of his own forming, and on which side soever he cast his eyes, he saw nothing that he had not in a manner created. The Russian fleet was at the top of Alan on the 15th of July, composed of thirty ships of the line, four-score galleys, and a hundred half galleys. It carried 20,000 soldiers, admiral Apraxin the commander, and the emperor served as rear-admiral. The Swedish fleet came up with it on the 19th, commanded by vice-admiral Erinchild; it was not so strong by two-thirds; nevertheless, they fought for three hours. The czar attacked the ship in which Erinchild was, and took her after a hot engagement. The day of the victory he landed 16,000 men at Alan; and having taken several Swedish soldiers, who had not yet got on board the fleet of Erinchild, he carried them away prisoners in his own ships. He returned into his port of Cronslot with Erinchild's great ship, three of a less size, one frigate, and six galleys, all which he had taken in the battle. From Cronslot he went to Petersburg, followed by his victorious fleet, and all the ships taken from the enemy. He was saluted by a triple discharge of one hundred and fifty cannon; after which he made a triumphant entry, which pleased him more than that into Moscow, because he received these honours in his favourite city, where ten years before there was not a hut, and where, at that time, he saw 34,500 houses: and, lastly, because he was not

only at the head of a victorious navy, but the first Russian fleet that ever was seen in the Baltic, and among people to whom the very name of a fleet was unknown before his time. Almost the same ceremonies were observed at Petersburg, as had graced his triumph at Moscow. The Swedish vice-admiral was the principal ornament of this new triumph. Peter Alexiowitz appeared himself in the quality of rear-admiral, and a Russian Boyar, named Romanodowsky, who usually represented the czar on these solemn occasions, was seated on a throne with twelve senators by his side. The rear-admiral presented him with a relation of his victories, and was declared vice-admiral in consideration of his services. A whimsical ceremony, but useful in a country where military preferments was one of the novelties the czar had introduced among them. The Muscovite emperor, at last victorious over the Swedes, both by sea and land, and having helped to drive them out of Poland, governed there in his turn. He made himself mediator between the republic and Augustus, an honour, perhaps, as great as that of setting up a king. The glory and good-fortune of Charles were now gone over to the czar, who made a better use of them than his rival had done; for he turned all his successes to the advantage of his country. If he took a town, the principal artizans carried their industry to Petersburg; he brought the manufactures, the arts and sciences of the provinces he conquered, into his own country: he enriched and polished his dominions by his victories, which rendered him the most excusable of all conquerors.

Sweden, on the contrary, was deprived of almost all her foreign provinces, had neither trade, money, nor credit. Her old troops once so dreadful, were all lost in battle, or for want. Above 100,000 Swedes were slaves in the vast dominions of the czar, and almost as many more had been sold to the Turks and Tartars. The species of men sensibly decayed; but their hopes revived as soon as they knew that their king was at Stralsund. The impressions of respect and admiration were still so strong in the minds of his subjects, that the young people of the country came in crowds to enlist under him; although the land had not hands enough left to cultivate it.

BOOK VII.

THE king, in the midst of these preparations, gave his only sister, Ulrica Eleonora, in marriage to prince Frederick of Hesse-Cassel. The queen dowager, grandmother of Charles XII. and the princess, eighty years of age, assisted at the ceremony on the 4th of April 1715, in the palace of Stockholm, and died soon after. This marriage was not honoured by the presence of the king, who remained at Stralsund, employed in finishing the fortifications of that important place, which was threatened by the kings of Denmark and Prussia. He declared, however, his brother-in-law generalissimo of all the Swedish forces. This prince had served the states-general in the wars against France, and was esteemed a good general, a qualification which did not little contribute to his match with the sister of Charles XII. Bad fortune now followed him as rapidly as formerly his victories.

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In the month of June, in the year 1715, the king of England's German troops, with those of Denmark, invested the strong town of Wismar. The Danes, the Prussians, and the Saxons reunited; to the number of 26,000 marched, at the same time, to besiege Stralsund; not far from which place the kings of Denmark and Prussia sunk five Swedish vessels. The czar was then in the Baltic, with twenty large men of war, and 150 transports, that had 30,000 men on board. He threatened a descent on Sweden, advancing sometimes on the coast of Elsinburg, and sometimes presenting himself before Stockholm. All Sweden was in arms, every moment expecting an invasion. At the same time his land forces were driving the Swedes from place to place, in that part of Finland, which they yet possessed towards the Gulph of Bothnia; but the czar pushed his enterprises no farther. At the mouth of the Oder, a river that divides Pomerania, and, after running below Stettin, falls into the Baltic sea, is the little island of Usedom. This place is of great importance by its situation, commanding the Oder both on the right and left, and whoever has it, is also master of the navigation of that river. The king of Prussia had dislodged the Swedes from this island, and seizing upon that as well as Stettin, said, "It was all for the love of peace." The Swedes had retaken Usedom in the month of May 1715, and had two forts in it, one called Suine, upon a branch of the Oder which bears that name; the other, which is of more consequence, is Pennamondre, on another part of the river. The king of Sweden, to defend these two forts, and all the island, had only two hundred and fifty Pomeranian soldiers, commanded by an old Swedish officer called Duslep, or Duslerp, whose name deserves to be remembered. The king of Prussia sent, on the 4th of August, 1500 foot, and 800 dragoons, for the island, they arrived, and landed without opposition on the side of Suine. The Swedish commandant abandoned this fort as of least importance, and, not being able to divide the few men he had, retired into the castle of Pennamondre with his little company, resolved to defend himself to the last extremity. They were obliged therefore to besiege it in form; artillery was shipped, for this purpose, at Stettin, and the Prussian troops were reinforced by 1000 foot and 400 horse. On the 18th of August they opened the trenches in two places, and played briskly with their cannon and mortars. During the siege, a Swedish soldier, sent privately with a letter from Charles XII. found means to land in the island, and get into Pennamondre; he gave the letter to the commandant, which was in these terms: "Do not fire till the enemy come to the side of the fossé. Defend yourself to the last drop of your blood. I commend you to your good-fortune.

CHARLES."

Duslerp, having read the letter, resolved to obey and die, as he was ordered, for the service of his master. On the 22d by day-break, the enemy gave the assault; the besieged not firing till the besiegers were at the side of the fossé, killed a great number of them; but the fossé was full, the breach large, and the besiegers superior in number. They entered the castle in two places at once. The commandant thought now only how to sell his life dear, and obey his orders. He quitted the breaches where the enemies entered, intrenched, near a bastion, with his little company, who had all courage and fidelity enough to follow him, and placed them in such a manner as they could not be surrounded. The enemy came on, wondering he

would not ask for quarter. He fought a whole hour, and after having lost half his soldiers, was killed at last with his lieutenant and his major; one hundred men that were then left with only one officer, asked their lives, and were made prisoners. In the commandant's pocket was found his master's letter, which was carried to the king of Prussia. At the time that Charles lost the island of Usedom, and the neighbouring islands; that Wismar was ready to surrender; that he had no longer any fleet; and Sweden threatened; he was himself in Stralsund, which place was besieged by 26,000 men. Stralsund, a town famous in Europe, for the siege the king of Sweden sustained there, is one of the strongest places in Pomerania. It is built between the Baltic and the lake of Franken upon the streights of Gella. There is no coming at it by land, but by a narrow causeway defended by a citadel, and retrenchments that were thought inaccessible. There was in it a garrison of near 9000 men, and more, the king of Sweden himself. The kings of Denmark and Prussia undertook this siege with an army of 36,000 men, composed of Prussians, Danes, and Saxons. The honour of besieging Charles XII. was a motive so pressing, that they got over all obstacles, and opened the trenches in the night between the 19th and 20th of October 1715. The king of Sweden, in the beginning of the siege, said, "That he could not imagine how a place, well fortified, and sufficiently garrisoned could be taken." Not but that, in the course of his passed conquests, he had taken several places, but hardly ever by a regular siege; the terror of his arms then carried every thing before him; on the other hand he never judged of others by himself, or made any account of his enemies. The besiegers carried on their works with vigour, and were assisted by a very uncommon accident. It is known that the Baltic has no flux and reflux. The retrenchment that covered the town, and which was supported by an impassible morass on the west, and the sea on the east, seemed to be beyond the power of any attack. Nobody had observed, that when the west wind blew with violence, the waves of the Baltic were rolled back towards the east, and that there were but three feet water left under the retrenchment, which was always thought to be defended by an impracticable sea. A soldier happening to fall from the top of the retrenchment into the sea, was surprised to find a bottom; believing this discovery might make his fortune, he deserted, and went to the quarters of count Wakerbath the Saxon general, and informed him that the sea was fordable, and the king of Sweden's retrenchments might be penetrated with little difficulty. The king of Prussia did not delay to make the best use of this information.

The next night therefore, the wind being still at west, lieutenant-colonel Kepel went into the water with 1800 men, 2000 advanced, at the same time, upon the causeway that led to this retrenchment; all the Prussian artillery fired, and the Prussians and Danes gave an alarm on the other side. The Swedes thought themselves sure of destroying the 2000 men who came so rashly, to all appearance, on the causeway; but Kepel coming, on a sudden, with his 1800 men, into the retrenchments from the sea side, the Swedes, surrounded and surprised, could not resist, so that the post was taken after a great slaughter. Some of the Swedes fled towards the town, the besiegers followed them thither, and entered pell-mell with them, two officers and four Saxon soldiers were already got upon the draw-bridge, but

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they had just time enough to raise it; they were taken, and the town saved for that time. They found twenty-four pieces of cannon on the retrenchments, which they turned against the town. The siege was pushed with all the eagerness and confidence that this first success could give them. The town was cannonaded and bombarded almost without remission.

Over against Stralsund, in the Baltic sea, is the island of Rugen, which serves as a rampart to this place, and whither the garrison and citizens could retire if they had boats to transport them. This island was of great consequence to Charles; he knew if his enemies were masters of it, he should be beseged by sea and by land, and perhaps buried in the ruins of Stralsund, or see himself a prisoner to those whom he had so long despised, and on whom he had imposed such hard laws. However, the unhappy state of his affairs had not allowed him to send a sufficient garrison to Rugen, where there were not above 2000 regular troops. His enemies had for three months been making all necessary dispositions for a descent upon the island of Rugen, which was an enterprise of great difficulty; but having at last built boats, the prince of Anhalt, favoured by the weather, landed on the island, on the 15th of November, with 12,000 men. The same day the king, after having defended an out-work for three hours, and coming home very much fatigued, learnt that the Danes and Prussians were in Rugen. It was eight o'clock at night when this news was told him. He flung himself immediately into a fishing-boat with Poniatowsky, Grothusen, Düring, and Dardof, and at nine was in the island; he joined his 2000 men, who were intrenched near a little port about three leagues from the place where the enemy landed. He put himself at their head, and marched in the middle of the night in profound silence. The prince of Anhalt had already intrenched his troops with a precaution that seemed needless. The officers, who commanded under him, did not expect to be attacked the same night, and thought Charles XII. was safe at Stralsund: but the prince of Anhalt, who knew what Charles was capable of doing, had ordered a deep fossé to be dug, secured with chevaux-de-frise, and took the same precaution as if he had an army superior in number to contend with.

At two o'clock in the morning, Charles came up to the enemy without the least noise. His soldiers said to one another, pull up the chevaux-de-frise. The words were heard by the centinels, the alarm was immediately given in the camp, and the enemy got under arms. The king taking up the chevaux-de-frise, saw a great fossé—"Ah!" said he, "is it possible, I did not expect it?" This surprise did not discourage him; he was as ignorant what number of men the enemy had landed, as they were of the few he had to rely upon. The darkness of the night favoured him, he was resolved in an instant, jumped into the fossé, accompanied by some of the boldest, and was presently followed by all the rest. The chevaux-de-frise were removed, the earth levelled with trunks and branches of trees, and the bodies of the soldiers, killed by musket shots fired at random, served for fascines. The king, the generals who were with him, the officers and boldest of the soldiers, got on the shoulders of others as in an assault. The fight began in the enemy's camp. The impetuosity of the Swedes put the Danes and the Prussians at first in disorder; but their numbers were too unequal; the Swedes were repulsed in about a quarter of an hour, and re-

passed the fossé. The prince of Anhalt pursued them to the plain, and knew not, till that moment, that Charles XII. fled before him. This unhappy king rallied his troops in the field, and the fight was renewed with equal obstinacy on both sides. Grothusen, the king's favourite, and general Dardof, dropped near him, and the king in the fight went over the body of the last before he was quite dead. During, who was his only companion from Turkey to Stralsund, was killed before his face. He received himself a musket shot near his left breast. Count Poniatowsky was at that instant close to him, he had the good fortune to save his life at Pultowa, and he now saved it again at the battle of Rugen, and remounted him on his horse.

The Swedes retired to a part of the island called Altesferra, where there was a fort of which they were yet masters. From thence the king returned to Stralsund, obliged to abandon those brave troops who had served him so well on this occasion; and they were taken prisoners two days after. Among the prisoners was that unfortunate French regiment, composed of the remains of the battle of Höchstet, which had been in the service of king Augustus, and afterwards came into the service of the king of Sweden. Most of the soldiers were incorporated in a new regiment belonging to the prince of Anhalt's son, who was their fourth master. The commander of this wandering regiment at Rugen, was the same count Villelongue who so generously ventured his life for the king's service at Adrianople. He was taken with his men, and but ill rewarded afterwards for all his services, fatigues, and misfortunes. The king, after all these prodigies of valour, which served only to weaken his forces, shut up in Stralsund, and ready to be taken, was the same he had been at Bender. He was surprised at nothing; all the day he was making ditches and intrenchments behind his walls; and at night he sallied out upon the enemy. In the mean time the town was battered in breach, the bombs rained upon the houses; half the town was in ashes; the citizens, far from murmuring, full of admiration of their master, whose fatigues, whose sobriety and courage, astonished them, were all become soldiers under him. They accompanied him in his sallies, and were a second garrison to him. One day, as the king was dictating letters for Sweden to one of his secretaries, a bomb falling upon the house, broke through the roof, and burst just by the chamber where the king was. Half the floor fell down; the closet, in which he was, being worked into a thick wall, was not in the least shaken, and by an astonishing good fortune none of the splinters, that flew about in the air came into the closet, the door of which was open. At the noise the bomb made, the pen dropped out of the secretary's hand, who thought the house was falling about his ears. "What's the matter with you," said the king, with a very composed air, "why don't you write?" The secretary could only answer, "Ah! Sir, the bomb!" "Well," replied the king, "what has the bomb to do with the letter I am dictating. Go on." There was at that time in Stralsund, a French ambassador shut up with the king of Sweden. This was Colbert, count de Croissy, a lieutenant-general in the French army, brother to the marquis de Torcy, a celebrated statesman, and a relation of the famous Colbert, whose name will be immortal in France. To send a man into the trenches, or on an embassy to Charles XII. was much the same thing.

The king would talk to Croissy for hours together, in places of the greatest

danger; while the cannon and bombs killed men all around them, without the king's perceiving the danger, or the ambassador's giving him the least hint that there was any place more fit to talk of business in. This minister did all he could, before the siege, to make an accommodation between the kings of Sweden and Prussia; but the last asked too much, and Charles XII. would give nothing. Count de Croissy had therefore no other satisfaction from his embassy, but that of having familiarly conversed with so singular a man. He often slept by him upon the same cloak; and, by sharing his dangers and fatigues, purchased the right of talking to him with freedom. Charles encouraged this liberty in those he loved, and would oftentimes say to Count de Croissy, *veni maledicamus de rege*. "Come, let us rail a little at Charles XII." Croissy stayed in the town till the 13th of November, and at last, having the enemy's permission to go out of it with his baggage, he took leave of the king of Sweden, whom he left in the midst of the ruins of Stralsund, with a garrison reduced to a third part of what it was, and resolved to stand an assault, which was four days after given to the horn-work. The enemy twice seized upon it, and were twice beaten off. The king fought all the time among the grenadiers himself; at last numbers prevailed, and the besiegers remained masters of it. Charles stayed two days longer in the town, expecting every moment a general assault. The 21st he continued till midnight upon a little ravelin that was quite destroyed by the bombs and cannon. The day after, the general officers entreated him to stay no longer in a place that was not to be defended; but, to retreat, was now become as dangerous as to stay. The Baltic Sea was covered with Muscovite and Danish ships. In the port of Stralsund there was only one small bark with sails and oars. So many dangers, which made this retreat glorious, determined Charles upon it. He embarked, on the 20th of December 1715, in the night, with only ten persons. They were obliged to break the ice with which the sea was covered in the port, and were several hours employed in this work before the vessel could get out. The enemy's admirals had strict orders not to let Charles go out of Stralsund, but to take him dead or alive. Very luckily for him they were under the wind and could not come near him; but he ran a still greater danger in passing within sight of the island of Rugen, near a place called the Barbette, where the Danes had raised a battery of twelve cannon. They fired upon the king; but the sailors made all the sail they could, and plied their oars to get clear of them. One cannon-shot killed two men by Charles's side, and another broke the mast of the ship. Through the midst of these dangers, the king came up to two of his own ships which were cruising in the Baltic; the next day Stralsund was surrendered, the garrison made prisoners of war, and the king landed at Isted, in Scandinavia, and from thence went to Carlscroon, in a condition very different from that in which he parted from thence fifteen years before, in a ship of one hundred and twenty guns, to give laws to the north. Being so near his capital, it was expected he would have revisited it, after so long an absence; but he had no design to enter it again till he had obtained some victory. He could not resolve to see a people who loved him, and whom he had been forced to oppress in order to defend himself against his enemies. He would only see his sister, and gave her a meeting on the banks of the lake Weter, in Ostrogothia, going to the place of reu-

deztvous attended only by one servant, and returned after having stayed one day with her. From Carlsroon, where he remained the winter, he ordered new levies of men all over his kingdom. He thought his subjects were only born to follow him to war, and he had used them all to think so too. They enlisted lads of fifteen years of age; there remained in many villages nothing but old men, women, and children; and, in some places, the women cultivated the land alone. It was yet more difficult for him to get a fleet; but, to supply that, he gave commissions to privateers, who, for excessive privileges, to the ruin of the country, fitted out some ships: these were the last efforts that could be made in Sweden. To support so great a charge, it was necessary to take away the substance of the people. There was no kind of extortion that was not made use of under the names of taxes and impositions. All houses were searched, and half their provisions sent into the king's warehouses. All the iron in the kingdom was bought up, upon his account, which the government payed for in paper, and sold again for ready money. All who wore any silk in their clothes, or perukes, or gilt swords, were taxed. There was an excessive duty laid on chimneys. A people, loaded with such grievous taxes, would have rebelled under any other king; but the most miserable peasant in Sweden knew that his master led a life as hard and as sparing as himself; thus every one submitted, without grumbling, to those hardships which the king was the first to suffer himself. Public dangers made private misfortunes forgot. They expected every day to see the Muscovites, the Danes, the Prussians, the Saxons, and the English, making a descent in Sweden. This fear was so strong upon them, and so well grounded, that all those who had any money or things of value, buried them in the earth. An English fleet had already appeared in the Baltic sea; and the king of Denmark had the czar's promise, that the Muscovites, joined with the Danes, should fall upon Sweden the next Spring, 1716. It was a great surprise to all Europe, attentive to the fortune of Charles XII. that, instead of defending his own country, threatened by so many princes, he should go into Norway, in the month of March 1716, with an army of 20,000 men. Since Hannibal, there had not been another general, who, not being able to support himself at home, carried the war into the heart of his enemy's country. The prince of Hesse, his brother-in-law, accompanied him in this expedition. There is no going from Sweden to Norway, but through some passages which are very dangerous; and when one has got through them, there are, at small distances from one another, flashes of water, made by the sea among the rocks, that force one to make bridges every day. A small number of Danes could have stopped the Swedish army; but they did not foresee so sudden an invasion. Europe was yet more astonished that the czar remained quiet in the midst of all these events, and did not make a descent into Sweden, as it had been agreed between him and his allies. The reason of this inactivity was a design the greatest, but, at the same time, one of the most difficult to execute, that ever was formed by human imagination. Henry, baron de Goerts, born in Holstein, and minister of a prince who had nothing left but the title of that dutchy, having done the king of Sweden some important services during his stay at Bender, was since become his favourite and first minister. Never was any man so insinuating and so bold at the same time; so full of shifts in

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disgrace, so extensive in his designs, or so active in bringing them to bear; no project affrighted him, nor spared he any pains, but was lavish of presents, promises, oaths, truths, and falsehoods. From Sweden he went into France, England, and Holland, to try himself the springs that he was to make use of. He was capable of shaking all Europe, and had laid the plan of it. While his master was at the head of an army, he was in the cabinet: and therefore gained an ascendancy over Charles XII. that no minister had before him. The king, who, at the age of twenty, had only given orders to count Piper, received at this time instructions from baron Goerts, and was so much the more submissive to this minister, as he was under a necessity of asking advice, and as Goerts only gave him such as was agreeable to his courage. He observed, that, among all the princes united against Sweden, George, elector of Hanover and king of England, was the person against whom Charles had the greatest resentment, because he was the only one that he had not offended, and who came into the quarrel under pretence of appeasing it, and to keep Bremen and Verden, which he seemed to have no right to, but as he had bought them at a mean price of the king of Denmark, to whom they did not belong. He also discovered, very soon, that the czar was discontented with the allies, who had all hindered his having any settlement in the German empire; wherein this monarch, now become too formidable, was desirous of having a footing. Wismar, the only town that the Swedes had yet left on the coasts of Germany, surrendered at last, February 14, 1716, to the Prussians and Danes, who would not so much as suffer the Muscovite troops, who were in Mecklenburg, to go to the siege of it. The like distrusts, repeated for two years, had alienated the mind of the czar, and prevented the ruin of Sweden. There are many examples of states in alliance being conquered by a single power, and but few of a great empire being conquered by many allies. If their united forces subdue it, their divisions soon raise it again. From the year 1714, the czar had been able to make a descent into Sweden; but whether he could not agree with the kings of Poland, England, Denmark, and Prussia, allies who had reason to be jealous of him; or whether he thought his troops not enough inured to war to attack that nation at home, whose very peasants had overcome the choicest of the Danish troops, he still put off this enterprise.

What had delayed it hitherto, was the want of money. The czar was one of the most powerful monarchs in the world; but none of the richest: his revenues, at that time, did not amount to above eighteen millions of French livres: he had discovered mines of gold, silver, iron, and copper; but the profit yet was very uncertain, and the work very expensive. He had established a large commerce; but, in the beginning, it brought in nothing but hopes. The provinces he had newly conquered augmented his power and glory, without increasing his revenues. Time was wanting to bind up the wounds of Livonia, a fruitful country, but almost desolate by a fifteen years war, by sword, fire, and pestilence, almost unpeopled, and a charge to the conqueror. The fleets he maintained, and the new enterprises he went upon daily, had drained all his treasures. He had been reduced to the sad shift of raising the coin, a remedy which never cures the ills of a state, and which is especially prejudicial to a country whose imports are larger than its exports. These are partly the grounds upon which Goerts had laid

the design of a revolution. He had the boldness to propose to the king of Sweden, that he should buy a peace of the Muscovite emperor at any rate, describing the czar to him as irritated against the kings of Poland and England, and giving him to understand, that Peter Alexiowitz and Charles XII. united together, might make the rest of Europe tremble. There was no making peace with the czar, without yielding to him a great many provinces which lie east and north of the Baltic sea; but he begged him to consider, that in yielding to the czar those provinces which he already possessed, and he himself could not retrieve, he might have the glory of replacing Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, of setting James the Second's son on that of England, and of restoring the duke of Holstein to his dominions. Charles, pleased with these great ideas, however, without building too much upon them, gave a carte-blanche to his minister to act as he thought fit. Goerts left Sweden with full powers, which made him a plenipotentiary to all the princes he thought proper to treat with. He first of all sounded the court of Moscow, by the assistance of a Scotsman, named Areskine, who was the czar's chief physician, devoted to the pretender's party, as most of the Scots are, who do not subsist on the favours of the court of London.

This physician cried up the importance and grandeur of the project to prince Menzikof, with all the warmth of a man who was interested in it. Menzikof was pleased with the overtures, and the czar approved of them. Instead of a descent into Sweden, as had been agreed between him and his allies, he wintered his troops in Mecklenburg, and went thither himself, under pretence of ending some disputes which were arising between the duke, his nephew, and the nobles of the country; but in reality, to pursue his favourite scheme of getting a principality in Germany, and hoping to engage the duke of Mecklenburg to sell him his sovereignty. The allies were very angry at this step, not caring to have so terrible a neighbour, who, getting any land in Germany, might one day be elected emperor, and oppress all the sovereigns there. The more they were irritated, the better baron Goert's project went on. He negotiated, however, with all the confederate princes, the better to conceal his secret intrigues. The czar amused them all with hopes. Charles XII. was in the mean time, in Norway, with his brother-in-law the prince of Hesse, at the head of 20,000 men; the country was defended only by 11,000 Danes, divided into several corps, which the king and the prince of Hesse soon routed. Charles advanced towards Christiansa, the capital of the kingdom, and fortune began again to smile upon him in this corner of the world; but he never took sufficient care to subsist his troops. A Danish army and fleet approached to defend Norway, and Charles, for want of provisions was forced to retire to Sweden, to wait the issue of the vast enterprises of his minister. This business required a profound secrecy, and very great preparations; two things almost incompatible. Goerts sought for succours in the seas of Asia, which, how odious soever it might seem, was not improper for a descent into Scotland; and which at least would bring money, men, and ships into Sweden.

There had, for a long time, been pirates of all nations, especially England, who, entering into an association among themselves, had infested the seas of Europe and America. Pursued every where without any quarter, they

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had just retired to Madagascar, a large island on the east of Africa. They were desperate men, and almost all of them famous for actions, which wanted nothing but justice to make them heroic. They sought a prince, who would receive them under his protection; but the law of nations had shut them out of every port in the world. As soon as they knew that Charles XII. was returned to Sweden, they had great hopes that this prince, being passionately fond of war, and obliged to make it, but wanting both a fleet and soldiers, would come into an easy composition with them; they sent a deputy to him, who came into Europe in a Dutch ship, and proposed to baron Goerts that they might be received at Gottenburg, where they offered to bring sixty vessels loaded with riches. The baron brought the king into the proposition; and the next year two Swedish gentlemen, named Kromstrom and Mendall, were sent to finish this negotiation with the pirates of Madagascar. There was afterwards found a more honourable and more important succour in cardinal Alberoni, a powerful genius, who governed Spain long enough for his own reputation, though not enough for the grandeur of that kingdom. He went, with warmth, into the project of placing the son of James II. on the throne of England. However, as he was but just come into the ministry, and Spain was to be settled before he could think of overturning other kingdoms; it was not likely that he could in many years set his hand to this great work; yet, in less than two years time, he had changed the face of affairs in Spain, and given it a new reputation in Europe; he had engaged the Turks, it is said, to fall upon the emperor of Germany, and endeavoured, at the same time, to take the regency of France from the duke of Orleans, and the crown of Great Britain from king George. So dangerous is one man, who is absolute in a powerful state, and has courage and greatness of soul. Goerts having thus thrown into the courts of Muscovy and Spain, some of the first sparks of that fire he was kindling, went privately into France, and from thence into Holland, where he saw some of the pretender's adherents. He informed himself particularly of their strength, the number and disposition of the disaffected in England, of the money they could raise, and the troops they could furnish. The mal-contents asked but for a supply of 10,000 men, and thought a revolution secure with the help of those troops. Count Gillembourg, the Swedish ambassador in England, instructed by baron Goerts, had several conferences in London, with the principal mal-contents, whom he encouraged and promised every thing they could wish; and the pretender's party went so far as to advance some considerable sums, which Goerts got hold of in Holland; and bought several vessels, six in Britain, with arms of all sorts. Then he sent several officers privately into France, among whom was the chevalier de Folard, who having made thirty campaigns in the French service, and acquired but a small fortune, had lately offered his services to the king of Sweden, less through any views of interest, than a desire of serving under a king of so astonishing a reputation. The chevalier de Folard hoped, moreover, to make this prince relish the new discoveries he had made in the art of war, which he had all his life studied as a philosopher, and has lately published in his Commentaries on Polybius. His notions were taken by Charles XII. who had himself made war in a new manner, and suffered himself to be guided in nothing by custom. He resolved

that the chevalier de Folard should be one of the instruments he would make use of in his projected descent into Scotland. This gentleman executed the secret orders of baron Goerts in France. A great number of French officers, and more Irish, came into this new kind of conspiracy, which was going on at that time in England, France, Spain, Muscovy, and of which, the branches secretly spread from one end of Europe to the other. These preparations were no great matter to baron Goerts, though well for a beginning; but the most important point, and without which nothing could succeed, was to conclude the peace between the czar and Charles, and many difficulties lay in the way to that. Baron Osterman, the minister of state in Muscovy, would not suffer himself to be immediately taken in by the designs of Goerts, he was as circumspect as the minister of Charles was enterprising. The deliberate policy of one was for letting every thing ripen by degrees; but the impatient spirit of the other, was for gathering as soon as he had sown. Osterman feared, that the emperor, his master, dazzled with the lustre of this enterprise, would grant a peace to Sweden upon too advantageous terms, and therefore found means, by delays and obstacles, to retard that affair. Luckily for Goerts, the czar came himself into Holland in the beginning of the year 1717. He designed to go afterwards into France, having a desire to see that famous nation, which, for more than one hundred years has been censured, envied, and imitated by all its neighbours. He would there please his insatiable curiosity of seeing and learning, and at the same time exercise his policy. Goerts saw this emperor twice at the Hague, and made a greater progress in these two conferences, than he could have done in six months with plenipotentiaries. Every thing took a favourable turn. His great designs seemed covered with an impenetrable secrecy; and he flattered himself that they would not be known in Europe, but in the execution of them. He talked in the mean time of nothing but peace at the Hague, and said aloud, that he should look upon the king of England as the peace-maker in the north; and even in appearance, pressed for a congress to be held at Brunswick, in which the interests of Sweden and its enemies might be decided amicably. The first who discovered these intrigues was the duke of Orleans, regent of France, who had spies all over Europe. This sort of men, whose trade it is to sell the secrets of their friends, and who subsist on informations, and oftentimes even on calumnies, were so multiplied in France under his government, that one half of the nation was become spies on the other. The duke of Orleans, united with the king of England by personal obligations, discovered to him all the designs that were carrying on against him. At the same time the Dutch, who took umbrage at Goerts's behaviour, communicated their suspicions to the English ministry, Goerts and Gillembourg pursued their designs warmly, when they were both put under arrest, one at the Hague, and the other in London. Count Gillembourg, ambassador from Sweden, having violated the law of nations, in conspiring against the prince to whom he was sent, they made no scruple to violate the same law, in his person. But every one was amazed, that the states-general of Holland, through an unheard-of complaisance to the king of England, should imprison baron Goerts. They even charged count Velderen to interrogate him. This formality made the outrage the greater, but it came to nothing, and only turned

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to their own confusion. Goerts asked count Velderen if he knew him? "Yes, Sir," answered the Dutchman. "Well then," said the baron, "if you do, you must needs know that I shall only say what I have a mind to." The examination was carried no farther; all the ambassadors, particularly the marquis de Monteleon, the Spanish minister in England, protested against what had been done to the persons of Goerts and Gillembourg. The Dutch were without excuse; they not only violated the most sacred law, in arresting the first minister of the king of Sweden, who had done nothing against them, but acted directly contrary to the principles of that valuable liberty which had brought so many strangers among them, and which was the foundation of all their greatness. With respect to the king of England, he had done no more than what was right in imprisoning an enemy; and for his own justification, he ordered the letters between Goerts and Gillembourg, to be printed, which were found among the papers of the latter. The king of Sweden was at that time in Scandinavia, whither the printed letters were carried to him, with the news of the seizing his two ministers. He smiled, and asked if they had printed his letters too? He immediately ordered the English resident to be seized at Stockholm, with all his family; but he could not revenge himself on the Dutch, who had no minister at that time at the court of Sweden. Nevertheless, he neither avowed nor disowned the proceedings of Goerts, too proud to deny an enterprise he had once approved of, and too wise to own a design which had been stifled almost in its birth; he therefore kept a disdainful silence both towards England and Holland. The czar took another method. As he was not named but only hinted at in the letters of Gillembourg and Goerts; he wrote a long letter to the king of England, full of compliments upon the discovery of the plot, and assurances of a sincere friendship. King George received his protestations without believing them, and seemed to suffer himself to be deceived. A conspiracy of private men when it is discovered comes to nothing; but a conspiracy of kings gathers new strength by it. The czar arrived at Paris in the month of May 1717, where he did not wholly employ himself in seeing the beauties of art and nature to be found there; in visiting the academies, the public libraries, the cabinets of the curious, and royal palaces; he proposed a treaty to the duke of Orleans, regent of France, the acceptance of which would have finished the Muscovite grandeur. His design was to reunite himself to the king of Sweden, who would give up some great provinces to him; to take all power from the Danes in the Baltic sea; to weaken the English by a civil war; and draw to Muscovy all the commerce of the north. He was not even against setting up Stanislaus again in opposition to Augustus, that so the fire being kindled on every side, he might blow it up, or extinguish it, as he saw most for his advantage. With this view, he proposed the regent of France to be mediator between Sweden and Muscovy, and besides this, an alliance offensive and defensive with these crowns and that of Spain. This treaty which seemed so natural, and so advantageous to those nations, and which would put into their hands the balance of Europe, was, nevertheless, not accepted by the duke of Orleans. He took directly the contrary measures, and entered into an alliance with the emperor of Germany, and George, king of England. Reasons of state had then changed the minds of princes to that degree, that

the czar was going to declare against his old ally, King Augustus, and espouse the part of Charles his mortal enemy; while France, in favour of the Germans and English, was going to make war with a grandson of Lewis XIV. after having supported him so long, against these very enemies, at the expence of so much blood and treasure. All that the czar could obtain by the bye, was to get the regent to interpose his good offices for the enlargement of baron Goerts and count Gillembourg. He returned into his own dominions in the latter end of June, after having shewn France the uncommon spectacle of an emperor travelling for instruction; but too many of the French could see nothing but the outward blemishes which his bad education had left behind it; but the legislator, the creator of a new nation, and the great man escaped them. What he had sought for in the duke of Orleans he found in cardinal Alberoni, who governed all in Spain. Alberoni wished for nothing more than the establishment of the pretender on the throne, as he was minister of Spain, which had been so ill treated by England, and as a personal enemy to the duke of Orleans united with England, against Spain, and lastly, as priest of a church for which the father of the pretender had so foolishly lost his crown.

The duke of Ormond, loved as much in England as the duke of Marlborough was admired, had left his country upon the accession of king George, and was at that time retired to Madrid; he went with full powers from the king of Spain and the pretender, to meet the czar in his way to Mittau, in Courland, accompanied by one Jernegan, an Englishman of ability and understanding. He asked the princess Anna Petrona, daughter of the czar in marriage, for the son of James II. hoping that such an alliance would more strictly attach the czar to the interest of that unhappy prince; but this proposal retarded affairs for a time, instead of advancing them; for baron Goertz, among his projects, had for a long time, destined that princess to the duke of Holstein, who really married her afterwards. As soon as he heard of this proposition of the duke of Ormond, he grew jealous, and applied himself to defeat it. He came out of prison in the month of August as well as count Gillembourg, without the king of Sweden's deigning to make the least excuse to the king of England, or shewing the least dislike of his minister's conduct. At the same time were set at liberty, at Stockholm, the English resident and all his family, who had been treated with much more severity than Gillembourg had at London. Goertz, set at liberty, was an implacable enemy, who, besides other powerful motives, was actuated by his revenge. He went post to the czar, and his insinuations prevailed more than ever with that prince. He assured him at first, that in less than three months, with one plenipotentiary from Muscovy, he would remove all obstacles to the peace with Sweden; he took a map in his hand, which the czar had designed himself, and drawing a line from Wibourg to the frozen sea, by the lake Ladoga, he promised to bring his master to give up all that lay on the east of that line, as well as Carelia, Ingria, and Livonia: afterwards he mentioned the marriage of the czar's daughter, with the duke of Holstein, giving him hopes, that the duke might give up his dominions for an equivalent, by which he would be a member of the empire; and then shewing him the imperial crown at a distance, for one of his descendants, if not for himself. Thus he flattered the

ambitious views of the Muscovite monarch, took away the czarian princess from the pretender, but opened a way for him at the same time, to England, and accomplished all his designs at once. The czar named the isle of Aland for the conference between his minister of state Osterman, and baron de Goerts. They begged the duke of Ormond to return, that they might not give too strong a suspicion to the court of England, with whom the czar would not break till the time of the invasion; but Jernegan, the duke's confidant remained at Petersburg, to manage affairs, and was lodged in the town with such precaution, that he never went out but at night, nor saw the czar's ministers but in disguise, sometimes like a peasant and sometimes a Tartar. As soon as the duke of Ormond was gone, the czar made a merit, to the king of England, of his complaisance in sending away the greatest man of the pretender's party; and baron Goerts returned full of hopes to Sweden. He found his master at the head of 30,000 regular troops, and the coasts guarded by militia. The king wanted nothing but money; his credit was gone both at home and abroad. France, which had furnished him with some subsidies in the last years of Lewis XIV. gave no more under the regency of the duke of Orleans, who governed himself by very different views. Spain promised some; but was not yet in a condition to afford much. Baron Goerts, at this time, gave the full extent to a project which he had tried before he went into France and Holland. This was, to make copper of the same value as silver; so that a piece, the intrinsic worth of which, was not above a halfpenny, with the prince's mark, was to pass for thirty or forty pence; as the governors of besieged towns have oftentimes paid their soldiers in leather money, till they could get real specie. This fictitious money, invented by necessity, and which being punctually made good can only give any credit to, is like bills of exchange, whose imaginary value may easily exceed the funds that are in any state. These expedients are of excellent use in free countries, and have sometimes saved a republic; but they almost always ruin a monarchy: For, the people growing suspicious, the government is forced to break its word; the imaginary money multiplies to excess, particular persons hide their specie, and so the machine is destroyed with confusion, and oftentimes accompanied with greater evil. This was what happened in the kingdom of Sweden, Baron Goerts, at first, issued out his new money with discretion; but was shortly carried beyond the measures he proposed, by the rapidity of a motion he knew not how to controul. All sorts of merchandizes and provisions being raised to an excessive price, he was forced to augment his leather coin; the more it was multiplied, the more it lost credit. Sweden, over-run with this false money, joined in a general outcry against baron Goerts. The people always full of veneration for Charles XII. could not hate him; but the weight of their aversion fell upon his minister, who being a foreigner, and, as it were, governor of the finances, was doubly assured of the public hatred. An imposition he would have laid upon the clergy, was what put the finishing stroke to his being rendered odious to the nation. The priests, who too often make their own the cause of God, said publicly, he was an atheist, because he demanded money from them; and the new leather money being stamped with the images of some of the heathen gods, they took occasion from thence to call those pieces baron Goerts's gods.

To the public hatred was joined the jealousy of the ministry, the more implacable at that time without power. The king's sister and the prince her husband, feared him as a man attached by his birth, to the duke of Holstein, and capable of putting the crown of Sweden one day upon his head. He pleased no one in the kingdom but Charles XII. and this general aversion served only to confirm him in the king's favour, whose opinion was always strengthened by contradiction. He placed at this time a confidence in the baron even to a submission; and gave him not only an absolute power in the government at home, but trusted him, without any reserve, in all the negotiations with the czar, and recommended to him, above all things, to forward the conference of the isle of Aland. As soon as Goerts had settled the finances, which required his presence at Stockholm, he went away to put a finishing stroke to the grand work with the czar's minister. These were the preliminary conditions, which were to alter the face of affairs in Europe, as they were found among Goerts's papers after his death. The czar was to keep all Livonia to himself, with a part of Ingria and Carelia, giving up the rest to Sweden. He was to unite with Charles XII. in the design of re-establishing King Stanislaus on the throne of Poland, and engaged himself to re-enter this country with 80,000 Muscovites, to dethrone that same king Augustus for whom he had been fighting for ten years: he was to furnish the king of Sweden with ships sufficient to transport 10,000 Swedes into Sweden, and 30,000 into Germany; the united forces of Peter and Charles were to attack the king of England in his Hanoverian dominions, and especially in Bremen and Verden: the same troops were to restore the duke of Holstein, and force the king of Prussia into a treaty, by which he was to give up a part of what he had taken. Charles began to look upon himself as if his victorious troops, joined to those of the czar, had already executed what they were about. He called aloud upon the emperor of Germany, for the execution of the treaty of Altranstad; but the court of Vienna hardly designed to make any answer to a proposition from a prince whom they so little feared. The king of Poland was not in such security, but foresaw the storm that threatened him. Fleming, who was of all men the most distrustful, and was himself the least to be trusted, suspected the designs of the czar and the king of Sweden, in favour of king Stanislaus. He would have had him carried off in the dutchy of Deux-Ponts, as, some years before, James Sobiesky had been seized in Silesia; but Stanislaus kept himself upon his guard, and the enterprise was balked. Some of the ruffians who were to have executed this design, endeavoured to deserve their reward in assassinating Stanislaus. They agreed to hide themselves behind a hedge, near which he was to pass, and to shoot him. Stanislaus had notice given him of the plot, and came to the place a little before the time the assassins expected him. He found them met together, and went directly up to them, with only one page; the least circumstance not foreseen, will serve sometimes, for that reason only, to overturn a plot. These wretches, being not yet arrived at the place where the stroke was to be given, had not time to come to a resolution. They were astonished at the presence of the king. "Gentlemen," said he, I cannot imagine why persons whom I have never injured should seek my life. If it is necessity put you upon this design to assassinate me; there is money for

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you.—Be honest." Upon which, throwing some pistoles among them, he went away, leaving them full of admiration of his virtue, and repentance for their crime. In the mean time, Charles went a second time to attempt the conquest of Norway, in the month of October 1718. He had taken his measures so well, that he hoped to be master of the kingdom in six months. He chose rather to go among rocks to conquer, in the midst of snow and ice, and in the depth of winter, which kills animals, even in Sweden, where the air is not so sharp, than to undertake the recovery of his fine provinces in Germany, out of the hands of his enemies; but he hoped his new alliance with the czar, would soon put him in a condition of regaining all those provinces: besides the glory there would be in taking a kingdom from a victorious enemy.

At the mouth of the river Tistendall, near the bay of Denmark, between the town of Bahus and Anslo, is situated Frederickshall a place of great strength and importance, and looked upon as the key of that kingdom. Charles layed siege to it in the month of December. The soldiers, numbed with cold, could hardly break up the frozen ground; it was like opening trenches in a rock; but the Swedes could not think much of their labour when they saw a king at their head, who underwent the same fatigues: and Charles had never known greater than the present. His constitution, tried in eighteen years painful exercise, was hardened to that degree, that he slept in the open fields in Norway, in the depth of winter, upon straw or a board, covered only by a cloak, without damaging his health in the least. Several of his soldiers died of the cold upon their posts; and others, almost frozen to death, seeing their king suffer with them, did not dare to complain. A little before this expedition, having heard of a woman in Scandinavia named Joan Dotter, who had lived many months without taking any nourishment but water, he, who all his life had studied to support the greatest extremities that human life is capable of, was resolved to try how long he could fast. He spent five days without eating or drinking; on the sixth, in the morning, he rode two leagues to his brother-in-law's, the prince of Hesse, where he eat very much without feeling the least inconvenience, either from his five days fasting, or the plentiful meal he then made. With this body of iron, endued with a soul of such strength and courage, in whatever condition he was, he had not one neighbour but feared him. On the 11th of December, St. Andrew's day, he went, at nine o'clock at night, to visit the trenches, and not finding the parallel enough advanced to his mind, he seemed much displeased. Monsieur Megret, a French engineer, who conducted the siege, assured him, the place would be taken in eight days. "We shall see that," said the king, and continued to visit the works with the engineer. He stopped at a place where the boyau made an angle with the parallel, and kneeling on the inner talus and resting his elbows on the parapet, he remained for some time viewing the works, that were carrying on in the trenches, by star-light.

The least circumstances are essential, when they relate to the death of so great a man as Charles XII. therefore, I must needs take notice, that all the conversation that so many writers, and even Monsieur de la Motraye, have related to be between the king and the engineer Megret, is entirely false. What follows, I know to be the truth of the matter. The king stood

with half his body exposed to a battery of cannon, pointed directly against the angle where he was ; there were none but two Frenchmen near him, one was Monsieur Siker, his Aid-de-camp, a man of understanding and courage, who came into his service in Turkey, and was particularly attached to the prince of Hesse ; the other was this engineer. The cannon fired upon them with chain-shot, and the king stood more exposed to it than any one. A little behind was count Swerin, who commanded the trenches, and count Posse, captain of the guards, and an aid-de-camp, named Kulbert, received orders from him. Siker and Megret saw the king the moment he fell upon the parapet, fetching a deep sigh ; they ran to him, but he was dead. A heavy ball, of half a pound, had struck him on the right temple and made a hole big enough to turn three fingers in. His head was lying over the parapet, the left eye was beaten in, and the right out of its socket. He was dead in an instant, but had strength enough in that instant, by a natural motion, to clap his hand to the guard of his sword, in which attitude he lay. At this sight, Megret, a singular man, of a great deal of indifference, said nothing but, "The play is over, let us be gone." Siker ran immediately to acquaint count Swerin of it ; they all agreed to keep his death a secret to the soldiers, till the prince of Hesse could be informed of it. They covered his body with a grey cloak ; Siker put his Peruke and hat on the king's head, and in this Manner, carried Charles, under the name of captain Carlsberg, through the troops, who saw their dead king pass by without suspecting any thing of the matter. The prince ordered immediately that no one should stir out of the camp, and had all the roads to Sweden guarded, that he might have time to take his measures to place the crown upon his wife's head, and exclude the duke of Holstein, who perhaps might have laid claim to it. Thus fell Charles XII. king of Sweden, at the age of thirty-six years and a half, after having proved the highest prosperity and the greatest adversity, without being softened by the one, or one moment shaken by the other. Almost all his actions, even in private life, were far beyond probability. He was, perhaps, the only man, and certainly the only king, whoever lived without any weakness. He carried all the virtues of a hero to that excess, that they became faults, and were as dangerous as the opposite vices. His resolution, turned to obstinacy, occasioned his misfortunes in Ukrania, and kept him five years in Turkey ; his liberality, degenerating into profusion, ruined Sweden ; his courage, by his rashness, was the occasion of his death ; his justice sometimes went to cruelty ; and, in his last years, the maintaining his authority approached to tyranny ; his great qualities, one of which would have immortalized another prince, have proved the misfortune of his country. He never attacked any person first ; but he was not as prudent as he was implacable in his revenge. He was the first who had the ambition to be a conqueror without the desire of enlarging his dominions. He coveted empires to give them away. His passion for glory, for war, and for revenge, prevented his being a good politician, without which, there never was a conqueror. Before a battle he had great confidence, was modest after a victory, and undaunted after a defeat. As rigorous to others as himself, setting at nought the labours and lives of his subjects as well as his own. Singular, rather than a great man, and more to be admired than imitated. His life ought to teach kings, that a peaceable and happy reign is preferable

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to so much glory. Charles XII. was of a tall and noble stature, had a fine forehead, large blue eyes, full of sweetness, and a handsome nose; but the lower part of his face was disagreeable, and much disfigured by a frequent laughter, which came only from his lips. He had but little hair upon his head or beard. He spoke very little, and oftentimes only answered by this laugh, which was become habitual to him. There was always a profound silence at his table. Notwithstanding the inflexibility of his temper, he always retained that timidity which is called bashfulness, and was confounded in company; for, having giving himself up so much to labour and war, he knew but little of conversation. Before his leisure among the Turks, he had read nothing but Cæsar's commentaries and the history of Alexander: but he had wrote some reflections upon war, and his own campaigns, from 1700 to 1709; this he owed to the Chevalier de Follard, and told him the manuscript was lost in the unhappy battle of Pultowa.

With respect to religion, though the sentiments of a prince ought not to influence those of other men, and the opinion of a monarch so little instructed as Charles XII. can be of no great weight in such matters, yet it is necessary in this point, as well as others, to satisfy the curiosity of men, who are eager to know every thing relating to Charles XII. I know, from the person who trusted me with the principal memoirs of this history, that Charles XII. was an orthodox Lutheran till the year 1707, when he saw, at Leipsic, that famous philosopher M. Leibnitz, who thought and spoke freely, and always inspired more princes than one with sentiments of freedom. Charles XII. received, from the conversation of this philosopher, a good deal of indifference for Lutheranism. Afterwards having more leisure, among the Turks, and taking a view of divers religions, he carried his indifference much farther. He preserved none of his first principles but what related to an absolute predestination, which is a doctrine that favoured his courage, and justified his temerity. The czar had the same sentiments with him upon religion and destiny; but he talked of them oftener; for he would converse familiarly of all things with his favourites, and had so much the advantage over Charles XII. that he had studied philosophy, and had the gift of eloquence. I cannot forbear speaking here of a calumny, too often renewed on the death of princes, whom evil-minded, or credulous men, will always have to be poisoned or assassinated. The report was spread in Germany, that Monsieur Siker himself was the man who had killed the king of Sweden. This brave officer was for a long time very uneasy at this report; and speaking of it to me, one day, he used these words, "I might have killed the king of Sweden; but such was my respect for that hero, I could not have dared to do it, had I been willing."

After his death the siege of Frederickshall was raised. The Swedes, almost ruined by the glory of their prince, thought only how to make peace with their enemies, and put a stop to that absolute power that baron Goerts had exercised over them. The states freely elected for their queen, the princess, sister of Charles XII. but obliged her solemnly to renounce all hereditary right to the crown, since she only held it from the suffrages of the nation; she promised, by repeated oaths, never to attempt to re-establish arbitrary power; she afterwards sacrificed her royalty to her conjugal affection, in giving up her crown to her husband, and engaged the states to

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elect that prince, who mounted the throne upon the same conditions as she had done.

Baron Goerts, who was put under an arrest immediately after the death of Charles XII. was condemned by the senate of Stockholm, to have his head cut off, at the foot of the gallows; an example rather of revenge than justice, and a cruel affront to a king whom Sweden yet admires.

END OF THE LIFE OF CHARLES THE TWELFTH.

Some Years
OF THE
LIFE
OF
THE DUKE AND DUCHESS
OF
MARLBOROUGH,
FROM
THE FIRST COMING OF THE DUCHESS TO COURT,
TO
THE YEAR 1710.

Written by HERSELF.

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THE ROYAL MILITARY CHRONICLE.

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[Vol. VI.]

Original Marlborough Papers.

SOME YEARS OF THE LIFE OF THE DUKE AND DUCHESS OF MARLBOROUGH,

BY THE DUCHESS HERSELF.

(In a recent Sale in Bond Street, the Original Marlborough Papers were sold at the enormous Price of Three Hundred Guineas. We have the satisfaction of laying before our Readers one of the most valuable of these,—Some Incidents of the Life of the Duke written by the Duchess herself, and therefore of undoubted authority.)

BEING now at the extreme point of life, and being very desirous of putting the life of my Lord Duke and myself in that point of view which will not injure our fair fame, I am induced to draw up this Narrative. It is as true as my memory of transactions long past will suffer me to make it.

I shall begin at the time, when, being a very young woman, the Princess Anne of Denmark first distinguished me. This was upon occasion of a quarrel with her sister Mary whilst King James was upon the throne. But I will go a little way further back.—My first acquaintance with the Princess began from our childhood. We used to play together in our infancy. This fondness (for such it was) grew with our years ; and when she was married to the Prince of Denmark in 1683, it was by her own request that I was made one of the Ladies of her Bedchamber.

I was perhaps chiefly recommended to her by being somewhat more agreeable than the other persons about her. The first lady of the bedchamber was Lady Clarendon, a lady who looked like a mad-woman, and talked like a learned doctor. Indeed, never did I see a court so oddly composed. I owed my favour more to this than to my talent for flattery, to which I never submitted, and which our girlish love rendered unnecessary.

Kings and princes, for the most part, imagine they have a dignity peculiar to their birth and station, which ought to raise them above all connexion of friendship with an inferior. Their passion is to be admired and feared, to have subjects awfully obedient, and servants blindly obsequious to their pleasure. Friendship is an offensive word ; it imports a kind of equality between the parties ; it suggests nothing to the mind of crowns or thrones, high titles, or immense revenues, fountains of honour, or fountains of riches ; prerogatives which the possessors would have always uppermost in the thoughts of those who are permitted to approach them.

The Princess had a different taste. A friend was what she most coveted. She grew uneasy to be treated by me with the form and ceremony due to her rank ; nor could she bear from me the sound of words which implied in them distance and superiority. It was this turn of mind, which made her one day

propose to me, that whenever I should happen to be absent from her, we might in all our letters write ourselves by feigned names, such as would import nothing of distinction of rank between us. Morley and Freeman were the names her fancy hit upon; and she left me to chuse by which of them I would be called. My frank open temper naturally led me to pitch upon Freeman, and so the Princess took the other; and from this time Mrs. Morley and Mrs. Freeman began to converse as equals, made so by affection and friendship.

Soon after the decease of King Charles the Second, Lord Clarendon was appointed Lord-Lieutenant of Ireland, to which country his Lady was to go with him. The Princess received a sensible joy from this event; not only as it released her from a person very disagreeable to her, but as it gave her an opportunity of promoting me to be first lady of her bed-chamber; which she immediately did.

During her father's whole reign she kept her court as private as she could, consistent with her station. What were the designs of that unhappy Prince every body knows. They came soon to shew themselves undisguised, and attempts were made to draw his daughter into them. The King indeed used no harshness with her; he only discovered his wishes, by putting into her hands some books and papers, which he hoped might induce her to a change of religion.

Lord Tyrconnel also, who had married my sister, took some pains with me, to engage me, if possible, to make use, for the same end, of that great favour which he knew I enjoyed with the Princess: but all his endeavours proved vain; and it was not long before all the danger blew over, the projects of that reign being effectually disappointed, almost as soon as they were openly avowed.

Upon the landing of the Prince of Orange in 1688, the King went down to Salisbury to his army, and the Prince of Denmark with him; but the news quickly came from thence, that the Prince of Denmark had left the King, and was gone over to the Prince of Orange, and that the King was coming back to London. This put the Princess into a great fright. She sent for me, told me her distress, and declared, *That rather than see her father she would jump out at window.* This was her very expression.

A little before, a note had been left with me, to inform me where I might find the Bishop of London (who in that critical time absconded), if her Royal Highness should have occasion for a friend. The Princess on this alarm, immediately sent me to the Bishop. I acquainted him with her resolution to leave the court, and to put herself under his care. It was hereupon agreed, that he should come about midnight in a hackney coach to the neighbourhood of the Cockpit, in order to convey the Princess to some place where she might be private and safe.

The Princess went to bed at the usual time to prevent suspicion. I came to her soon after; and by the back-stairs which went down from her closet, her Royal Highness, my Lady Fitzharding, and I, with one servant, walked to the coach, where we found the Bishop and the Earl of Dorset. They conducted us that night to the Bishop's house in the city, and the next day to my Lord Dorset's at Copt-hall. From thence we went to the Earl of Northampton's, and from thence to Nottingham, where the country gathered about the Princess; nor did she think herself safe, till she saw that she was surrounded by the Prince of Orange's friends.

The most remarkable thing that happened to the Princess during her stay at this place was a letter she received from Lord Clarendon. It was full of compliments, and at the same time full of complaints, that she had not told him of a thing he liked so well, that he might have had a share in it. (How well these compliments and the earnestness he shewed (in a consultation held at Windsor, before the Prince of Orange came to London) to have King James sent to the Tower, agreed with his conduct afterwards, I shall leave to the world to judge.

Quickly after this, the King fled into France. The throne was hereupon declared vacant, and presently filled with the Prince and Princess of Orange. The Parliament thought proper to settle the crown on King William for life, and the Princess of Denmark gave her consent to it. The truth is, I persuaded her to consent to the project of that settlement, and to be easy under it, after it was made.

However, as I was fearful about every thing the Princess did, while she was thought to be advised by me, I could not satisfy my own mind, till I had consulted with several persons of undisputed wisdom and integrity, and particularly with the Lady Russel of Southampton-house, and Dr. Tillotson, afterwards Archbishop of Canterbury. I found them all unanimous in the opinion of the expediency of the settlement proposed, as things were then situated. In conclusion, therefore, I carried Dr. Tillotson to the Princess, and, upon what he said to her, she took care that no disturbance should be made by her pretended friends, the Jacobites who had pressed her earnestly to form an opposition.

It is certain, that the immediate occasion of the open breach between her Majesty and the Princess of Denmark was the Princess's refusing to obey the Queen's command to remove me from about her person. But no one, I think, can be so foolish as to imagine that the Queen's dislike of me was only on account of my being the wife of Lord Marlborough, who happened then to be in disgrace with the King; or that her Majesty would have insisted on a demand so painful to her sister, had they till then lived together in the harmony, which should naturally be preserved between sisters, especially when embarked in one common cause against a father in defence of religion.

To clear up this matter, then, and to discover the true sources of that famous quarrel, it will be necessary to recur to some preceding events which unfortunately led the way to it.

On the arrival of Queen Mary in England, the Princess of Denmark went to meet her, and there was great appearance of kindness between them. But this quickly wore off, and a visible coldness ensued; which I believe was partly occasioned by the persuasion the King had, that the Prince and Princess had been of more use to him, than they were ever like to be again, and partly by the different characters, and humours of the two sisters. It was indeed impossible they should be very agreeable companions to each other; because Queen Mary grew weary of any body who would not talk a great deal; and the Princess was so silent that she rarely spoke more than was necessary to answer a question. But this was not all. In the very beginning of that reign there happened some events, which, as they discovered an uncommon disregard in the Queen for her sister, must naturally produce an answerable discontent in the Princess. And here I cannot forbear saying, that whatever good qualities Queen Mary had to make her popular, it is too evident by many instances that she wanted bowels.

Of this she seemed to me to give an unquestionable proof the first day she came to Whitehall. I was one of those who had the honour to wait on her to

her own apartment. She ran about it, looking into every closet and conveniency, and turning up the quilts upon the bed, as people do when they come into an inn, and with no other sort of concern in her appearance, but such as they express; a behaviour, which, though at that time I was extremely caressed by her, I thought very strange and unbecoming. For, whatever necessity there was of deposing King James, he was still her father, who had been so lately driven from that chamber, and that bed; and, if she felt no tenderness, I thought she should at least have looked grave, or even pensively sad, at so melancholy a reverse of his fortune.

The Princess, soon after the King's coming to Whitehall, had a mind to leave her lodgings (the way from which to the Queen's apartment was very inconvenient) and to go to those that had been the Duchess of Portsmouth's, which the King on her request told her she should have. But the Princess requesting also (for the conveniency of her servants) some other lodgings that lay nearer to those of the Duchess, this matter met with difficulty; though her Highness in exchange for what she asked was to give the whole Cockpit (which was more than an equivalent) to be disposed of for the King's use. For the Duke of Devonshire took into his head, that, could he have the Duchess of Portsmouth's lodgings, where there was a fine room for balls, it would give him a very magnificent air. And it was very plain, that, while this matter was in debate, between the King and Queen and Princess, my Lord Devonshire's chief business was to raise so many difficulties in making the Princess easy in those lodgings, as at last to gain his point. After many conversations upon the affair, the Queen told the Princess, "That she could not let her have the lodgings she desired for her servants, till my Lord Devonshire had resolved whether he would have them, or a part of the Cockpit:" Upon which the Princess answered, "She would then stay where she was, for she would not have my Lord Devonshire's leavings." So she took the Duchess of Portsmouth's apartment, granted her at first, and used it for her children, remaining herself at the Cockpit.

Much about the same time the Princess, who had a fondness for the house at Richmond (where she had lived when a child), and who, besides, thought the air of that place good for the children, desired that house of the Queen; but that likewise was refused her, though for many years no use had been made of it, but for Madame Possaire, a sister of my Lady Orkney, and Mr. Hill.

The Princess, notwithstanding these mortifications, continued to pay all imaginable respect to the King and Queen. But this did not hinder her Majesty from expressing a great deal of displeasure, when some steps were made in Parliament towards settling a revenue on the Prince and Princess. Taking her sister one night to task for it, she asked her, *What was the meaning of those proceedings?* To which the Princess answered, *She heard her friends had a mind to make her some settlement.* The Queen hastily replied with a very imperious air, *Pray what friends have you but the King and me?* I had not the honour to attend the Princess that night; but when she came back, she repeated this to me. And indeed I never saw her express so much resentment as she did at this usage; and I think it must be allowed she had great reason. For it was unjust in her sister not to allow her a decent provision, without an entire dependence on the King. And besides, the Princess had in a short time learnt that she must be very miserable, if she was to have no support but the friendship of the two persons her Majesty had mentioned.

After this the Queen said no more to the Princess on the subject of the settlement, though they met every day; and the affair went on so well in the House of Commons, that her friends were encouraged to propose for her a much larger revenue than was at last obtained; to prevent which, by gaining time, the King prorogued the Parliament.

The business however was resumed again at the next meeting; and then all possible endeavours were used, to engage me by flattery and by fear, to dissuade the Princess from the pursuit of a settlement. My Lady Fitzharding, who was more than any body in the Queen's favour, and for whom it was known that I had a singular affection, was the person chiefly employed in this undertaking. Sometimes she attacked me on the side of my own interest, telling me, "That if I would not put an end to measures so disagreeable to the King and Queen, it would certainly be the ruin of my Lord, and consequently of all our family." When she found that this had no effect, she endeavoured to alarm my fears for the Princess, by saying, "That those measures would in all probability ruin her: For no body, but such as flattered me, believed the Princess would carry her point; and in case she did not, the King would not think himself obliged to do any thing for her. That it was perfect madness in me to persist, and I had better ten thousand times persuade the Princess to let the thing fall, and so make all easy to the King and Queen."

But all this, and a great deal more that was said, was so far from inclining me to do what was desired of me, that it only made me more anxious about the success of the Princess's affair, and more earnest, if possible, in the prosecution of it. For, as I would have died, rather than have made my court to that reign by sacrificing the interest of the Princess; so there was nothing I dreaded more, than, by the least appearance of negligence, or coldness in the present cause, to give ground to suspect me of having been flattered into so base a conduct. I employed therefore all the powers I was capable of exerting to advance the design. I knew the thing was reasonable, the Princess's happiness was concerned in it, and there was a fair prospect of succeeding. Besides, that whatever happened in Parliament, the King could not well avoid giving some allowance to the next heir to the crown. And, if he should give her nothing, she had however, by the marriage-settlement, 20,000 *l.* a year, which would keep her in a retired way, much more agreeably than she could hope to live at court, if she depended on his generosity; of which I had no opinion: For the late Lord Godolphin had told me, that the King, on some meeting at the Treasury, speaking of the civil list, *wondered very much how the Princess could spend 30,000*l.* a year*, though it appeared afterwards that some of his favourites had more. And there were other parts of the King's conduct (which shall be mentioned in a proper place) whereby it sufficiently appeared, that I did not mistake in my opinion of his disposition.

But, to return to the affair in Parliament. A day or two before it was put to the vote in the House of Commons, I was extremely surprized by a message from the Duke of Shrewsbury, who, as he did not visit me, sent to desire to speak with me about business. When he came, he told me, "That he was sent by the King, who promised to give the Princess 50,000 *l.* a year, if she would desist from soliciting the settlement by Parliament, and that he was confident his Majesty would keep his word: That if he did not, he was sure he would not serve him an hour after he broke it." I said, that such a resolution might be very right as to his grace, but that I did not see it would be of any use to the Princess, if his Majesty should not perform the promise. The

Duke, to convince me of the reasonableness of what he proposed, added a great deal which had no effect; and I desired he would attend the Princess herself, to which he consented. I went to her at his request to acquaint her of his coming. Her answer to him was, "That she could not think herself in the wrong to desire a security for what was to support her; and that the business was now gone so far, that she thought it reasonable to see what her friends could do for her."

I need not tell you that the Princess carried her point, and that 50,000*l.* was settled by Parliament. For when the King found that he could not persuade her to an entire dependency upon him, he compounded the matter with her friends upon these terms, to hinder their insisting on a larger settlement. The Parliament had shewed an inclination that way: But it was at length thought advisable by the Princess's friends, that she should accept of 50,000*l.* securely settled, rather than have any farther struggle, considering the great power and influence of the crown, by means of its dependents.

Nevertheless, I was so fearful lest the Princess should suffer for want of good advice, that after I had heard of the Commons voting 50,000*l.* a year, I sent to speak with my Lord Rochester, and asked his opinion whether the Princess ought to be satisfied, or whether it was reasonable she should try to get more. (I did not then know how much his heart was bent on making his court to the Queen.) His answer to me was, "That he thought, not only that the Princess ought to be satisfied with 50,000 *l.* but that she ought to have taken it in any way the King and Queen pleased." Which made me reflect that he would not have liked that advice in the case of his own 4000*l.* a year from the Post-office settled on him and his son.

But I was not so uncivil, as to speak my thought, nor so foolish as to struggle any longer. For most of those who had been prevailed with to promote the settlement were Tories, among whom my Lord Rochester was a very great man. Their zeal on the present occasion was, doubtless, to thwart King William; for I never observed that, on any other, they discovered much regard for the Princess of Denmark.

The success of the affair was chiefly imputed to the steadiness and diligence of my Lord Marlborough and me, both by those, to whom it was so exceedingly disagreeable, and by her, to whose happiness it was then so necessary.

On one side, it was the chief source of all the dissatisfaction of the King and Queen with us; and on the other, it was acknowledged by the Princess with as deep a sense of the kindness, as could be expressed, and in a manner generous to a very high degree.

A little above a year after the settlement was made, I was surprised with a letter from her, wherein she offered me the yearly pension of 1000*l.* Some of her words are these; "I have had something to say to you a great while, and I did not know how to go about it. I have designed, ever since my revenue was settled, to desire you would accept of a thousand pounds a year.— I beg you would only look upon it as an earnest of my good-will, but never mention any thing of it to me; for I shall be ashamed to have any notice taken of such a thing from one that deserves more than I shall be ever able to return."

And some time afterwards, a little delay being made by her treasurer in the payment of it, she wrote another letter, wherein were these words; "'Tis long since I mentioned this thing to dear Mrs. Freeman. She has all the reason in the world to believe I did not mean what I said, or that I have changed my

mind, which are both so ill qualities, that I cannot bear you should have cause to think your faithful Morley is capable of being guilty of either."

The circumstances of my family at this time were not very great; yet I was so far from catching at so free and large an offer, that I could not persuade myself to accept of it, till I had sent the first letter to Lord Godolphin, and consulted him upon the matter. It was his opinion, that there was no reason in the world for me to refuse it. And perhaps no one else will think otherwise, who believes, as he did, that the settling of the Princess's revenue had been chiefly owing to my Lord Marlborough's indefatigable industry, and to mine.

The next difference that happened between the sisters, was upon the Prince's design of going to sea. He was carried to this resolution by his unwillingness to stay at home, while there was so much action abroad; and by the remembrance of the extreme ill usage he had met with, when, at a great expence, he attended his Majesty into Ireland. For the King would not suffer his Royal Highness to go in the coach with him: An affront never put upon a person of that rank before.

The Prince however submitted to this indignity, it being too late to take any measures to avoid it. Nor, during the whole campaign, did he fail in any part of duty or respect, though the King never took more notice of him, than if he had been a page of the back stairs.

You will allow, I believe, that it was very natural for the Prince to chuse a sea-expedition, rather than expose himself again to the like contemptuous usage. On his taking leave of the King, who was going to Flanders, he asked his Majesty's permission to serve him at sea as a volunteer, and without any command. The King said nothing; but immediately embraced him by way of adieu. Silence in such cases being generally taken for consent, the Prince prepared his equipage, and sent every thing on board. But the King, as it afterwards appeared, had left orders with the Queen, that she should neither suffer the Prince to go to sea, nor yet forbid him to go, if she could so contrive matters, as to make his staying at home his own choice.

The Queen observed the King's directions very exactly. She sent a great Lord to me, to desire I would persuade the Princess to keep the Prince from going to sea; and this I was to compass, without letting the Princess know that it was the Queen's desire. I answered, "That I had all the duty imaginable for the Queen, but that no consideration could make me so failing to my mistress, as I should think myself, if I spoke to her upon that occasion, and concealed the reason of it. That it was natural for the Princess to wish the Prince might stay at home, and be out of danger; but whether she could prevail in that matter, I did very much doubt. That nevertheless I would say to the Princess whatever her Majesty pleased, provided I might have the liberty to make use of her name." After this, the Queen sent my Lord Rochester to me, to desire much the same thing. "The Prince was not to go to sea, and his not going was to appear his own choice." But after so much noise as had been made about his going, the Prince thought, that to send for his things back, without giving any reason for changing his design, would be making a very ridiculous figure, and therefore he would not submit. Upon which the Queen sent my Lord Nottingham in form, positively to forbid the Prince of Denmark's going to sea.

Notwithstanding all these things, the Queen and Princess lived, in appearance, for some time after, as if nothing had happened, till the King was

pleased (without publicly assigning any particular reason) to remove my Lord Marlborough from all his employments. His Majesty sent Lord Nottingham to tell him, that he had no more occasion for his service. This event might, perhaps, be well enough accounted for, by saying, that Lord Portland had ever a great prejudice to my Lord Marlborough, and that my Lady Orkney (then Mrs. Villiers), though I had never done her any injury, except not making court to her, was my implacable enemy. But, I think, it is not to be doubted, that the principal cause of the King's message, was the court's dislike that any body should have so much interest with the Princess as I had, who would not implicitly obey every command of the King and Queen. The disgrace of my Lord Marlborough therefore was designed as a step towards removing me from about her.

A letter from the Queen to her sister, which I shall presently give you, affords ground for this opinion. And the behaviour of my Lord Rochester, who was much in the Queen's favour and councils, confirms it. He had warmly opposed my coming into the Princess's family, and he now shewed himself very desirous to have me removed, believing, without question, that could this be compassed, he should infallibly have the government of both sisters: though certainly, as to the Princess, he never discovered any such regard for her, as should give him a title to her confidence.

But to come to the sequel of the King's message. I solemnly protest, that the loss of my Lord Marlborough's employments would never have broke my rest one single night upon account of interest; but, I confess, *the being turned out* is something very disagreeable to my temper. And, I believe it was three weeks, before my best friends could persuade me, that it was fit for me to go to a court, which (as I thought) had used my Lord Marlborough very ill.

However at last they prevailed. And I remembered the chief argument was urged by my Lord Godolphin, who said, that it could not be thought, I made any mean court to the King and Queen, since to attend the Princess, was only paying my duty where it was owing.

I waited therefore on my mistress to Kensington. The consequence was such, as my friends, having no reason to apprehend it, had never thought of. The next day the Queen wrote to her sister the following letter.

Kensington, Friday, the 5th of Feb.—"Having something to say to you, which I know will not be very pleasing, I chuse rather to write it first, being unwilling to surprise you; though, I think, what I am going to tell you, should not, if you give yourself the time to think, that never any body was suffered to live at court in my Lord Marlborough's circumstances. I need not repeat the cause he has given the King to do what he has done, nor his unwillingness at all times to come to such extremities, though people do deserve it.

"I hope, you do me the justice to believe, it is as much against my will, that I now tell you, that, after this, it is very unfit Lady Marlborough should stay with you, since that gives her husband so just a pretence of being where he ought not.

"I think, I might have expected you should have spoke to me of it. And the King and I, both believing it, made us stay thus long. But seeing you was so far from it, that you brought Lady Marlborough hither last night, makes us resolve to put it off no longer, but tell you, she must not stay; and that I have all the reason imaginable to look upon your bringing her, as the strangest thing that ever was done. Nor could all my kindness for you (which is ever ready to turn all you do the best way, at any other time) have hindered me

shewing you that moment, but I considered your condition, and that made me master myself so far, as not to take notice of it then.

"But now I must tell you, it was very unkind in a sister, would have been very uncivil in an equal, and I need not say I have more claim. Which, though my kindness would make me never exact, yet when I see the use you would make of it, I must tell you, I know what is due to me, and expect to have it from you. 'Tis upon that account, I tell you plainly, Lady Marlborough must not continue with you in the circumstances her Lord is.

"I know this will be uneasy to you, and I am sorry for it; and it is very much so to me to say all this to you, for I have all the real kindness imaginable for you, and as I ever have, so will always do my part to live with you as sisters ought. That is, not only like so near relations, but like friends. And, as such, I did think to write to you. For I would have made myself believe your kindness for her made you at first forget that you should have for the King and Me; and resolved to put you in mind of it myself, neither of us being willing to come to harsher ways.

"But the sight of Lady Marlborough having changed my thoughts, does naturally alter my style. And since by that I see how little you seem to consider what even in common civility you owe us, I have told you plainly; but withal assure you, that let me have never so much reason to take any thing ill of you, my kindness is so great, that I can pass over most things, and live with you, as becomes me. And I desire to do so merely from that motive. For I do love you, as my sister, and nothing but yourself can make me do otherwise. And that is the reason I chuse to write this, rather than tell it you, that you may overcome your first thoughts; and when you have well considered, you will find, that though the thing be hard, (which I again assure you I am sorry for) yet it is not unreasonable, but what has ever been practised, and what you yourself would do, were you in my place.

"I will end this with once more desiring you to consider the matter impartially, and take time for it. I do not desire an answer presently, because I would not have you give a rash one. I shall come to your drawing-room tomorrow before you play, because you know why I cannot make one: At some other time we shall reason the business calmly; which I will willingly do, or any thing else that may shew, it shall never be my fault if we do not live kindly together: Nor will I ever be other by choice, but your truly loving and affectionate sister,

"M. R."

I am perhaps too much concerned in the affair to be a proper judge of this letter. However I shall take the liberty to remark, that it seems not easy to reconcile the Queen's being sorry to say so much, with her employing at the same time such *useless repetitions*; as if it had been a pleasure to her to remind her sister of the distance between them, and of what was due from the Princess of Denmark to the Queen of England. And I have wondered too, that so much kindness for a sister, then pregnant, and so much piety (for it must be observed the Queen was in devotion) did not hinder her from doing a thing which she owns is hard. Her Majesty indeed says, that "though it be hard, it is not unreasonable; but what has ever been practised, and what the Princess herself would do in her place." What the Princess would have done in her place, no body can tell: (she herself thought that she would not have done like the Queen.) But that it was not the *constant practice* is certain from many instances to the contrary, and particularly one, at that very time, in the case of the Marchioness of Halifax. And if the practice was not constant, how reason-

able it was for the Queen to insist upon it in my case, I believe, I may safely leave to the judgment of her most zealous advocates.

For how disagreeable soever to the Queen my conduct had been, it would have proved no easy task to her, to find in any part of it a plausible reason for pressing the Princess to part with me. Would any person, who deserves to be in the *service* (not to say *intimate friendship*) of a Princess, have acted otherwise than I did, in relation to those points in which only I can be supposed to have disobliged their Majesties?

Would it have become me to be indifferent in the affair of the succession to the crown? and to be willing, *without the necessity of public good*, that my mistress, my friend, the Princess of Denmark, should yield her birthright to the Prince of Orange?

Could I, consistently with honour, have advised the Princess to desist from her attempt to get a maintenance settled by Parliament, and leave herself to the generosity of a King and Queen, who, by several slights and affronts put upon her, had shewed how very little they were concerned about her happiness?

Was the part which the Queen would have had me act, in relation to the Prince's going to sea, such, as any person, who had the least regard for his Highness's character and glory, would have consented to perform?

Doubtless my behaviour on all these occasions was criminal in the Queen's eyes; but this was only because she was Queen; for she had formerly looked upon my attachment and fidelity to her sister in a very different light.

As a proof of this, I shall here give two letters, which I received from her when she was Princess of Orange. I had many others in the same stile, which were lost in the hurry of the Revolution.

Loo, September 30th.—"Dr. Stanley's going to England is too good an opportunity for me to lose of assuring Lady Churchill, she cannot give me greater satisfaction than letting me know the firm resolution both Lord Churchill and you have taken, never to be wanting in what you owe your religion. Such a generous resolution I am sure must make you deserve the esteem of all good people, and my sister's in particular. I need say nothing of mine, you have it upon a double account, as my sister's friend, besides what I have said already; and you may be assured, that I shall always be glad of an occasion to shew it both to your Lord and you."

"I have nothing more to add; for your friendship makes my sister as dear to you as to me, I am persuaded we shall ever agree in our care for her; as, I believe, she and I should in our kindness for you, were we near enough to renew our acquaintance."

"MARIE."

"If it were as easy for me to write to my Lady Churchill as it is hard to find a safe hand, she might justly wonder at my long silence; but I hope she does me more justice than to think it my fault. I have little to say at present. To answer the melancholy reflections in your last is now too late; *but I hope my sister and you will never part*. I send you here one for her, and have not any more time now than only to assure you, that I shall never forget the kindness you shewed to her who is so dear to me. That, and all the good I have heard of you, will make me ever your affectionate friend, which I shall be ready to shew otherwise than by words whenever I have an opportunity."

It may be seen by these letters that the very same tenour of behaviour towards the Princess, which afterwards displeased the Queen, gave me at that time a recommendation to her affection; but the case was altered. And the Princess of Denmark was now, at the Queen of England's command, to put

away that kind dear friend whom the Princess of Orange had hoped she would never part with. And she was to do this, not for any fault I had committed, but only because I was the wife of my Lord Marlborough, who happened to be in disgrace with the King.

Had the Queen really had custom on her side to countenance her in this harsh command, yet surely what was mere custom, and had no law to support it, might well have been neglected in the present case, in favour of reason and humanity.

She calls her command *hard*, because of the *kindness* she knew the Princess had for me. But had she mentioned the *reasons* too of that kindness, the severity of her injunction would have been more conspicuous. I speak not now of the Princess's inclination for me, previous to services on my part, but of that kindness which proceeded from her experience of my disinterested attachment to her interests and happiness. I say *disinterested* attachment. For the Princess knew that the Queen, after her coming into England, did me many honours which would have engaged some people to fix the foundation of their fortune in their favour; and that there was no person more likely than I, to rise high upon this bottom, if I could have been tempted to break the inviolable laws of friendship. Nor was there the least probability that the Princess should outlive the King and Queen, to recompense my fidelity, by such means as the royal prerogative furnishes. And as to the present power the Princess had to enrich me, her revenue was no such vast thing, as that I could propose to draw any mighty matters from thence; and, besides, Sir Benjamin Bathurst had the management of it, I had no share in that service.

I might add here, as a farther proof of the purity and integrity of my conduct, what I fancy will be easily believed: That on some occasions I could, without losing my mistress's affection, have sacrificed her cause, to make my court to the Queen. But so detestable a thought never entered into my soul: nor did I ever by asking any favour of the Queen, great or small, for my self or others, give her the least ground to hope, she could have any hold of me on the side of my interest.

Before the Princess returned an answer to the Queen's letter of command to dismiss me, she sent to my Lord Rochester, shewed him the answer she had prepared, and, with all the earnestness that can be imagined, desired he would use his interest to assist her, and that he would carry her letter; which last she could by no means persuade him to do. He told her he would speak to the Queen but could not give the letter to her. So the Princess sent it by one of her own servants. It contained these words.

"Your Majesty was in the right to think your letter would be very surprising to me. For you must needs be sensible enough of the kindness I have for my Lady Marlborough, to know, that a command from you to part with her must be the greatest mortification in the world to me; and indeed of such a nature, as I might well have hoped your kindness to me would have always prevented. I am satisfied she cannot have been guilty of any fault to you. And it would be extremely to her advantage, if I could here repeat every word that ever she had said to me of you in her whole life. I confess, it is no small addition to my trouble to find the want of your Majesty's kindness to me upon this occasion; since I am sure I have always endeavoured to deserve it by all the actions of my life.

"Your care of my present condition is extremely obliging. And if you would be pelased to add to it so far, as upon my account to recal your severe command

(as I must beg leave to call it in a matter so tender to me, and so little reasonable' as I think, to be imposed upon me, that you would scarce require it from the meanest of your subjects) I should ever acknowledge it as a very agreeable mark of your kindness to me. And I must as freely own, that as I think this proceeding can be for no other intent than to give me a very sensible mortification, so there is no misery that I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather than the thoughts of parting with her. If after all this that I have said, I must still find myself so unhappy as to be farther pressed in this matter, yet your Majesty may be assured that, as my past actions have given the greatest testimony of my respect both for the King and you, so it shall always be my endeavour, wherever I am, to preserve it carefully for the time to come, as becomes

"Your Majesty's very affectionate sister and servant,

"ANNE."

(*From the Cockpit, Feb. 6th, 1692.*)

To this the Princess received no answer but a message by my Lord Chamberlain to forbid my continuing any longer at the Cockpit.

It was the opinion of several people, that the King had no more power to remove any body out of that house, than out of any other buildings on that side the park, it having been bought of the Duke of Leeds, and settled at the Princess's marriage in King Charles's time on her, and her heirs. But the Princess had resolved to do every thing respectful to the King and Queen, except yielding in that single point of parting with me. And therefore instead of insisting on the right, which she had in common with every other subject, of being mistress in her own house, she wrote to the Queen the following letter.

"I am sorry to find that all I have said myself, and my Lord Rochester for me, has not effect enough to keep your Majesty from persisting in a resolution, which you are satisfied must be so great a mortification to me, as, to avoid it, I shall be obliged to retire, and deprive myself of the satisfaction of living where I might have frequently opportunities of assuring you of that duty and respect, which I always have been, and shall be desirous to pay upon all occasions.

"My only consolation in this extremity is, that not having done any thing in all my my life, to deserve your unkindness, I hope I shall not be long under the necessity of absenting myself from you; the thought of which is so uneasy to me, that I find myself too much indisposed to give your Majesty any farther trouble at this time." (*February 8th, 1692.*)

Though my Lord Rochester be mentioned in this letter, as having employed his good offices to prevail with the Queen to change her determination, there is little reason to think that his intercession could be very warm or urgent after the refusal he made to carry the former letter, though pressed to it by the most earnest entreaties.

At the same time, that the Princess resolved to leave the Cockpit, she sent to speak with the Duchess of Somerset, of whom she desired to borrow Sion for some little time. The Duchess made her many expressions, and very soon after, having spoke to the Duke of Somerset of it, waited on her again, to acquaint her, in a very respectful manner, that Sion was at her service.

As soon as this was known, the King did all he could to dissuade the Duke from letting the Princess have the house; but his Grace had too much greatness of mind to go back from his promise; so there was an end of the matter.

Before the Princess removed from the Cockpit, she waited upon her Majesty at Kensington, making all the professions that could be imagined, to which the Queen was as insensible as a statue. When she did answer her it was in the stile of her letter.

Soon after the Princess's going to Sion, a dreadful plot broke out, which was said to have been hid somewhere, I don't know where, in a flower-pot; and my Lord Marlborough was sent to the Tower.

To commit a peer to prison it was necessary there should be an affidavit from some body of the treason. My Lord Romney therefore, secretary of state, had sent to one Young, who was then in jail for perjury and forgery, and paid his fine, in order to make him what they call a *legal evidence*. For as the court-lawyers said, Young not having lost his ears, was an *irreproachable witness*. I shall not dwell on the story of this fellow's villainy, the Bishop of Rochester having given a full Account of it in print.

Whether my Lord Marlborough's conspiracy with this Young was what the Queen meant in her letter to the Princess, where she speaks "of the cause my Lord Marlborough had given the King to do what he had done, and of his unwillingness to come to such extremities, though people did deserve it," I know not. Nor indeed could I ever learn what cause the King assigned for his displeasure. But it is natural to think he would give the best reason he could for using in that manner a man, who had done so much for the Revolution. Every one knows, that my Lord Marlborough had considerable employments under King James, and might have hoped to be as great a favourite as any body, could he have assisted in bringing about that unhappy Prince's scheme of fixing Popery and Arbitrary Power in England. It was highly improbable therefore, that he, who had done so much, and sacrificed so much for the preservation of the religion and liberty of his country, should on a sudden engage in a conspiracy to destroy them. And though these considerations had no weight with the King, they had so much with my Lord Devonshire, my Lord Bradford, and the late Duke of Montagu, that they thought it infamous to send my Lord Marlborough to prison upon such evidence; and therefore when the warrant for his committment came to be signed at the council-table, they refused to put their hands to it, though at that time they had no particular friendship for him. My Lord Bradford's behaviour was very remarkable; for he made my Lord Marlborough a visit in the Tower, while some of our friends, who had lived in our family like near relations for many years, were so fearful of doing themselves hurt at court, that in the whole time of his confinement, they never made him or me a visit, nor sent to enquire how we did, for fear it should be known.

My Lord Marlborough's being sent to the Tower having obliged me to go and stay at London to attend the affair of his releasement, I there received, among many others, in the same stile of tenderness, the following letters from the Princess. I have transcribed these, to shew you her goodness to me upon all occasions, and to give you a more lively impression of the cruelty of the Queen's command, that enjoined her sister to part with a friend so dear to her heart, merely to gratify the royal pride in a point of ceremony.

To Lady Marlborough.—"Though I have nothing to say to my dear Mrs. Freeman, I cannot help enquiring how she and her Lord does. If it be not convenient to you to write, when you receive this, either keep the bearer till it is, or let me have a word or two from you by the next opportunity when it is easy to you at any time, much less now, when you have so many things to do, and think of. All I desire to hear from you at such a time as this, is, that you and your's are well. Which, next to having my Lord Marlborough out of his enemies' power, is the best news that can come to her, who, to the last moment of her life, will be dear Mrs. Freeman's."

"Friday Night."

To Lady Marlborough.—"I give dear Mrs. Freeman a thousand thanks for her kind letter, which gives me an account of her concerns; and that is what I desire more to know than any other news. I shall reckon the days and hours, and think the time very long till the term is out, for both your sake and my Lord Marlborough's, that he may be at liberty, and your mind at ease. You do not say any thing of your health, which makes me hope you are well, at least, not worse than when you were here. And, dear Mrs. Freeman don't say when I can see you, if I come to town; therefore I ask what day will be most convenient to you? For, though all days are alike to me, I should be glad you would name one, because I am to take some physick, and would order that accordingly. I confess, I long to see you, but am not so unreasonable to desire that satisfaction till it is easy to you. I wish with all my soul, that you may not be a true prophetess, and that it may be soon in our power to enjoy one another's company, more than it has been of late; which is all I covet in this world."

To Lady Marlborough.—"I am sorry with all my heart, dear Mrs. Freeman meets with so many delays; but it is a comfort, they cannot keep Lord Marlborough in the Tower longer than the end of the term; and, I hope, when the Parliament sits, care will be taken that people may not be clapt up for nothing, or else there will be no living in quiet for any body, but insolent Dutch, and sneaking mercenary Englishmen. Dear Mrs. Freeman, farewell; be assured your faithful Mrs. Morley can never change; and, I hope, you do not in the least doubt of her kindness, which, if it be possible, encreases every day, and that can never have an end but with her life. Mrs. Morley hopes her dear Mrs. Freeman will let her have the satisfaction of hearing from her again to-morrow." (Thursday.)

To Lady Marlborough.—"Dear Mrs. Freeman may easily imagine, I cannot have much to say, since I saw her. However, I must write two words. For though I believe she does not doubt of my constancy, seeing how base and false all the world is, I am of that temper, I think, I can never say enough to assure you of it. Therefore give me leave to assure you they can never change me. And there is no misery I cannot readily resolve to suffer, rather than the thought of parting from you. And I do swear, I would sooner be torn in pieces, than alter this my resolution. My dear Mrs. Freeman, I long to hear from you."

To Lady Marlborough.—"My dear Mrs. Freeman was in so dismal a way when she went from hence, that I cannot forbear asking, how she does, and if she has yet any hopes of Lord Marlborough's being soon at liberty. For God's sake, have a care of your dear self, and give as little way to melancholy thoughts as you can. If I could be as often with you as those that have it in their power, but not in their will, you should seldom be alone, but though I have not that satisfaction, as much as I desire, I assure you, my heart is always with you; and if wishes signified any thing, you would have no uneasy minute.

"Though I long of all things to hear from my dear Mrs. Freeman, I am not so unreasonable as to expect the groom should come back to-night, if he comes to you at an unreasonable hour; therefore keep him till it is easy to you to write. But I am in hopes, I shall have a word or two before I go to bed; because my dear Mrs. Freeman has promised I shall hear from you.

"I fancy ass's milk would do you good, and that is what you might take morning or afternoon, as it is most convenient.

"I had no sooner sealed my letter, but I received my dear Mrs. Freeman's, for which I gave her a thousand thanks, and am overjoyed at the good news you send me, which I hope will cure you of every thing."

To Lady Marlborough.—"I am in pain to know how my dear Mrs. Freeman does, for she is not used to complain, nor to be let blood for a little thing; and therefore I cannot help enquiring what is the matter, and how she finds herself now? I can come either to London or Camden-house to-morrow or Monday, or any other day. If you will let me know where and when, and what time I may have the satisfaction of seeing you, your faithful Morley will be sure to meet you."

Your Lordship sees by these letters of tenderness how impossible it must have been for the Princess to comply with the Queen's desire, had it appeared less unreasonable than it did. However, she was very attentive not to be wanting in any point of *due* respect. Falling in labour at Sion, she sent Sir Benjamin Bathurst to present her humble duty to the Queen, and acquaint her with it, and that she was much worse than she used to be; as she really was. The Queen did not think fit to see the messenger, nor to make any answer.

Notwithstanding this, when the Princess was brought to bed of a child, that died some minutes after the birth, she sent my Lady Charlotte Beverwaert to inform her Majesty of what had happened. My Lady waited some considerable time before the Queen saw her. The reason of this was my Lord Rochester's not being present, when the message came. After some conversation with him, the Queen sent for my Lady Charlotte, and told her, she would go that afternoon and see the Princess at Sion, and she was there very soon after the notice arrived.

She came attended by the Ladies Derby and Scarborough. I am sure it will be necessary to have a good voucher to persuade your Lordship of the truth of what I am going to relate. The Princess herself told me, that the Queen never asked her how she did, nor expressed the least concern for her condition, nor so much as took her by the hand. The salutation was this: "I have made the first step, by coming to you, and I now expect you should make the next by removing Lady Marlborough." The Princess answered, "That she had never in all her life disobeyed her, except in that one particular, which she hoped would, some time or other, appear as unreasonable to her Majesty, as it did to her." Upon which the Queen rose up and went away, repeating to the Prince, as he led her to the coach, the same thing she had said to the Princess.

My Lady Derby did not come to the bed-side, nor make the least enquiry after her health, though the Princess had recommended her, for Groom of the Stole, to the Queen, on her accession to the crown. Lady Scarborough indeed behaved herself as became her on that occasion, and afterwards asked the Queen's leave to visit me, because we had been old acquaintance: which was granted.

I have heard that the Queen, when she came home, was pleased to say, "she was sorry she had spoke to the Princess; who, she confessed, had so much concern upon her at renewing the affair, that she trembled and looked as white as the sheets. But if her Majesty was really touched with compassion, it is plain, by what followed, that she overcame herself extremely. For presently after this visit, all company was forbid waiting on the Princess; and her guards were taken away.

I do not see how the most zealous advocates for the Queen can vindicate her in these proceedings to an only sister, nor how a man of that mighty understanding, my Lord Rochester was said to have, could think, that a visit (which the Queen made to every countess) was so extraordinary a grace to a sister, that it should oblige her to do, what she had retired from the court to avoid.

I must observe to your Lordship, that the King was not in England, when this last thing happened. My Lord Rochester was the Queen's oracle; and whether he had any share or not in beginning the ill usage of the Princess, he was without question the prosecutor of it.

I fancy, you have been wishing, during all this story, that I had made some proposal to the Princess, to free her from the trouble she was in, and to save her from such indignities, as surely have seldom, if ever, been offered to the presumptive heir of a crown. When you have read some letters I had from her on the occasion, I believe you will be satisfied I did my part. I assure you, that from the very beginning of the difference, it was my earnest request to her to let me go from her; for though, had I been in her place, I would not have complied with the Queen's demand, yet I thought that in mine, I could not discharge what I owed to the Princess, without employing every argument my thoughts could suggest, to prevail with her to part with me. But whenever I said any thing that looked that way, she fell into the greatest passion of tenderness and weeping that is possible to imagine. And though my situation, at that time, was so disagreeable to my temper, that, could I have known how long it was to last, I could have chose to go to the Indies sooner, than to endure it; yet, had I been to suffer a thousand deaths, I think I ought to have submitted rather than have gone from her against her will.

As soon as the Princess was recovered from a fever, which followed the indisposition of her lying-in, (and which, I believe, was in great measure caused by her trouble) she began to think she should be found fault with, if she did not express her thankfulness for the great honour the Queen had done her. Whereupon she sent to Doctor Stillingfleet, Bishop of Worcester, to come to see her, intending to write to the Queen by him, and to make use of his credit to soften her. On this occasion, I had from her the two following letters.

To Lady Marlborough—"I had last night a very civil answer from the Bishop of Worcester, whom I sent to speak with, but have heard nothing more of him since, so I dare not venture to go to London to-day, for fear of missing him. If he comes in any time to-morrow, I will not fail of being with my dear Mrs. Freeman, about five or six o'clock, unless you are to go to the Tower. And if you do, pray be so kind as to let me know time enough to stop my journey. For I would not go to London, and miss the satisfaction of seeing you. I could not forbear writing though I had nothing more to say, but that it is impossible ever to express the kindness I have for dear Mrs. Freeman."

To Lady Marlborough.—"Sir Benjamin telling me you were not come to town at three o'clock, makes me in pain to know how your son does, and I can't help enquiring after him and dear Mrs. Freeman. The Bishop of Worcester was with me this morning before I was dressed. I give him my letter to the Queen, and he has promised to second it, and seemed to undertake it very willingly: Though by all the discourse I had with him, (of which I will give you a particular account when I see you) I find him very partial to her. The last time he was here, I told him you had several times desired you might go from me, and I have repeated the same thing again to him. For you may

easily imagine, I would not neglect doing you right upon all occasions. But I beg it again for Christ Jesus's sake, that you would never name it any more to me. For be assured, if you should ever do so cruel a thing as to leave me, from that moment I shall never enjoy one quiet hour. And should you do it without asking my consent (which if I ever give you, many I never see the face of heaven) I will shut myself up, and never see the world more, but live where I may be forgotten by human kind.

The letter which the Princess sent to the Queen by the Bishop of Worcester was in these terms.

Sion, the 20th of May.—"I have now, God be thanked, recovered my strength well enough to go abroad. And though my duty and inclination would both lead me to wait upon your Majesty, as soon as I am able to do it, yet I have of late had the misfortune of being so much under your Majesty's displeasure, as to apprehend, there may be hard constructions made upon any thing I either do, or not do, with the most respectful intentions. And I am in doubt whether the same arguments, that have prevailed with your Majesty to forbid people from shewing their usual respects to me, may not be carried so much farther, as not to permit me to pay my duty to you. That, I acknowledge, would be a great increase of affliction to me; and nothing but your Majesty's own command shall ever willingly make me submit to it. For whatever reason I may think in my own mind I have to complain of being hardly used, yet I will strive to hide it, as much as possible. And though I will not pretend to live at the Cockpit, unless you would be so kind as to make it easy to me, yet wherever I am, I will endeavour always to give the constant marks of duty and respect, which I have in my heart for your Majesty, as becomes.

"Your Majesty's very affectionate sister and servant, "ANNE."

To this the Queen returned the following answer.

To the Princess.—"I have received your's by the Bishop of Worcester, and have very little to say to it: since you cannot but know, that as I never used compliments, so now they will not serve.

"Tis none of my fault, we live at this distance, and I have endeavoured to shew my willingness to do otherwise. And I will do no more. Don't give yourself any unnecessary trouble: for be assured it is not words can make us live together as we ought. You know what I required of you. And I now tell you if you doubted it before, that I cannot change my mind, but expect to be complied with, or you must not wonder if I doubt of your kindness. You can give me no other marks, that will satisfy me. Nor can I put any other construction upon your actions than what all the world must do, that sees them. These things don't hinder me being very glad to hear you are so well, and wishing you may continue so, that you may yet, while 'tis in your power, oblige me to be your affectionate sister.

"MARIE R."

What sentiments the Princess had on receiving this harsh, peremptory declaration from the Queen, you will see by her letter to me on that occasion.

The Princess to Lady Marlborough.—"I am very sensibly touched with the misfortune that my dear Mrs. Freeman has had of losing her son, knowing very well, what it is to lose a child: but she knowing my heart so well, and how great a share I bear in her concerns, I will not say any more on this subject, for fear of renewing her passion too much.

"Being now at liberty to go where I please, by the Queen's refusing to see me, I am mightily inclined to go to-morrow, after dinner, to the Cockpit, and from thence privately in a chair to see you, some time next week. I believe

it will be time for me to go to London to make an end of that business of Berkeley house.

"The Bishop brought me the Queen's letter early this morning, and by that little he said, he did not seem so well satisfied with her, as he was yesterday. He has promised to bear me witness, that I have made all the advances, that were reasonable. And I confess, I think, the more it is told about, that I would have waited on the Queen, but that she refused seeing me, is the better: and therefore I will not scruple saying it to any body, when it comes in my way.

"There were some in the family, as soon as the news came this morning of our fleet's beating the French, that advised the Prince to go in the afternoon to compliment the Queen. And another asked me, if I would not send her one? but we neither of us thought there was any necessity of it then, and much less since I received this arbitrary letter. I don't send you the original for fear any accident may happen to the hearer: for I love to keep such letters by me for my own justification. Sure never any body was used so by a sister! but I thank God I have nothing to reproach myself withal in this business, but the more I think of all that has passed, the better I am satisfied. And if I had done otherwise, I should have deserved to have been the scorn of the world, and to be trampled upon as much as my enemies would have me.

"Dear Mrs. Freeman, farewell. I hope in Christ you will never think more of leaving me, for I would be sacrificed to do you the least service, and nothing but death can ever make me part with you. For if it be possible I am every day more and more yours.

"I hope your Lord is well. It was Mr. Maul and Lady Fitzharding that advised the Prince and me to make our compliments to the Queen."

As your Lordship has here read the Princess's final resolution, you may now perhaps be curious to know, what were the Prince of Denmark's dispositions, in relation to this affair. Some parts of the following letters will satisfy you *in this point*, as the rest will confirm what has been said of my desiring to leave the Princess; the ill treatment she met with, in this reign, from the beginning; and the obligations she thought herself under to Lord Marlborough and me for our fidelity and diligent services to her.

To Lady Marlborough.—"I really long to know how my dear Mrs. Freeman got home; and now I have this opportunity of writing, she must give me leave to tell her, if she should ever be so cruel to leave her faithful Mrs. Morley, she will rob her of all the joy and quiet of her life; for if that day should come, I could never enjoy a happy minute, and I swear to you I would shut myself up and never see a creature. You may easily see all this would have come upon me, if you had not been. If you do but remember what the Q. said to me the night before your Lord was turned out of all; then she begun to pick quarrels; and if they should take off twenty or thirty thousand pound, have I not lived upon as little before? When I was first married we had but twenty (it is true indeed the King was so kind to pay my debts) and if it should come to that again, what retrenchment is there, in my family, I would not willingly make, and he glad of that pretence to do it: never fancy, dear Mrs. Freeman, if what you fear should happen, that you are the occasion; no, I am very well satisfied, *and so is the Prince too*, it would have been so however, for is capable of doing nothing but injustice; therefore rest satisfied, you are no ways the cause; and let me beg once more, for God's sake, that you would never mention

parting more, no nor so much as think of it; and if you should ever leave me, be assured it would break your faithful Mrs. Morley's heart." (*Friday Morning.*)

"I hope my dear Mrs. Freeman will come as soon as she can, this afternoon, that we may have as much time together as we can; I doubt you will think me very unreasonable for saying this, but I really long now to see you again, as much as if I had not been so happy this month.

To Lady Marlborough.—"In obedience to dear Mrs. Freeman, 'I have told the Prince all she desired me, and he is so far from being of another opinion, if there had been occasion he would have strengthened me in my resolutions, and we both beg you would never mention so cruel a thing any more.' Can you think either of us so wretched that for the sake of twenty thousand pound, and to be tormented from morning to night with flattering knaves and fools, we should forsake those, we have such obligations to, and that we are the occasion of all their misfortunes? Besides, can you believe we will truckle to

who from the first moment of his coming has used us at that rate, as we are sensible he has done, and that all the world can witness, that will not let their interest weigh more with them, than their reason. But suppose I did submit, and that the King could change his nature so much, as to use me with humanity, how would all reasonable people dispise me? How would

laugh at me and please himself with having got the better? And which is much more, how would my conscience reproach me for having sacrificed it, my honour, reputation, and all the substantial comforts of this life for transitory interest, which, even to those who make it their idol, can never afford any real satisfaction, much less to a virtuous mind: No, my dear Mrs. Freeman, never believe your faithful Mrs. Morley will ever submit. She can wait with patience for a sun-shine day, and if she does not live to see it, yet she hopes England will flourish again. Once more give me leave to beg you would be so kind never to speak of parting more, for let what will happen, that is the only thing can make me miserable." (*Tuesday Morning.*)

His Royal Highness continued steady in his opinion to the last, notwithstanding that almost all the servants in the family, and especially those whom I had brought into it, were frequently pressing him to have me removed. My Lord Berkeley indeed, though I believe he did not know, that he was obliged to me for his employment of Groom of the Stole, said some thing very handsome to the Prince, (as the Princess told me) to strengthen him in the contrary resolution. But my Lord Lexington, who was not so ignorant of the service I had done him, made the first return for it, by speaking to the Prince *to put her out, who had put him in.*

But of all that happened to me of this kind, nothing surprised so much, as the behaviour of Mr. Maul. I had not only brought him to be bed-chamber man to the Prince, when he was quite a stranger to that court, but, to mend his salary, had invented an employment for him, that of overlooking the Princess's accounts: And I had done this without having been asked to do it. I had indeed a great value for him, and thought him so worthy a man, and so much my friend, that I might safely have trusted to his care my most important concerns. But you will see how extremely I was mistaken. This man never came near me, during that time of trouble. And when I chanced to meet him at Sion, avoided as much as he could, even to make me a bow; apprehending, I believe, that I should ask him to be Lord Marlborough's bail: Not that I then guessed this to be the reason; but I thought so afterwards; because,

notwithstanding his strange coldness, even to rudeness, as soon as it was known that Lord Shrewsbury, Lord Burlington, Lord Carbury, and Lord Halifax were to be bail for my Lord Marlborough he came to see me, and offered himself for that service, making as if he knew nothing of what was so public. I thanked him, and told him, Lord Marlborough had friends, who would bail him, but that one of his best friends, was a paper that lay upon the table, which I had often kissed, *The Act of Habeas Corpus*.

But this was not the greatest proof I had of Mr. Maul's ingratitude. He was one of those, who were most urgent with the Prince, that he would prevail with the Princess to put me away. For this end he took more pains than ordinary in attending on him. And I cannot help telling a very foolish thing he said to his Royal Highness, and what one would not have expected from a man that kept good company. The Prince one day, after being much pressed by him, on my subject, answered, "That he had so much tenderness for the Princess, that he could not desire to make her so uneasy, as he knew the parting with me would do. And besides, he had done a great deal, and had been very ill used." To which Mr. Maul replied, "That it was true his Highness had done a great deal; but if he refused this thing, it was like a cow, that gave a great deal of milk, and then kicked it down."

Very soon after this eloquent, but unsuccessful pleading of Mr. Maul (who had certainly been employed by my Lord Rochester) a letter came to the Princess, from his Lordship, on occasion of the Queen's having forbid people to go to her.

The contents of it were these.

"MADAM,—I am afraid, I may be guilty of too great presumption in giving your Royal Highness the trouble of a letter; but I do it with so good intentions, that I hope you cannot be angry with me for it. And now that one is unhappily restrained from the honour of waiting upon your Royal Highness, there is no other way but this to make an offer of my humble duty to you. It is a very uncomfortable reflection for me to make, but being so really concerned, as I am sure I am, for your Royal Highness's happiness, I should be so unfortunate as to be wholly useless to you, at a time, when your Royal Highness cannot but think yourself, that you have the use of every body, that are truly and faithfully your servants. And however I have been so mistaken in my judgment, as to have never offered any thing to your Royal Highness, worth your approbation, I do, with all humility, submit my poor opinion to that of your Royal Highness; but beg you to believe, it is not flattery to any body else, nor any other consideration that has made me be of the mind I was; but only the want of a better understanding, to be able to think of something more for your service. And being thus incapable of myself to propose any thing that is agreeable to you, I take this occasion humbly to offer to your Royal Highness all the little service you may judge me fit to be employed in, and most earnestly to beseech you to believe, that if I can be of any use in the world to your Royal Highness, there is nothing that I would endeavour with greater satisfaction to myself, than at this time to express the great concern, I presume to say I have, for your Royal Highness, by any thing that I can do for your service. And if any thing I have taken the confidence to say be worth your taking notice of, the least signification of your pleasure will bring me at all times to receive the honour of any of your commands; and the duty and zeal and passion, I have for your true interest and prosperity, will, I hope, make some

amends for the want of a better judgment and capacity, which I acknowledge every body has a greater share of than,

“Madam, Your Royal Highness's most obedient and most dutiful servant,
“ROCHESTER.”

I cannot help thinking, that there is something very absurd in the *affected modesty* and *profound respectfulness* of this letter; where his Lordship owns, that every body has more judgment and capacity than he, and with all humility, submits his poor opinion to that of her Royal Highness, and at that same time, lets her know that this *poor opinion* which he so *submits*, shall entirely govern him in his behaviour towards her. And the perfect self approbation he discovers after lamenting the mistake of his judgment, is no less ridiculous. For he plainly intimates some expectation, that she will send for him again, and confess the wisdom of the senseless advice he had given her. I make no scruple to call his Lordship's advice *senseless*. For how unworthy soever he might think me of the extraordinary affection the Princess had for me, he could not hope (unless he were really the simpleton he says he is) that what had lately happened would be a means to cure her of it in any degree: and he must know, that while she retained that affection, she could not part with me, without *extreme unhappiness* to herself. And what had he to propose, as a compensation to her for this unhappiness? Not the *inward satisfaction* nor the *outward glory* of having obeyed any law of God or of the land, by removing me from her; but only the *empty* advantage of putting an end to their Majesties' open displeasure with her; a displeasure, which did her no real hurt, and which, being so occasioned as it was, gained her credit with every mortal that had a heart.

The Princess was not imposed upon by his Lordship's *duty or zeal or passion* for her prosperity. She sent him the following answer to his letter.

To the Earl of Rochester.—“I gave you many thanks for the compliments and expressions of service which you make me, in your letter: which I should be much better pleased with than I am, if I had any reason to think them sincere.”

“It is a great mortification to me, to find, that I still continue under the misfortune of the Queen's displeasure. I had hopes, in time, the occasion of it would have appeared as little reasonable to the Queen, as it has always done to me. And if you would have persuaded me of the sincerity of your intentions, as you seem to desire, you must give me leave to say, I cannot think it very hard for you to convince me of it, by the effects. And till then I must beg leave to be excused, if I am apt to think, this great mortification, which has been given me, cannot have proceeded from the Queen's own temper, who, I am persuaded, is both more just in herself, than that comes to, as well as more kind to

“Your very affectionate friend,

“ANNE.”

And now the business of his Lordship was to make the Queen's order be complied with. He took great pains in it himself; and all the ladies of the bedchamber were employed either to speak or write to their relations and acquaintance. And this matter was so well followed, that, at last, the Queen herself sent to my Lady Grace Pierpoint, “to desire that she would not go to the Princess;” adding, “that if she did, she should not come to her, for she would see no body that went to her sister.” My Lady Grace's answer was, “That she thought she owed a respect to the Princess; that she had been civilly treated by her; and that if her Majesty would not allow her to pay her duty to her, she would go no more to the Queen, and the oftner to the Princess.”

But this generous example of refusing meanly to submit to an unreasonable order, was followed by very few, except those whom my Lord Marlborough and I engaged to pay the Princess all the respect possible. Two or three jacobite ladies also came to her, because (as it was easy to observe) all of that interest rejoiced much at the quarrel.

My Lady Thanet was one of the first, who, like my Lord Rochester (and I conclude, not without his advice) made her excuse to the Princess by letter. I cannot now find it; but you may guess at the contents of it by the Princess's answer, which was this.

To the Dowager Countess of Thanet.—"It is no small addition to my unhappiness in the Queen's displeasure, that I am deprived, by it, of the satisfaction of seeing my friends; especially of such as seem desirous to see me, and to find by those late commands, which her Majesty has given you, that her unkindness to me is to have no end. The only comfort I have in these great hardships, is, to think, how little I have deserved them from the Queen. And that thought, I hope, will help me to support them with less impatience.

"I am the less surprised at the strictness of the Queen's command to you, upon this occasion, since I have found she can be so very unkind to &c."

It was almost a year after this, and when it was of very little use, before Lady Thanet first, and then Lady Hyde, came to wait on the Princess. And their visits afterwards were very rare, and only upon extraordinary occasions, as a lying-in, or some great illness.

I have already mentioned, besides this prohibition to visit the Princess, the taking away of her guards. And these were not the only methods devised to mortify her. One very ridiculous thing was done with this view, while the Princess was at Bath. The following letter, signed by the Earl of Nottingham, Secretary of State, was dispatched to the Mayor of the town, a tallow-chandler.

"SIR,—The Queen has been informed, that yourself and your brethren have attended the Princess with the same respect and ceremony, as have been paid to the Royal Family, perhaps you may not have heard what occasion her Majesty has had to be displeased with the Princess. And therefore I am commanded to acquaint you, that you are not for the future to pay her Highness any such respect or ceremony, without leave from her Majesty, who does not doubt of receiving from you and your brethren, this public mark of your duty.

"I am your most humble servant,

"NOTTINGHAM."

The King being abroad when this letter was writ, and the Queen being at that time wholly in my Lord Rochester's hands, every body concluded, that it was done by his advice. And I am myself the more fully persuaded of it, from the fondness he discovered for such sort of pageantry, when (in the beginning of Queen Anne's reign) he made his progress, in those parts, and took pains in begging treats, and speeches, from such sort of people. But it must be owned that his Lordship had a singular taste for trifling ceremonies. I remember, when he was Treasurer, he made his white staff be carried by his chair-side by a servant bare-headed; in this, among other things, so very unlike his successor, my Lord Godolphin, who cut his white staff shorter than ordinary, that he might hide it, by taking it into the chair with him.

But if my Lord Rochester believed, as I am persuaded he did, that this order to the Mayor of Bath would have great weight with the Princess, it will be seen, from a short letter from her to me on the occasion, how much he was disappointed.

To Lady Marlborough.—"Dear Mrs. Freeman must give me leave to ask her, if any thing has happened to make her uneasy. I thought she looked to night as if she had the spleen. And I cannot help being in pain whenever I see her so.

"I fancied yesterday, when the Mayor failed in the ceremony of going to church with me, that he was commanded not to do it. I think 'tis a thing to be laughed at. And, if they imagine either to vex me or gain upon me by such sort of usage, they will be mightily disappointed. And I hope these foolish things they do, will every day shew people more and more, what they are, and that they truly deserve the name your faithful Morley has given them."

Another foolish thing, that was done by the same advice, as I suppose, was sending to the minister of St. James's church, where the Princess used to go (while she lived at Berkeley-house) to forbid them to lay the text upon her cushion, or take any more notice of her than of other people. But the minister refusing to obey without some order from the crown in writing, which they did not care to give, that noble design dropt.

After all these notable efforts to subdue the Princess had been employed without success, and when we were got again, as I thought, into a settled, quiet way, at Berkeley-house, my Lord Rochester attempted once more to bring about his purpose, by a stratagem. He came to Sir Benjamin Bathurst, and to others of the Princess's family, insinuating to them, "that if the Princess would put me away, he was persuaded, the Queen would in some time be prevailed upon to let her take me again;" which was altogether improbable, and indeed ridiculous; because my only pretended fault was being my Lord Marlborough's wife, a fault which I could neither excuse, nor extenuate, nor repent of.

The Princess considered this project as nothing more than a new civil plot of my Lord Rochester's. However she was resolved to leave nothing undone on her part; and therefore, knowing that my Lady Fitzharding could speak more feely to the Queen than any body else, whom she could employ, she sent for her and repeated to her my Lord Rochester's proposal, desiring her to acquaint the Queen, "that from what his Lordship had said, she had been flattering herself, she had mistaken her Majesty's last words; and that if she might hope his Lordship had any ground for his opinion, she should be very ready to give her Majesty any satisfaction of that sort." Upon the delivery of this message, the Queen fell into a great passion, and said, "her sister had not mistaken her, for she never would see her, upon any other terms, than parting with me, not for a time, but for ever," adding, "that she was a Queen, and would be obeyed." Which fine sentence, my Lady Fitzharding confessed, the Queen repeated several times in their conversation; and her Ladyship seemed to find great fault with the Queen's manner of speaking upon that occasion; though excepting this time, my Lady appeared to be a very good courtier.

The Princess, after this, continued at Berkeley-House in a very quiet way. For there was nothing more to be done, unless they would stop her revenue, which doubtless they would have attempted, had they thought it practicable. But my Lord Godolphin was then first commissioner of the Treasury, a man esteemed very useful to the service, and who they knew, would quit upon any such orders. And they could not easily have found a person with qualities fit for that employment, who would have thought it consistent with their honour or safety to take a place, which another had left upon such an account; and at the

same time refuse paying the revenue settled by an act of parliament on the next heir to the crown.

I remember nothing more that happened of any moment relating to this Disagreement, till just before the Queen's death.

I shall only observe, that notwithstanding all the harsh things done to the Prince and Princess, they never failed in the least thing, which their friends thought proper for them to do, to show respect to the King, and Queen.

Particularly, on the King's return from Flanders, the Prince sent one of his family to present *his humble duty to his Majesty*, and to acquaint him, *That the Princess having had the misfortune, during his absence, to receive many public marks of the Queen's displeasure, he did not know whether it were proper for him to come to his Majesty, as formerly, without endeavouring first to receive his Majesty's commands, and to know how far it might be agreeable to him.*

The Duke of Gloucester also waited several times on her Majesty, who made a great show of kindness to him, and gave him rattles, and several play-things, which were constantly put down in the gazette. And whenever the Duke was sick, she sent a bedchamber woman to Camden-house to enquire how he did. But this compliment was made in so offensive a manner to the Princess, that I have often wondered how any mortal could bear it with the patience she did. For whoever was sent, used to come without ceremony into the room where the Princess herself was, and passing by her, as she stood or sat, without taking more notice of her than if she were a rocker, go directly up to the Duke, and make their speech to him, or to the nurse, as he lay in her lap.

I believe it will be allowed, that there was a good deal of insolence and ill-breeding in this behaviour; and that the Queen might, with safety to all her dignity have found means to satisfy herself about the Duke of Gloucester's health without suffering to be done to the Princess, what no body before ever thought of, and what no private person in this country would bear from another. And yet the return, which the Princess, when she came to the crown, made to this rudeness of the Queen's women, was to give them pensions; a thing which the King himself grew weary of doing some time before he died.

For several months before Queen Mary fell sick of the small-pox, the Princess, thinking herself with child, stayed constantly on one floor, by her physicians' advice lying very much upon a couch to prevent the misfortune of miscarrying. However upon the news of the Queen's dangerous indisposition, she sent a lady of her bed-chamber to present her humble duty to her, and to desire "that her Majesty would believe she was extremely concerned for her illness: adding, that if her Majesty would allow her the happiness of waiting on her, she would notwithstanding the condition she was in, run any hazard for that satisfaction."

This message was delivered to Lady Derby, who having carried it in to her Majesty, came out again some time after, and said, "That the King would send an answer the next day." Accordingly my Lady Derby then wrote to the same Lady, who had brought the message, the following lines,

"MADAM,—I am commanded by the King and Queen to tell you, they desire you would let the Princess know they both thank her for sending and desiring to come: But, it being thought so necessary to keep the Queen as quiet as possible, hope she will defer it. I am,

"Madam, Your Ladyship's most humble servant, "E. DERBY.

"Pray, Madam, present my humble duty to the Princess."

This civil answer, and my Lady Derby's postscript, made me conclude, more than if the college of physicians had told it me, that the disease was

mortal. And as I knew that several people, and even one of the Princess's own family, were allowed to see the Queen, I was also fully persuaded, that the deferring the Princess's coming was only to leave room for continuing the quarrel, in case the Queen should chance to recover, or for reconciliation with the King, (if that should be thought convenient) in case of the Queen's death.

During the time of the Queen's illness to her decease, the Princess sent every day to inquire how she did; and once, I am sure, her Majesty heard of it; because my Lady Fitzharding, who was charged with the message, and who had more desire than ordinary to see the Queen, broke in, whether they would or not, and delivered it to her, endeavouring to express in how much concern the Princess was: to which the Queen returned no answer but a cold thanks. Nor, though she received the sacrament in her illness, did she ever send the least message to the Princess, except that in my Lady Derby's letter, which perhaps her Majesty knew nothing of.

How this conduct to a sister could suit with the character of a devout Queen, I am at a loss to know. For there is nothing more plain in scripture, than the fifth chapter of St. Matthew, v. 23, 24. *Therefore if thou bring thy gift to the altar, and there remembreth that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy gift before the altar, and go thy way: first be reconciled to thy brother, and then come and offer thy gift.*

I will suppose for argument's sake (though I think it scarcely possible), that the Queen might have so wrong an understanding, as to think, she had no reparation to make, and that the Princess had injured her, in not being her slave: yet, even in that case, there was something omitted; for we are taught to *forgive the trespasses against us, as we expect to be forgiven.*

Upon the death of the Queen, the Princess, by advice of my Lord Sunderland and others, wrote the following letter to the King.

"SIR,—I beg your Majesty's favourable acceptance of my sincere and hearty sorrow for your great affliction in the loss of the Queen. And I do assure your Majesty, I am as sensibly touched with this sad misfortune, as if I had never been so unhappy, as to have fallen into her displeasure.

"It is my earnest desire, your Majesty would give me leave to wait upon you, as soon as it can be without inconveniency to you, and without danger of encreasing your affliction, that I may have an opportunity myself not only of repeating this, but of assuring your Majesty of my real intentions to omit no occasion of giving you constant proofs of my sincere respect and concern for your person and interest, as becomes, SIR,

"Your Majesty's most affectionate sister and servant, "ANNE."

The King had sense enough to know, that it would be impossible to continue any longer an open difference with the Princess, without exposing himself to daily slights, and a manifest disregard for his sovereign pleasure; for he could not hope that the nobility of England would be hindered, now the Queen was dead, from paying respect to a Princess, who was next heir to him by Act of Parliament, and who, if title by blood had taken place, would have had the crown before him; and he was well aware, that every body, who had a mind to shew they did not care for him, would certainly do it by making their court to her.

Quickly after this letter, therefore, the Princess, with the King's consent, and at a time which he appointed, waited on him at Kensington, and was received with extraordinary civility.

And now, it being publicly known, that the quarrel was made up, nothing was to be seen but crowds of people, of all sorts, flocking to Berkeley-house, to

pay their respects to the Prince and Princess: a sudden alteration, which, I remember, occasioned the half-witted Lord Caernarvon to say one night to the Princess, as he stood close by her, in the circle, "I hope your Highness will remember that I came to wait upon you, when none of this company did;" which caused a great deal of mirth.

I never heard of any body that opposed this reconciliation, except my Lord Portland. But the person who wholly managed the affair between the King and Princess was my Lord Sunderland. He had, upon all occasions relating to her, shewed himself a man of sense and breeding; and before there was any thought of the Queen's dying had designed to use his utmost endeavours to make up the breach; in which, however, I am persuaded he could not have succeeded during the Queen's life. Her death made it easy to him (for the reasons I have mentioned) to bring the King to a reconcilment; and he also persuaded the King to give the Princess St. James's House.

But this and some other favours granted her, at his Lordship's request, were only to save appearance, and for political views. It was very evident that the King did not care, any real respect should be shewn to her Highness. For though to his death she never omitted any thing that was due to him from her, and, by his order, went several times to wait on him at Kensington, no ceremony was observed to her, more than to any other Lady; till the thing had caused some discourse in town. After which my Lord Jersey waited upon her down stairs once or twice, but not oftner. If any body ever came to meet her, it was a page of the back-stairs, or some person whose face was not known. And the Princess, upon these occasions, has waited an hour and a half, just upon the same foot with the rest of the company; and not the least excuse was made for it.

I confess, for my own part, that in the point of respect to the King (*and to the Queen when living*) I thought the Princess did a great deal too much; and it often made me very uneasy. For I could not endure to have her do any thing, that I could not have done in her place. And all the friends I ever had in my life would not have prevailed with me to take any one step, the Princess did, during the quarrel, except the first letter she wrote to the Queen, and the last message of offering to come to her in her sickness. But a letter which the Princess, after the reconcilment, wrote to the King upon the taking of Namur, gave me, I think, more concern than any other instance of her *respectfulness*; though it was advised by three Lords, whose judgments all the world valued. It ran thus,

"SIR,—Though I have been unwilling to give you the trouble of a letter upon any other occasion, yet upon one so glorious to your Majesty as the taking of Namur, I hope you will give me leave to congratulate your good success, which don't please me so much upon any other account, as for the satisfaction, that I am sensible your Majesty must needs feel in this great addition to the reputation of your arms. And I beg leave, Sir, to assure you, that as nobody is more nearly concerned in your interests, so no body wishes more heartily for your happiness and prosperity at home than "Your &c. "ANNE."

This letter (which seemed to me so unbecoming the Princess to write) served no other purpose but to give the King an opportunity of shewing his brutal disregard for the writer; for he never returned any answer to it, nor so much as a civil message.

Your Lordship has had some specimens of the manner, in which his Majesty treated the Prince of Denmark before the quarrel. I shall now give you one, of his behaviour to him after the reconcilment.

The King's birth-day coming just after the news of the King of Denmark's death, the Prince, who had a great tenderness for his brother, was extremely uneasy at the thought of putting on colours so soon. And the Princess knowing that it had been the custom in former reigns, to wait upon the King, on a birth-day, without coloured clothes, when the mourning was very deep, found means to get my Lord Albemarle to ask the King's leave, that the Prince might be admitted, in his mourning, to wish his Majesty joy. The answer was, "That the King would not see him, unless he came in his colours;" and the Prince was persuaded to comply, though he did it with great uneasiness.

I believe I could fill as many sheets, as I have already written, with relating the brutalities, that were done to the Prince and Princess in that reign. The King was indeed so ill-natured and so little polished by education, that neither in great things nor in small had he the manners of a gentleman. I shall give you an instance of his worse than vulgar behaviour at his own table, when the Princess dined with him.

It was in the beginning of his reign, and when she was with child of the Duke of Gloucester. There happened to be a plate of pease, the first that had been seen that year. The King, without offering the Princess the least share of them, eat them every one up himself. Whether he offered any to the Queen, I cannot say; but he might do that safely enough, for he knew, she durst not touch them. The Princess confessed, when she came home, she had so much mind to the pease, that she was afraid to look at them, and yet could hardly keep her eyes off them.

But I shall conclude this subject of the King's conduct towards the Princess, with some facts of a deeper concern to her than those incivilities I have just mentioned, and they will show how rightly she judged, when she formerly refused to leave the affair of her maintenance to his generosity.

When the Duke of Gloucester was arrived at the age to be put into men's hands, the King insinuated to such members of the Parliament as he knew were desirous to have the Duke handsomely settled, that it would require near 50,000*l.* a year. And, at the same time, he promised other persons, whom, he knew it would please, that he would pay Queen Mary in France her settlement, which was also 50,000*l.* a year. And these steps he took, in order to obtain an addition of a 100,000*l.* a year to his civil list.

The addition was granted, yet he never paid one shilling to the Queen: And, as to the Duke, the King not only kept him in women's hands a good while after the new revenue was granted, but, when his Highness's family was settled, would give him no more than 15,000*l.* a year. Nay, of this small allowance, he refused to advance one quarter, though it was absolutely wanted to buy plate and furniture: So that the Princess was forced to be at that expence herself.

But this was not all. The King (influenced, I suppose, in this particular, by my Lord Sunderland) sent the Princess word, that, though he intended to put in all the preceptors, he would leave it to her to chuse the rest of the servants, except one, who was to be Deputy Governor and Gentleman of the Duke's bed chamber, (which was Mr. Sayers.)

This message was so humane, and of so different an air from any thing the Princess had been used to, that it gave her an extreme pleasure; and she immediately set herself so provide proper persons, and of the most consideration, for the several places. Mr. Boscawen and Secretary Vernon's son were to be grooms of the bed-chamber; the sons of the Earls of Bridgewater and

Berkeley were to be pages of honour, and so on. In the meantime the King was in no haste to finish the affair of the Duke's establishment; and a little before he left England to go make the campaign, told my Lord Marlborough, (who was now restored to the army, and was to be Governor to the Duke of Gloucester) "that he would send a list, from abroad, of the servants he would have in the Duke's family," not in the least regarding the former message, he had sent to the Princess; which my Lord observing, took the liberty to put his Majesty in mind of it, adding, that the Princess, upon the credit of that message, had engaged her promises to several persons; and that, not to be able to perform those promises, would be so great a mortification, as he hoped his Majesty would not give her, at a time, when any thing of trouble might do her prejudice, she being then with child. Hereupon the King fell into a great passion, and said, "she should not be Queen before her time, and he would make the list of what servants the Duke should have."

The King was so peremptory, that my Lord Marlborough could say no more, and had no expedient left, but to get my Lord Albemarle to try to bring him to reason; which his Lordship promised to do. And accordingly he took my Lord Marlborough's list of the persons the Princess had chosen, and carried it with him into Holland. In conclusion that list was approved, with very few alterations. But this was, without question, not so much owing to the King's goodness, or my Lord Albemarle's persuasions, (though I believe his Lordship did take pains in this matter) as to the happy choice the Princess had made of the servants. For the King, upon cool consideration, must perceive, that he could not strike out of the list a greater number than he did, without hurting himself, more than the Princess. He only made my Lord Raby's brother an equerry, and appointed, to be gentlemen waiters, two or three persons, who had served the late Queen in such like stations, and had pensions on that account. And it was to save this money that the King did so ungentleman-like a thing, as to force the Princess to fail in some of her engagements. And he gave afterwards another remarkable proof of his good management; for upon the news of the Duke of Gloucester's death, he sent orders, by the very first post, to have all his servants discarded; a diligence of frugality, which was surely not very decent in a king. It was by the contrivance of Lord Marlborough, assisted by Lord Albemarle, that the servants received their salaries to the quarter-day after the Duke died.

And now, after all I have related of the King, and after so much dislike, as I have expressed of his character and conduct, you will perhaps hardly believe me, in what I am going to say: Yet, your Lordship *will* believe me; for you will judge of *my* heart, by the make and temper of your *own*. When the King came to die, I felt nothing of that satisfaction, which I once thought I should have had upon this occasion. And my Lord and Lady Jersey's writing and sending perpetually to give an account, as his breath grew shorter and shorter, filled me with horror. I thought I would lose the best employment in any court, sooner than act so odious a part. And the King, who had given me so much cause to hate him, in that condition I sincerely pitied: So little is it in my nature to retain resentment against any mortal, (how unjust soever he may have been) in whom *the will to injure* is no more.

§ II.—THE King died, and the Princess of Denmark took his place. This elevation of my mistress to the throne brought me into a new scene of life, and into a new sort of consideration with all those, whose attention, either by

curiosity or ambition, was turned to politics and the court. Hitherto my favour with her Royal Highness, though it had sometimes furnished matter of conversation to the public, had been of no moment to the affairs of the nation, she herself having no share in the councils, by which they were managed. But from this time, I began to be looked upon as a person of consequence, without whose approbation, at least, neither places, nor pensions, nor honours were bestowed by the crown. The intimate friendship, with which the Queen was known to honour me, afforded a plausible foundation for this opinion: And I believe therefore, it will be a surprise to many, to be told, that the first important step, which her Majesty took, after her accession to the government, was against my wishes and inclination: I mean, "her throwing herself and her affairs almost entirely into the hands of the tories."

I shall dwell the longer, and be the more particular upon the subject of my disagreement with her Majesty about parties, that I may expose the injustice of those whigs, who, after the great change in 1710, accused me of being the ruin of their cause; a cause, that, in her reign, would have been always too low, to be capable of a fall, but for the zeal and diligence, with which I seized every opportunity to raise and establish it; which, in the end, proved the ruin of my favour with her Majesty.

The Queen had from her infancy imbibed the most unconquerable prejudices against the whigs. She had been taught to look upon them all, not only as republicans, who hated the very shadow of regal authority, but as implacable enemies to the church of England. This aversion to the whole party had been confirmed by the ill usage she had met with from her sister and King William, which though perhaps more owing to Lord Rochester, than to any man then living, was now to be all charged to the account of the whigs. And Prince George, her husband, who had also been ill treated, in that reign, threw into the scale his resentments.

On the other hand, the tories had the advantage, not only of the Queen's early prepossession in their favour, but of their having assisted her in the late reign, in the affair of her *settlement*. It was indeed evident, that they had done this, more in opposition to King William, than from any real respect for the Princess of Denmark. But still they had served her. And the winter before she came to the crown, they had in the same spirit of opposition to the King, and in prospect of his death, paid her more than usual civilities and attendance.

It is no great wonder therefore, all these things considered, that as soon as she was seated in the throne, the tories (whom she usually called by the agreeable name of the church-party) became the distinguished objects of the royal favour.

Dr. Sharp, Archbishop of York, was pitched upon by herself to preach her coronation sermon, and to be her chief counsellor in church-matters; and her privy-council was filled with tories. My Lord Normanby (soon after Duke of Buckingham) the Earls of Jersey and Nottingham, Sir Edward Seymour, with many others of the high-fliers, were brought into places; Sir Nathan Wright was continued in possession of the great seal of England, and the Earl of Rochester in the Lieutenantancy of Ireland. These were men, who had all a wonderful zeal for the church; a sort of public merit that eclipsed all other in the eyes of the Queen. And I am firmly persuaded, that notwithstanding her extraordinary affection for me, and the entire devotion which my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Godolphin had for many years shown to her service,

they would not have had so great a share of her favour and confidence, if they had not been reckoned in the number of the tories.

The truth is, though both these Lords had always the real interest of the nation at heart, and had given proof of this, by their conduct in their several employments, in the late reign, they had been educated in the persuasion, that the high-church party were the best friends to the constitution, both of church and state; nor were they perfectly undeceived by experience.

For my own part, I had not the same prepossessions. The word *CHURCH* had never any charm for me, in the mouths of those, who made the most noise with it; for I could not perceive that they gave any other distinguishing proof of their regard for the *thing*, than a frequent use of the *word*, like a spell to enchant weak minds; and a persecuting zeal against dissenters, and against those real friends of the church, who would not admit that *persecution* was agreeable to its doctrine. And as to state-affairs, many of these churchmen seemed to me, to have no fixed principles at all, having endeavoured, during the last reign, to undermine that very government, which they had contributed to establish.

I was heartily sorry therefore, that, for the sake of such churchmen, others should be removed from their employments, who had been firm to the principles of the Revolution, and whom I thought much more likely to support the Queen, and promote the welfare of our country, than the wrong-headed politicians that succeeded them.

I resolved therefore, from the very beginning of the Queen's reign, to try whether I could not by degrees make impressions in her mind more favourable to the whigs; and though my instances with her had not at first any considerable effect, I believe, I may venture to say, it was, in some measure, owing to them, that her Majesty did, against her own inclinations, continue several of this party in office. And it is well known, that the Queen, in the first year of her reign, had determined to create four new peers, the Lords Granville, Guernsey, Gower and Conway, I prevailed that Mr Hervey (the present Earl of Bristol) might be a *fifth*, in spite of the opposition of the tories, and especially of the *four* above named; who for a while refused to accept of the peerage, if Mr. Hervey, a whig, were admitted to the same honour.

But how difficult a task I prescribed to myself, when I undertook to moderate her Majesty's partiality to the tories, and to engage her to a better opinion of their opposites, will abundantly appear from the following letter, which I had the honour to receive from her, about half a year after her accession to the throne.

"*St. James's, Saturday the 24th October*—I am very glad to find by my dear Mrs. Freeman's, that I was blest with yesterday, that she liked *my speech*, but I cannot help being extremely concerned, you are so partial to the whigs, because I would not have you, and your * poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley differ in opinion in the least thing. What I said, when I writ last upon this subject, does not proceed from any insinuations of the other party; but I know the principles of the church of England, and I know those of the whigs, and it is that, and no other reason, which makes me think as I do, of the last. And upon my word, my dear Mrs. Freeman, you are mightily mistaken in your notion of a true wig: For the character, you give of them, does not in the least

* The Queen began to stile herself after this manner, upon the death of the Duke of Gloucester.

belong to them, but to the church. But I will say no more on this subject, only beg, for my poor sake, that you would not show more countenance to those, you seem to have so much inclination for, than to the church party. Since you have staid so long at Windsor, I wish now for your own sake, that you would stay till after *my Lord Mayor's Day*; for if you are in town, *you can't avoid going to the show*, and being in the country is a just excuse; and, I think, one would be glad of any to avoid so troublesome a business. I am this time in great haste, and therefore can say no more to my dear dear Mrs. Freeman, but that I am most passionately her's.*

As my early zeal for the whigs is incontestably manifest from what her Majesty here says to me, so, I think, it will be no less evident to any one who reflects on my situation at that time, that this zeal could proceed from nothing but conviction of the goodness of the cause I espoused.

For, as to private interest, the whigs could have done nothing for my advantage more than the tories. I needed not the assistance of either to ingratiate myself with the Queen. She had both before and since her accession given the most unquestionable proofs, that she considered me, not only as a most faithful servant, but as her dear friend. I have mentioned nothing of her extreme goodness to me since the breaking out of the quarrel between her sister and herself, that I might not interrupt the relation of that matter in which my chief aim was the justification of my mistress's conduct and my own upon that occasion. Her letters to me afterwards, of which I have great numbers still by me, were in the same strain of tenderness as those you have read; and upon her coming to the crown, she had not only made me her Groom of the Stole, and Keeper of the Privy Purse, but had given the command of the army to my Lord Marlborough, and the Treasurer's Staff to my Lord Godolphin, to whose son my eldest daughter was married.

It is plain therefore that I could have no motive of private interest to bias me to the whigs. Every body must see, that, had I consulted the oracle about the choice of a party, it would certainly have directed me to go with the stream of my mistress's inclination and prejudices. This would have been the surest way to secure my favour with her.

Nor had I any particular obligations to the whigs that should bend me to their side rather than to the other. On the contrary, they had treated me very hardly, and I had reason to look upon them as my personal enemies, at the same time that I saw the tories ready to compliment me, and to pay me court. Even the pride of my Lord Rochester condescended to write me a very fine piece, when my Lady Charlotte Beverwaert died, that his daughter, my Lady Dalkeith, might be a lady of the bedchamber in her place. I confess indeed, I was not a little surprised at this application from his Lordship. I thank God, I have had experience enough of my own temper to be very sure I can forgive any injury, when the person, from whom I have received it, shows any thing like repentance. But could I ever be so unfortunate, as to persecute ano-

* The Queen very seldom dated her letters fully, and the year is not mentioned in the date of this, but it is evident from the contents, that it was written in 1702, the first year of her Majesty's reign; for she went that year to my Lord Mayor's Show, nothing but her going could have made it unavoidable for me to go, if I were in town. And whoever will give themselves the trouble of the enquiry, will find that the 24th of October fell that year on a Saturday, and that the Queen made her speech to the Parliament a few days before.

ther without cause, as my Lord Rochester did me, I am confident, that even want of bread could not induce me to ask a favour of that person. But surely his Lordship had something very uncommon in his temper.

What induced him to the present condescension, was, I suppose, his late experience, that I did not make use of my influence with the Queen, to gratify any personal pique or resentment. For upon the Queen's accession to the throne, Lady Hyde had spoke to me, that she might be a lady of the bed-chamber, and I had served her very sincerely and effectually. For though the Queen did not like her, yet, as her Majesty had been pleased to forgive the ill behaviour of my Lord Rochester to her, during the reigns of King Charles, King James, and Queen Mary, I thought it reasonable that his son's wife should be a lady of the bed-chamber. There was, in truth, a particular pleasure in serving my Lady Hyde in this instance on her own account; for in my life I never saw any mortal have such a passion for any thing, as she had to be in that post. While the thing was depending, she had so much concern upon her, that she never spoke to me upon the subject without blushing. And after it was granted, she made me more expressions, than ever I had from any body on any occasion. Among other compliments, I had this letter from her.

Monday Morning—"I have been three times in the drawing room, in hopes to meet your Ladyship there, that I might myself tell you, how extreme sensible I am of your Ladyship's favour to me. You will add another, if you will forgive my impatience, that cannot stay longer without thanking you myself, though Mrs. Lowther has undertaken for me. I am very happy in my request being granted, and your Ladyship may depend, any command of your's shall be obeyed, for I will not, without your leave, brag even to my Lady Hariotte, who did me the favour to speak to your Ladyship. I am not good at saying much, but I am sure it will be a pleasure to me to shew you in every thing I can, how faithfully and sincerely I am

"Your Ladyship's humble servant,

"J. HYDE."

In what manner this Lady treated me afterwards, is not worth the while to mention.

As to my Lord Rochester's request in behalf of my Lady Dalkeith, it could not be granted; because in reality there was no vacancy. The Queen had resolved to have no more than ten ladies, and the number was complete. There had indeed been eleven for some short time; but this had been occasioned by the Duchess of Somerset's declining to accept one of these places when it was offered her at the settling of the Queen's family, and soon after desiring to have it, when they were all filled. As she was the first protestant Duchess of England, I persuaded the Queen to be pleased, in compliment to her Grace, to have eleven ladies for the little time Lady Charlotte Beverwaert had to live, who was then irrecoverably ill. So that when her Majesty complied, it was with full purpose that the number of her ladies should be only ten after Lady Charlotte's death. And this answer having been given to several others who had solicited to succeed Lady Charlotte, my Lord Rochester could have no reason to be offended, that the like excuse was made to him, with regard to his daughter.

I have been the more particular on this affair, that it may appear, the refusal my Lord Rochester met with was not owing to any resentment of mine, against him or his family. And I do assure you most sincerely, that I could so entirely have forgotten all his Lordship's ill treatment of me, as to have acted in concert and friendship with him, if I had thought he would have

followed the Queen's true interests. But the gibberish of that party about non-resistance and passive-obedience and hereditary right, I could not think to forebode any good to my Mistress, whose title rested upon a different foundation. On the other hand, the principles professed by those called whigs seemed to me rational, entirely tending to the preservation of the liberties of the subject, and no way to the prejudice of the church as by law established; for which, I believe I may without vanity venture to say, I had at least as much respect, as the Duke of Buckingham or Sir Edward Seymour. And as this was really my way of thinking concerning the two parties, it would have been contrary to the frankness of my temper and to the obligations of that friendship with which the Queen honoured me, not to have told her my sentiments without reserve. Nay I had her express command so to do. She had often urged me to it, in almost the same terms she uses in a letter of her own hand-writing, which I have now before me.

"You can never give me any greater proof of your friendship than in telling me your mind freely in all things, which I do beg you to do, &c."

I did therefore speak very freely and very frequently to her Majesty upon the subject of whig and tory, according to my conception of their different views and principles. It was at first to little effect; and perhaps I should never have succeeded so far as I did, if the leaders of the tories had not, by the heat and agitation with which they over-acted their part, exposed that monopolizing ambition, which ought to have been better concealed under the cloak of zeal for the church.

The church of England, one would naturally think, could not be in any *immediate* danger of perishing under the care of such a *nursing mother* as the Queen, whose affection to it was never doubted, and who, for it's better security, had chosen it's most renowned champions to be of her ministry and council. Nevertheless in the very first new Parliament, after her Majesty's accession, it was thought necessary with all diligence to provide new strength, new supports for this flourishing church, as if it had been in the most tottering and declining condition.

One cannot better represent the noble spirit, with which the zealots began their play than by transcribing some part of the Commons' address to the Queen, in answer to her most gracious speech at the opening of the sessions.

"——— Your Majesty has been always a most illustrious ornament to this church, and has been exposed to great hazards for it, and therefore we promise ourselves, that, in your Majesty's reign, we shall see it perfectly restored to its due rights and privileges, and secured in the same to posterity; which is only to be done by divesting those men of the power, who have shown they want not the will to destroy it."

The Queen in her speech had declared her resolution to defend and maintain the church as by law established. Of *this* they tell her they have no doubt, after her repeated assurances. But *this* was not enough. So illustrious an ornament of the church must not content herself with protecting it in its *legal* rights, but she must contribute to restore it to its *due* rights, that is, she must restore tories and high-churchmen to their *divine* rights and privileges of possessing all the civil offices in the state, and being the only men elected to serve in Parliament, to the exclusion of all whigs and low-churchmen, who being enemies of the church, and having a will to destroy it, must be divested of the power to execute their malice.

That this was the meaning of the address I believe no body doubts, and the *occasional conformity bill*, which in consequence of this zeal for the church, was soon brought into Parliament, did not aim at excluding from employments the *occasional* conformists only, but all those *constant* conformists too, who could not relish the high-church nonsense of promoting religion by persecution. For as the tories were well acquainted with her Majesty's entire devotion to the church, they designed this *bill*, as a *test*, whereby she might certainly distinguish its friends from its foes; and they doubted not but she would reckon among the latter whoever should oppose so religious a scheme.

The bill, as every body knows, was carried triumphantly through the House of Commons; and the Prince of Denmark (though himself an occasional conformist) was persuaded to vote for it, in the house of Lords. However it miscarried there (I forget how) to the great disappointment and mortification of the party. Nay it began to be suspected that some of the chief men at court were not so zealous in the good cause as they should be. My Lord Rochester was, I think, the first of the tory leaders that discovered a deep discontent with the Queen and her administration. Before the end of the year he resigned the lieutenantancy of Ireland in great wrath, upon her Majesty's being so unreasonable as to press him to go thither to attend the affairs of that kingdom, which greatly needed his presence. For as the revenue, which had been formerly granted was out, it was necessary to call a Parliament in order to another supply; and a Parliament could not be held without a Lord Lieutenant. But when the Queen represented these things to him he told her with insolence, *the he would not go into Ireland, though she would give the country to him and his son*; so that he seems to have accepted the post only that he might reign in Ireland by the ministry of his brother Keightley, as he hoped to do in England, in person. Nor could he, after his resignation, overcome his anger so far as to wait upon the Queen or to go to council; which she observing ordered, after some time, that he should no more be summoned, saying, "it was not reasonable my Lord Rochester should come to council only when he pleased."

Perhaps his Lordship's unwillingness to leave England might proceed from his zeal for the church, and from his fears lest it should be betrayed in his absence. But it was generally thought, and I believe with good reason, that the true source of his dissatisfaction was the Queen's not making him her sole governor and director, and my Lord Godolphin's being preferred before him for the treasury; Which, if true, affords a remarkable instance, how much self-love and self-conceit can blind even a man of sense; for such, by his party at least, he was esteemed to be. I don't wonder that he should like power (it is what most people are fond of) or that being related to the Queen he should expect a particular consideration. This was very natural and very reasonable, if he had behaved himself to her as he ought: But when one considers, that his relation to her was by such a sort of accident, and that his conduct had been so very extraordinary, 'tis an amazing thing that he should imagine, he was to domineer over the Queen and every body else, as he did over his own family.

Whether the church was in any danger or not *before*, it could not be questioned by any good churchman, but it *now* began to be in some peril when my Lord Rochester was no longer in place, nor in council.

The bill against occasional conformity was revived by the tories the next sessions of Parliament; which proceeding, whatever regard it might show for

the church, did certainly show little respect or gratitude to the Queen, who had hitherto showered her favours upon the party. For her Majesty having been informed, that this bill had alarmed a great part of her subjects, who were otherwise perfectly well affected to her government, and no less able than zealous to assist her in carrying on the war against the common enemy, had endeavoured in her speech, by the warmest expressions, to dissuade the Parliament from this measure, as it might prove a source of fatal divisions at home, where union and harmony were so necessary in order to the success of our affairs abroad.

But the interest of the *church*, that is, of *high-churchman*, was to be preferred before the interest of the Queen or of the nation, or the preservation of the liberties of Europe. The bill was therefore brought in again; but, though it had once more an easy passage through the House of Commons, it met with the same fate as the year before in the House of Lords.

This new blow to the church was soon followed by another, the removal of Lord Jersey and Sir Edward Seymour from their employments; and about the same time Lord Nottingham resigned his place of Secretary of State, because the whigs were too much favoured.

The whigs did indeed begin to be favoured, and with good reason. For when they saw that my Lord Marlborough prosecuted the common cause with such hearty diligence and such unexpected success, they notwithstanding the partiality which had been shown to their opposites, universally forgot their resentments, and no longer considering themselves as an oppressed party, ran in with the loudest acclamations, extolling his merit and services: And as the trade and money of the nation were chiefly in the hands of those, who espoused the cause, in which the ministry were then engaged, it is no wonder that my Lord Godolphin began to pay them as much regard as the times and the Queen's prejudices would permit him to do.

The church in the mean while, it must be confessed, was in a deplorable condition. The Earls of Rochester, Jersey, and Nottingham, and Sir Edward Seymour out of place, and the whigs coming into favour. It was resolved therefore the next sessions of Parliament to tack the occasional conformity bill to the money bill, a resolution which showed the spirit of the party in it's true light. But it happened that my Lord Marlborough, in the summer before the Parliament met, gained the battle of Blenheim. This was an unfortunate accident; and by the visible dissatisfaction of some people on the news of it, one would have imagined, that instead of beating the French, he had beat the church. And I cannot here omit one remarkable instance of true party spirit in the Tories on this occasion. My Lord Marlborough, before he had had sufficient opportunity of showing the greatness of the general, had, for his first successes in the war, been complimented by this very House of Commons, as the *retriever of the glory of the English nation*, being then reputed a high churchman. But now that he was thought to look towards the moderate party, his *complete victory* at Blenheim, was in the address of congratulation to the Queen, ridiculously paired with Sir George Rook's *drawn battle* with the French at sea.

However, neither the glory of this victory, nor, the important consequences of it, could be hid, even from the eyes of those who would have been the most willing not to see them. The power of France was broken by it to a great degree, and the liberties and peace of Europe were in a fair way to be established upon firm and lasting foundations. The less violent part of the Tories therefore could not be prevailed with to hazard these great and pleas-

ing hopes, by tacking them to the fortune of the *occasional conformity bill*. The tack was rejected by the majority of the members, even of this House of Commons, so rich in tories and high churchmen. And though the bill by itself was afterwards passed in that House, it was again thrown out by the Lords.

The last great wound given to the church this year, was by the Queen's taking the privy seal from the Duke of Buckingham.

And next year I prevailed with her Majesty to take the great seal from Sir Nathan Wright, a man despised by all parties, of no use to the crown, and whose weak and wretched conduct in the court of *chancery*, had almost brought his very office into contempt. His removal however was a great loss to the church, for which he had ever been a warm stickler. And this loss was the more sensibly felt, as his successor, my Lord Cowper, was not only of the whig-party, but of such abilities and integrity, as brought a new credit to it in the nation.

But, what was worse than all these misfortunes, the majority of the House of Commons in the new Parliament of 1705, proved to be whig.

No wonder if, in these sad circumstances, a loud and piteous cry was raised upon the extreme danger of the poor church. A doleful piece, penned by some of the zealots of the party, and called *The Memorial of the Church of England*, was printed and spread abroad, setting forth her melancholy condition and distress; and much lamentation it occasioned. But what remedy? There could be no hope of getting an *occasional conformity bill* passed in this Parliament. One expedient still remained; and this was, to invite the Princess Sophia of Hanover, the present King's grandmother, to come over and defend the church. Her presence here, though she would not probably, as being a Lutheran, be very zealous for a bill against occasional conformists, yet might happily prove a means to hinder the whigs from bringing in popery and the pretender. A motion was therefore made in the house of Lords for this invitation; and the necessity of it was urged with great strength of argument by the Earls of Rochester and Nottingham, and the other grave men of the party. Not that they had the least hope or the least desire to carry their point, but being well assured that the Queen would never consent to such an invitation, nor pardon her ministers if they encouraged the design, this was a notable stratagem to ruin them, either with her Majesty, or with the nation; for if in compliance with her prejudices they opposed this motion, it was to be hoped it would draw the public odium upon them, as declared enemies to the protestant succession.

This hopeful scheme however did not succeed. The whigs opposed the invitation, and yet preserved their credit, to the great mortification of the other party. I know that my Lord Godolphin, and other great men, were much reflected upon by some well disposed persons, for not laying hold of this opportunity, which the tories put into their hands, of more effectually securing the succession to the crown in the house of Hanover. But those of the whigs, whose anger against the minister was raised on this account, little knew how impracticable the project of *invitation* was, and that the attempt would have only served to make the Queen discard her ministry, to the ruin of the common cause of these kingdoms, and of all Europe. I had often tried her Majesty upon this subject; and when I found that she would not hear of the immediate successor's coming over, had pressed her that she would at least invite hither the young Prince of Hanover, who was not to be her immediate successor, and that

she would let him live here as her son : but her Majesty would listen to no proposal of this kind in any shape whatsoever.

To give a full answer to all objections against the ministers' conduct with regard to this matter, I shall here relate a transaction that passed three years afterwards, which will show not only the insincerity of the tories in their zeal for the house of Hanover, when they moved for the Princess Sophia's being invited hither, but how insuperably averse the Queen was to suffer the presence of any of that family.

My Lord Haversham, a great speech-maker, and publisher of his speeches, and who was become the mouth of the party for any extraordinary alarm, was sent privately by the tories to the Queen to acquaint her with a discovery, which they pretended to have made, of a terrible design formed by the whigs to bring over one of the House of Hanover, and to force this upon her whether she would or not. Now can any thing be more curious than such a message from the tories, and by such a messenger ? For my Lord Haversham was the man who had moved for the Princess Sophia's coming over as a thing necessary for the preservation of the Protestant religion. But now any design of inviting hither one of that family was of so frightful a nature, that it must be esteemed meritorious to give early notice of the danger, I shall make no more comment upon this proceeding, but transcribe a part of the Queen's letter to the Duke of Marlborough upon this occasion.

July 22d, 1708.—“ I cannot end this without giving you an account in short of a visit I have had from Lord Haversham. He told me his business was to let me know, there was certainly a design laying between the whigs and some great men, to have an address made in the next sessions of Parliament for inviting the Electoral Prince over to settle here, and that he would certainly come to make a visit as soon as the campaign was over, and there was nothing for me to do to prevent my being forced to this (as I certainly would,) but my shewing myself to be Queen, and making it my own act. I told him, if this matter should be brought into Parliament, whoever proposed it, whether whig or tory, I should look upon neither of them as my friends, nor would ever make any invitation neither to the young man nor his father, nor his grandmother.

“ ——— What I have to say to you upon this subject, at this time, is to beg you would find whether there is any design where you are, that the young man should make a visit in the winter, and contrive some way to put any such thought out of their head, that the difficulty may not be brought upon me of refusing him leave to come, if he should ask it ; or forbidding him to come, if he should attempt it : For one of these two things *I must do*, if either he or his father should have any desires to have him see this country, it being a thing *I cannot bear*, to have any successor here, though but for a week. And therefore I shall depend upon you to do every thing on the other side of the water to prevent this mortification from coming upon her, that is, and ever will be, most sincerely, &c.”

To return to the motion for inviting the Princess Sophia. It was upon this occasion that the Queen gave the first indications of any thing like a real reconciliation to the whigs. For though she had been prevailed with to express a desire, that the Parliament would avoid measures tending to create divisions and animosities at home (meaning the occasional conformity bill), yet you will see by the following letters from her Majesty to me, how much she leaned all along, in her inclination, to the tories, and even to those very mea-

sures she would have dissuaded them from; and which she only thought unreasonable at that time.

Friday morning.—"I give my dear Mrs. Freeman many thanks for her long letter, and am truly sensible of the extreme kindness you express in it; and in turn, to ease your mind, I must tell you, *Mr. Bromley will be disappointed, for the Prince does not intend to go to the House, when the Bill of Occasional Conformity is brought in*; but at the same time that I think him very much in the right not to vote in it, I shall not have the worse opinion of any of the Lords that are for it; for though *I should have been very glad, it had not been brought into the House of Commons*, because I would not have had any pretence given for quarrelling; I can't help thinking, *now it is as good as past there*, it will be better for the service to have it pass the House of Lords too. I must own to you, that I never cared to mention any thing of this subject to you, because I knew you would not be of my mind; but since you have given me this occasion, I can't forbear saying, that *that I see nothing like persecution in this Bill*. You may think it is a notion Lord Nottingham has put into my head, but upon my word it is my own thought. I am in hopes I shall have one look before you go to St. Alban's, and therefore will say no more now, but will answer your letter more at large some other time; and only promise my dear Mrs. Freeman faithfully, I will read the book she sent me, and beg she would never let difference of opinion hinder us from living together, as we used to do. Nothing shall ever alter your poor Morley, who will live and die with all truth and tenderness your's*.

The following letters from the Queen to me, relate to the Occasional Conformity Bill, when it was intended to tack it to the Money Bill in 1704.

November 17th, 1704.—"—— I am sure nobody shall endeavour more to promote it [*union*] than you poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley, who doth not at all doubt of your truth and sincerity to her, and hopes her not agreeing in every thing you say will not be imputed to want of value, esteem, or tender kindness for my dear Mrs. Freeman, it being impossible for any one to be more sincerely another's, than I am your's.

"*St. James's, November the 21st.*—I had just sealed up my letter on *Saturday* night as I received the satisfaction of my dear Mrs. Freeman's of that day's date, but would not open it again, concluding I should have time, either *Sunday* or *yesterday*, to thank you for it. When *Sunday* came I had several hindrances, and *yesterday* I sat down to write, but was hindered by one of the *Scots* people coming to speak with me, or else I should not have been so long without telling you, I am very sorry, you should forbear writing upon the apprehension of your letters being troublesome, since you know very well they are not, nor never can be so, but the contrary, to your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley. Upon what my dear Mrs. Freeman says again concerning the address, I have looked it over again, and cannot for my life see, one can put any other interpretation

* It is evident, that this letter, though it bears no other date than Friday morning, was written about the beginning of December, 1703, when the *Occasional Conformity Bill* was brought in by Mr. Bromley. And it is probable, from some words in the letter, that this bill had passed the committee when the Queen wrote.

Lord Nottingham, by whose advice the Queen supposes that I believe her influenced, was then Secretary of State.

The Prince of Denmark did not vote for the bill this year, nor go to the House on this occasion; so that Mr. Bromley was disappointed.

upon that word *pressures*, than what I have done already. As to my saying the church was in some danger in the late reign, I cannot alter my opinion; for though there was no violent thing done, every body that will speak impartially must own, that every thing was leaning towards the whigs, and *whenever that is, I shall think the church beginning to be in danger.*"

But though it appears by these letters that the Queen was not hitherto inwardly converted to the whigs, neither by all that I had been able to say, nor even by the mad conduct of the tacking Tories, yet, as I before hinted, their behaviour in the affair of the *invitation* occasioned something like a change in her. She had been present at the debates in the House of Lords upon that subject, and had heard the Duke of Buckingham treat her with great disrespect, urging as an argument for inviting over the Princess Sophia, that the Queen might live till she did not know what she did, and be like a child in the hands of others: and a great deal to the same effect. Such rude treatment from the Tories, and the zeal and success of the whigs in opposing a motion, so extremely disagreeable to her, occasioned her to write to me in the following terms.

"—— I believe dear Mrs. Freeman and I shall not disagree as we have formerly done: for I am sensible of the services those people have done me that you have a good opinion of, and will countenance them, and am thoroughly convinced of the malice and insolence of *them*, that you have always been speaking against."

And at this same time, her Majesty authorised my Lord Godolphin to give the utmost assurances to the chief men of the whigs, that she would put herself and her affairs into such hands as they should approve, and would do every thing possible for the security of the protestant succession.

But notwithstanding this, it was not till after much solicitation, that her Majesty could be prevailed with, so far to oblige the whigs, as to make my Lord Sunderland, Secretary of State in the room of Sir Charles Hedges. The whigs, after the services they had done, and the assurances the Queen had given them, thought it reasonable to expect, that *one* of the secretaries at least should be such a man as they could place a confidence in. They believed they might trust my Lord Sunderland; and though they did not think him the properest man for the post, yet being my Lord Marlborough's son-in-law, they chose to recommend him to her Majesty, because, as they expressed themselves to me, they imagined it was *driving the nail that would go*.

I must observe here that my Lord Marlborough was not, in his inclination, for this promotion of my Lord Sunderland. I have a letter from him expressing his dislike to the design. But how hard pressed both he and my Lord Godolphin were by the whigs to have it brought to effect, will fully appear by the following letter on the same subject.

"*Grametz, October 1706*,— When I writ my last, I was very full of the spleen, and I think with too much reason. My whole time, to the best of my understanding, has been employed for the public good, as I do assure you I do in the presence of God, neglecting no opportunity of letting 83 * see what I take to be her true interest. It is terrible to go through so much uneasiness. I do not say this to flatter any party, for I will never do it, let the consequence be what it will. For, as parties, they are both in the wrong. But 'tis certain 73 and his adherents are not to be trusted. So that 83 has no choice, but that

* The Queen.

of employing those who will carry on the war and support 91 *. And if any other method is taken I know we shall go into confusion. Now this being the case, I leave you to judge, whether I am dealt kindly with? I do not say this for any other end, but to have your justice and kindness; for in that will consist my future happiness. I am sure I would venture a thousand lives, if I had them, to procure ease and happiness to the Queen. And yet no number of men could persuade me to act as a minister in what was not my opinion. So that I shall never fail in speaking my mind very freely. And as my opinion is, that the tackers and all the adherents of 73 are not for carrying on the war, which is for the true Interest of the Queen and kingdom, you may depend I shall never join with any but such as I think will serve her and the true interest of our country with all their hearts. And if the war continues but one year longer with success, I hope it will not be in any body's power to make the Queen's business uneasy. And then I shall be glad to live as quiet as possible, and not envy the governing men, who would then I believe think better of 90 and 91 † than they now do. And I will own frankly to you, that the jealousy some of your friends have, that 90 and 91 do not act sincerely, makes me so weary, that, were it not for my gratitude for 83, and concern for 91, I would now retire and never serve more. For I have had the good luck to deserve better from all Englishmen, than to be suspected for not being in the true interest of my country; which I am in, and ever will be, without being of a faction. And this principle shall govern me for the little remainder of my life. I must not think of being popular; but I shall have the satisfaction of my going to the grave with the opinion of having acted, as became an honest man. And if I have your esteem and love, I should think myself entirely happy. Having writ thus far I have received your two letters of the 20th and 21st, which confirm me in my opinion before. And since the resolution is taken to vex and ruin 91, because 83 has not complied with what was desired for 117 ‡, I shall from henceforward despise all mankind, and think there is no such thing as virtue. For I know with what zeal 91 has pressed 83 in that matter. I do pity him, and shall always love him as long as I live; and never be a friend to any that can be his enemy.

"I have writ my mind every freely to 83 ||, on this occasion, so that whatever misfortune may happen, I shall have a quiet mind, having done what I thought my duty. And as for the resolution of making me uneasy, I believe they will not have much pleasure in that, for as I have not set my heart on having justice done me, I shall not be disappointed; nor will I be ill used by any man."

I shall here add a letter of my own to the Queen on the same subject; and the rather, because it not only confirms what I have said of her Majesty's *unwillingness to oblige the whigs*, but shews that as much as I opposed the *tories*, I was no enemy to the *church* they *talked of*, so far as any thing *real* and *excellent* was meant by that word; and because it contains so just a prediction of the usage, the Queen afterwards met with, when she fell into the hands of the high church party.

"By the letter I had from your Majesty this morning, and the great weight you put upon the difference betwixt the word *notion* and *nation* in my letter, I am only made sensible (as by many other things) that you were in a great disposition to complain of me, since to this moment, I cannot for my life see

* Lord Godolphin. † Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

‡ Lord Sunderland. || The Queen.

any essential difference betwixt these two words, as to the sense of my letter, the true meaning of which was only to let your Majesty know, with that faithfulness and concern, which I have ever had for your service, that it was not possible for you to carry on your government much longer, with so much partiality to one sort of men, though they lose no occasion of diserving you, and of showing the greatest inveteracy against my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer; and so much discouragement to others, who even after great disobligations, have taken several opportunities to show their firmness to your Majesty's interest, and their zeal to support you, and your ministers too, only because they had been faithful and useful servants to you and the public.

"This was all the sense and meaning of my letter, and if you can find fault with this, I am so unhappy as that you must always find fault with me, 'I am incapable of thinking otherwise as long as I live, or of acting now but upon the same principle that I served you before you came to the crown for so many years, when your unlimited favour and kindness to me, could never tempt me to make use of it in one single instance that was not for your interest and service.' I am afraid I have been too long in explaining my thoughts upon the subject of my own letter, which it seems has been so great an offence, and how justly I leave you to judge; and I must beg your patience, since I am not very like to trouble you again, to let me say something upon the subject of your letter to my Lord Treasurer, which he has shewn me to day, with more concern than I know how to express: This was indeed the subject of my own letter, and the occasion of it, for I do not only see the uneasiness and the grief he has to leave your service, when you seem so desirous he should continue in it, but I see as well as he, the impossibility of his being able to support it, or himself, or my Lord Marlborough, for it all hangs upon one thread; and when they are forced to leave your service, 'you will then indeed, find yourself in the hands of a violent party, who I am sure will have very little mercy or even humanity for you.' Whereas you might prevent all these misfortunes, by giving my Lord Treasurer and my Lord Marlborough (whom you may so safely trust) leave to propose those things to you, which they know and can judge to be absolutely necessary for your service, which will put it in their power to influence those, who have given you proofs both of their being able to serve you, and of their desiring to make you great and happy. But rather than your Majesty will employ a party-man, as you are pleased to call Lord Sunderland, you will put all things in confusion, and at the same time that you say this, you employ Sir C. Hedges, who is in one against you, only that he has voted in remarkable things that he might keep his place; and he did the same thing in the late King's time, till at last, that every body saw he was just dying and he could lose nothing by differing with that court: But formerly he voted with those men, the enemies to this government call whigs, and if he had not been a party-man, how could he have been a secretary of state, when all your councils were influenced by my Lord R. Lord Nott. Sir E. Seymour, and about six or seven more just such men, that call themselves *the heroes for the church*? But what church can any man be of that would disturb so just a government as yours, or how can any body be in the true interest of England, that opposes you and your ministers, by whose advice, in four years' time, you are very near pulling down the power of France, and making *that religion, they only talk of, not only more secure than in any of the late reigns, but putting it upon a better foundation than it has been since the reformation.*"

"You are pleased to say you think it a great hardship, to persuade a man to part with a place he is in possession of, for one that is not vacant. In some cases that were certainly right, but not in this; for Sir Charles Hedges can have the place he desires immediately, and it is much better for him, unless he could be secretary of state for life. He will have two places that are considerable, one of which he can compass no other way, and this is so far from being a hardship, that he and all the world must think it a great kindness done him, and he must be a very weak man, if he lost the opportunity of having such a certainty, when he can't flatter himself that (whatever happens) he can be supported long in a place of that consequence for which he is so unfit. He has no capacity, no quality, no interest, nor ever could have been in that post, but that every body knows, my Lord Rochester cares for nothing so much as a man that he thinks will depend upon him. I beg your Majesty's pardon for not waiting upon you, and I persuade myself, that long as my letter is, it will be less troublesome to your Majesty."

It was a wonder to many, that this affair of my Lord Sunderland's promotion met with such difficulties, considering his relation to my Lord Marlborough, whose merit with his Queen and country was every year augmenting. For, whilst this matter was in suspense, he obtained the victory of Ramillies: on which occasion her Majesty, in a letter dated from Kensington, May 17, 1706, told him "—She wanted words to express the true sense she had of the great service he had done his country and her, in that great and glorious victory, and hoped it would be a means to confirm all good and honest people in their principles, and frighten others from being troublesome;—and then spoke, "of the alloy it was to all her satisfaction, to consider what hazards he was exposed to,"—and repeated an obliging request she had often made, "that he would be careful of himself." I cannot doubt of the Queen's kind dispositions to my Lord Marlborough at this time, or her willingness, in general, to oblige him. And it quickly appeared that the difficulties raised by her Majesty against parting with Sir Charles Hedges, were wholly owing to the artifice and management of Mr. Harley, the other secretary of state, whose interest and secret transactions with the Queen were then doubtless in their beginning. This man had been put into that post by the Lords Marlborough and Godolphin when my Lord Nottingham in disgust resigned it. They thought him a very proper person to manage the House of Commons, upon which so much always depends: and his artifices had won upon them so far that they could not be persuaded, but they might securely trust him; till experience too late convinced them of the contrary. And indeed (not to mention other parts of his behaviour) who would have thought that the man, who had wrote the following letter on occasion of Lord Blandford's death, could so soon have been laying schemes for the destruction of the person to whom it was written?

"MY LORD,—There is no servant of your Grace's is more sensibly affected with, I will not call it your Grace's loss, but our common misfortune, than myself. And I wish to God the part I can bear of it, would discharge your Grace of any of the burden. I do feel it, that a limb is torn off; therefore I think for the preservation of the residue, the blood should be stanch'd, I mean, grief should be moderated; time I know is the best physician in this case, but our necessities require a quicker remedy. And I doubt not but your Grace's greatness of mind will give what is due to nature, without taking any thing from reason. Be pleased to consider that the nation are your children, the public needs all your care, how little soever it may deserve it.

"I shall pay my duty to your Grace, when you will permit me; in the mean time I beseech your pardon for this overflowing of my passion, which is the effect of the dutiful affection of, "MY LORD,

"Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

"March 1, 1703.

"RO. HARLEY."

But to return, it is no wonder that Mr. Harley, with such views as he then had, should be unwilling to see a secretary of state displayed, over whom he thought he had some influence, and through whose hands the greater part of the business of his own office (scandalously neglected by himself) used to pass; and much more unwilling to have him succeeded by a person over whom he had no power whatsoever.

As for Sir Charles Hedges, when he found how backward the Queen was to dismiss him, he was so prudent as to make a greater advantage to himself by quitting his post, than he could have done by holding it. And in the winter of 1706 Lord Sunderland was appointed to succeed him.

But notwithstanding this point thus carried by the whigs, they were soon alarmed again by the Queen's choice of two high-church divines, to fill two vacant bishoprics. Several of the whigs were disposed to think themselves betrayed by the ministry: the truth was, that the Queen's inclination to the Tories being now soothed by flatteries and insinuations of her private counsellors, had begun to make it irksome to her to consult with her ministers upon any promotions, either in the church or the state. The first artifice of those counsellors was, to instil into the Queen notions of the high prerogative of *acting without her ministers*, and, as they expressed it, of being *Queen indeed*. And the nomination of persons to bishoprics against the judgment and *remonstrances* of her ministry, being what they knew her genius would fall in with more readily than any thing else they could propose, they began with that; and they took care that those remonstrances should be interpreted by the world, and resented by herself as hard usage, a denial of common civility, and even *the making her no Queen*.

Her Majesty, however, to quiet the dissatisfaction of the whigs for the late promotions, ordered her ministers to assure them, that she would prefer no more Tories, and she gave the same assurances with her own mouth in the cabinet council. And she was suffered by her secret counsellors so far to observe this promise, as to give, about the same time, the Bishopric of Norwich to Dr. Trimmel; a particular friend of Lord Sunderland. And she also, some time after, gave the Professorship of Divinity at Oxford to Dr. Potter, the present Archbishop of Canterbury, who had Dr. Smalridge for his competitor, recommended by the Tories. But this latter favour to the whigs was not so easily obtained as the former. And upon the delays that were made in bestowing it, my Lord Marlborough thought it proper to try what credit he had with a Queen, whose glory he had carried to a height beyond that of any of her predecessors. He wrote therefore a very moving letter to her, complaining of the visible loss of his interest with her, and particularly of her so long deferring the promotion she had promised, of the person recommended by her ministry, as a faithful friend to her government, adding, that the only way to make her reign easy was to be true to that rule, which she had professed to lay down, of preferring none of those who appeared against her service and the nation's interest, &c.—He wrote at the same time, to the same effect, to me, and I wrote to the Queen, and at length, by much solicitation, this matter was obtained, and Dr. Potter fixed in the Professorship.

But this was only yielding up one small point, in order to conceal a much greater design and bring it to effect, when the season should be ripe for it. It was about this time, that the ministry began to be assured of the secret practices of Mr. Harley against them; and that I discovered the base returns made me by Mrs. Masham, upon whom I had heaped the greatest obligations.

The story of this Lady, as well as of *that Gentleman*, who was her great adviser and director, is worth the knowledge of posterity, as it will lead them into a sense of the instability of court-favour, and of the incurable baseness which some minds are capable of contracting.

Mrs. Masham was the daughter of one Hill, a merchant in the city, by a sister of my father. Our grandfather, Sir John Jenyns, had two and twenty children, by which means the estate of the family (which was reputed to be about 4000*l.* a year) came to be divided into small parcels. Mrs. Hill had only 500*l.* to her portion. Her husband lived very well, as I have been told, for many years, till turning projector, he brought ruin upon himself and his family. But as this was long before I was born, I never knew there were such people in the world, till after the Princess Anne was married, and when she lived at the Cockpit; at which time an acquaintance of mine came to me and said, *She believed I did not know, that I had relations who were in want*, and she gave me an account of them. When she had finished her story, I answered, *that indeed I had never heard before of any such relations*, and immediately gave her out of my purse ten guineas for their present relief, saying, I would do what I could for them. Afterwards I sent Mrs. Hill more money, and saw her. She told me that her husband was in the same relation to Mr. Harley, as she was to me, but that he had never done any thing for her.

I think Mrs. Masham's father and mother did not live long after this. They left four children, two sons and two daughters. The elder daughter (afterwards Mrs. Masham) was a grown woman. I took her to St. Albans, where she lived with me and my children, and I treated her with as great kindness, as if she had been my sister. After some time a bedchamber-woman of the Princess of Denmark's died; and as in that reign (after the Princesses were grown up) rockers, though not gentlewomen, had been advanced to be bedchamber-women, I thought I might ask the Princess to give the vacant place to Mrs. Hill. At first indeed I had some scruple about it, but this being removed by persons I thought wiser, with whom I consulted, I made the request to the Princess, and it was granted.

As for the younger daughter (who is still living) I engaged my Lord Marlborough, when the Duke of Gloucester's family was settled, to make her laundress to him, which was a good provision for her. And when the Duke of Gloucester died, I obtained for her a pension of 200*l.* a year, which I paid her out of the privy-purse. And in some time after I asked the Queen's leave to buy her an annuity out of some of the funds, representing to her Majesty, that as the privy-purse money produced no interest, it would be the same thing to her, if instead of the pension to Mrs. Hill, she gave her at once a sum sufficient to purchase an annuity; and that by this means her Majesty would make a *certain* provision for one, who had served the Duke of Gloucester. The Queen was pleased to allow the money for that purchase, and it is very probable that Mrs. Hill has the annuity to this day, and perhaps nothing else, unless she saved money after her sister had made her deputy to the privy-purse, which she did, as soon as she had supplanted me.

The elder son was, at my request, put by my Lord Godolphin into a place in the *custom-house*; and when, in order to his advancement to a better, it

was necessary to give security for his good behaviour, I got a relation of the Duke of Marlborough's to be bound for him in two thousand pounds.

His brother (whom the bottle-men afterwards called *honest Jack Hill*) was a tall boy, whom I clothed (for he was all in rags), and put to school at St. Albans to one Mr. James, who had been an usher under Dr. Busby of Westminster. And whenever I went to St. Albans I sent for him, and was as kind to him as if he had been my own child. After he had learnt what he could there, a vacancy happening of page of honour to the Prince of Denmark, his Highness was pleased, at my request, to take him. I afterwards got my Lord Marlborough to make him groom of the bed-chamber to the Duke of Gloucester. And though my Lord always said that Jack Hill *was good for nothing*, yet to oblige me, he made him his *aid-de-camp*, and afterwards gave him a *regiment*. But it was his sister's interest that raised him to be a *general*, and to command in that ever memorable expedition to Quebec: I had no share in doing him these honours. To finish what I have to say upon his subject: When Mr. Harley thought it useful to attack the Duke of Marlborough in Parliament, this Quebec *general*, this *honest Jack Hill*, this *once ragged boy, whom I clothed*, happening to be sick in bed, was nevertheless persuaded by his sister to get up, wrap himself in warmer clothes than those I had given him, and go to the house to vote against the Duke.

I may here add, that even the *husband* of Mrs. Masham had several obligations to me. It was at my instance that he was first made a page, then a querry, and afterwards groom of the bed-chamber to the Prince; for all which he himself thanked me as for favours procured by my means.

As for Mrs. Masham herself, I had so much kindness for her, and had done so much to oblige her, without having ever done any thing to offend her, that it was too long before I could bring myself to think her other than a true friend, or forbear rejoicing at any instance of favour shown her by the Queen. I observed indeed at length that she was grown more shy of coming to me, and more reserved than usual, when she was with me; but I imputed this to her peculiar moroseness of temper, and for some time made no other reflection upon it.

The first thing that led me into enquiries about her conduct, was, the being told (in the summer of 1707,) that my cousin Hill was privately married to Mr. Masham. I went to her and asked her if it were true, she owned it was, and begged my pardon for having concealed it from me. As much reason as I had to take ill this reserve in her behaviour, I was willing to impute it to bashfulness and want of breeding, rather than to any thing worse. I embraced her with my usual tenderness, and very heartily wished her joy; and then, turning the discourse, entered into her concerns in as friendly a manner as possible, contriving how to accommodate her with lodgings, by removing her sister into some of my own. I then enquired of her very kindly, whether the Queen knew of her marriage; and very innocently offered her my service, if she needed it, to make that matter easy. She had by this time learnt the art of dissimulation pretty well, and answered with an air of unconcernedness, that the *bed-chamber women* had already acquainted the Queen with it, hoping by this answer to divert any farther examination into the matter. But I went presently to the Queen and asked her, *why she had not been so kind as to tell me of my cousin's marriage*, expostulating with her upon the point, and putting her in mind of what she used often to say to me out of Montaigne, *That it was no breach of promise of secrecy to tell such a friend any thing, because it was no*

more than telling it to one's self. All the answer I could obtain from her Majesty was this, *I have a hundred times bid Masham tell it you, and she would not.*

The conduct both of the Queen and of Mrs. Masham, convinced me that there was some mystery in the affair, and thereupon I set myself to enquire as particularly as I could into it. And in less than a week's time, I discovered, "that my cousin was become an absolute favourite; that the Queen herself was present at her marriage in Dr. Arbuthnot's lodgings," at which time her Majesty had called for a round sum out of the privy-purse; "that Mrs. Masham came often to the Queen, when the Prince was asleep, and was generally two hours every day in private with her." And I likewise then discovered beyond all dispute "Mr. Harley's correspondence and interest at court by means of this woman."

I was struck with astonishment at such an instance of ingratitude, and should not have believed, if there had been any room left for doubting.

My Lord Marlborough was at first no less incredulous than I, as appears by the following paragraph of a letter from him, in answer to one from me on this subject.

"*Meldest, June 3d, 1707.*—The wisest thing is to have to do with as few people as possible. If you are sure that Mrs. Masham speaks of business to the Queen, I should think, you might with some caution tell her of it, which would do good. For she certainly must be grateful and will mind what you say."

It became easy now to decipher many particulars, which had hitherto remained mysterious, and my reflection quickly brought to my mind many passages, which had seemed odd and unaccountable, but had left no impression of suspicion or jealousy. Particularly I remembered that a long while before this, being with the Queen (to whom I had gone very privately by a secret passage, from my lodgings to the bedchamber), on a sudden this woman, not knowing that I was there, came in with the boldest and gayest air possible, but, upon sight of me, stopped; and immediately, changing her manner, and making a most solemn courtesy, said, *did your Majesty ring?* and then went out again. This singular behaviour needed no interpreter now, to make it understood. But not to dwell on such trifling incidents, as soon as I had got a thorough insight into her management, being naturally frank and open, I wrote to her the following letter.

"*Sept. 23d, 1707.*—Since the conversation I had with you at your lodgings, several things have happened to confirm me in what I was hard to believe, that you have made me returns very unsuitable to what I might have expected. I always speak my mind so plainly, that I should have told you so myself, if I had had the opportunity which I hoped for. But being now so near parting, think this way of letting you know it is like to be the least uneasy to you, as well as to
"Your humble servant," "S. MARLBOROUGH."

Though I was to go to Woodstock the next day, I staid at Windsor almost all the morning to wait her answer. But this could not be had so soon, it being necessary to consult with her great director in so nice a matter. At length, however, an answer was sent after me, the whole frame and style of which shewed it to be the genuine product of an artful man, who knew perfectly well the management of such an affair.

"*Windsor, Sept. 24th. 1707.*—While I was expecting a message from your Grace, to wait upon you according to your commands, last night, I received a

letter which surprises me no less than it afflicts me, because it lays a most heavy charge upon me, of an ungrateful behaviour to your Grace. Her Majesty was pleased to tell me, that you was angry with me for not acquainting you with my marriage. I did believe after so generous a pardon, your Grace would think no more of that. I am very confident by the expression of your letter, that somebody has told some malicious lie of me to your Grace, from which it is impossible for me to vindicate myself till I know the crime I am accused of. I am sure, Madam, your goodness cannot deny me what the meanest may ask the greatest; I mean justice, to know my accuser. Without that, all friendship must be at the mercy of every malicious liar, as they are, who have so barbarously and unjustly brought me under your displeasure, the greatest unhappiness that could befall me; I therefore make it my most humble request to your Grace, that if ever I had the least share of your friendship, you would be pleased to give me that parting token to let me know who this wicked person is, and then I do not doubt but I shall make it plain how much they have wronged me, as well as imposed upon your Grace. As my affliction is very great, you will I hope in compassion let me hear from you, and believe me what I really am, "Madam,

"Your Grace's most humble and faithful servant, "A. HILL."

As I believe no body at this time doubts whether the writer of this letter was practising with the Queen to undermine me, I shall make no reflections upon it. My answer to it was in these terms,

"I received your letter upon the road to this place, and I can assure you the occasion of my complaints did not proceed from any ill offices that had been done you to me by any body, but from my own observation, which makes the impression much the stronger. But I think the subject is not very proper for a letter, and therefore I must defer it till we meet, and give you no farther trouble at this time from,

"Your most humble servant, "S. MARLBOROUGH."

About the same time that I made this discovery of Mrs. Masham's *intriguing*, my Lord Godolphin (as I before-mentioned), got notice of Mr. Harley's practices both within doors and without. He was endeavouring to create in the whigs jealousies of Lord Godolphin, and Lord Marlborough, and at the same time assuring the tories, that they might depend upon the Queen's inward affection to *them*; and that it was wholly owing to those two great Lords that the tories were not still possessed of all the places and employments. His design was to ruin the whigs, by disuniting them from the ministry, and so to pave the way for the tories to rise again; whom he thought to unite in himself, as their head, after he had made it impossible for them to think of a reconciliation with the Duke of Marlborough and Lord Godolphin.

But, that this able politician might in all things act suitably to his parts and genius, he, at the same time that he was employed in the manner I have related, was endeavouring to blind the eyes of those, whose destruction he aimed at, by most elaborate compliments, and the most nauseous professions of affection and duty.

I am persuaded, my Lord, that as mean an opinion as you have of this gentleman, you will yet be surprised at his manner of writing to my Lord Marlborough and myself. I have picked out of the letters we had from him, some choice pieces, which I think are real curiosities, and, when compared with his after conduct, will serve excellently well towards forming a perfect idea of his character.

"MADAM, Though the advantage the public receives from this great and glorious victory of Schellenberg is enough to inspire every one's heart with joy, who loves either the Queen or the nation, yet I must profess *I have a peculiar satisfaction*; it enhances the blessing to me by the hand that wrought it: I should have had a share in common with the rest of the nation, if another had performed it: But when the Duke of Marlborough is the author, when our deliverance, I may call it, is owing to *his* courage and *his* conduct; when the English honour is not only retrieved, but carried to so great a height, I cannot but receive an *additional pleasure* that it is *done by my Lord Duke*. I hope your Grace will forgive this overflowing of joy, as an instance of the sincerity and duty wherewith I shall always endeavour to distinguish myself,

"Madam, Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

July 3, 1704.

"R. HARLEY."

"May 17, 1706.—MY LORD, Yesterday about seven in the Evening. Col. Richards brought the most acceptable news of the glorious success your Grace had obtained in attacking the French army; and at the same time we are rejoicing for the victory, we cannot (I mean every good Englishman) but be sensibly touched with the danger all was in, by the hazard your Grace exposed your own person to, that deliverance enhances the value of the victory, considering how dear it had like to have cost us: heaven hath preserved that precious life, and would not suffer us to lose your Grace, who was born for the delivery of your own country, and the rescue of so many others from tyranny and oppression. Your Grace does not only triumph over the public enemies by teaching us how to conquer abroad, but you deliver us from ourselves, and rescue us from that tyranny which each party here would exercise upon one another: you have again disarmed malice, and though your glorious actions will encrease envy, yet the lustre of what you have done will discover it, and consequently render it impotent. May your Grace still go on prosperously, the best general, to the best Queen, and engaged in the best cause; and may you live long to enjoy in peace the fruits of your innumerable hazards and toils.

"I am with the greatest duty and affection,

"MY LORD, Your Grace's most humble, and most obedient servant,

"RO. HARLEY."

"May 24, (June 4,) 1706.—MY LORD, I cannot tell where this letter will find your Grace, the improvements you make of your glorious victory are so stupendous; you have united the characters of Scipio and Hannibal; your Grace knows how to conquer, and how to improve a victory to admiration. Among the letters which have fallen into my hands, there is one to Mr. D'Allegre hath this article, that the Elector of Bavaria had wrote to his brother the Elector of Cologne, in these terms. *Avec la plus belle armée et la plus florissante et animée j'ay été battu, Dieu l'a voulu*. I hear from one I sent to Calais, that after the news of the victory and the declaring of Brussels, the mob of Calais were very troublesome in the town, and had your Grace's name continually in their mouths: we are assured that an express was sent away May 25, N. S. to Mr. Feuillade, to offer the Duke of Savoy any terms whatever. I doubt not but their emissaries will be busy also in Holland again, but I wrote last post to Mr. Buys, to caution him upon that subject, how necessary it was to be very vigilant, &c. I am with the greatest duty and affection,

"My Lord,

"Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

"RO. HARLEY."

"*May, 28 (June 8), 1705.*—MY LORD, I received this morning the honour of your Grace's letter of June 3, and cannot but observe, with the utmost pleasure and satisfaction, the great and wonderful successes which attend every day your Grace's prudent and most valiant conduct. It is very true, that victories have been obtained over potent and flourishing armies formerly. Your Grace gave us two years since a noble instance of that, but give me leave to say, this is not only obtaining a victory, but wearing of it too; this is improving your own actions, and outdoing your own victories, for nothing but you, Sir, can outdo my Lord Marlborough's former victories.

"Your proceedings are so swift that it is scarce possible with thought to keep pace with them; therefore we can only here give directions at random, &c.

"I am with the greatest duty and affection,

"My Lord, Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

"RO. HARLEY."

"*May 31, (June 11,) 1706.*—MY LORD, What success this fortunate raising of the siege (of Barcelona) will have upon the minds of the Portuguese I cannot tell, all sorts of people here are much exasperated against them; and Schonnenbergh now writes to his masters, that he suspects some of those ministers are in the interest of France: and I believe all of them hope for a civil war in Spain, of which they will make their markets. *But the glorious things your Grace has done, puts an end to such little projects. Your Grace does all at once, and the influence of it will be as extensive as the grandeur of the action, &c.* I am with the greatest duty and affection,

"MY LORD, Your Grace's most humble and most obedient servant,

"RO. HARLEY."

"*Thursday, Aug. 8, 1706.*—MADAM, I was just going to end this trouble, when I was honoured with your Grace's commands, which I shall apply myself to obey with all imaginable cheerfulness and diligence. I cannot think of a servant and a spy, without the utmost abhorrence, and particularly when I find it levelled at *your Grace's family, to whom we all owe so much. I have been often provoked to see so much public and private ingratitude exercised towards the Duke.*

"I shall not omit any thing which may tend towards a discovery of this villainy; and I will not put it into any one's hands, but manage that myself. I beg your Grace will do me the honour to believe me to be, with the utmost duty,

"MADAM, Your Grace's most humble, and most obedient servant,

"RO. HARLEY."

Is it not amazing, that a person, who could thus extol the Duke of Marlborough's services to his country, speak of his glory as beyond the power of envy or malice to hurt it, and profess so feel such a *peculiar joy* in the contemplation of it; is it not amazing, I say, that this very person should be, at the same time, contriving how to ruin that glorious man, in order to raise himself upon his ruins? The Duke was too backward to believe him capable of such designs, though it is certain he never had entertained the same good opinion of him, as my Lord Godolphin had, and though, as one may collect from a paragraph in a letter of Mr. Harley's, dated 25 March 1707, the Duke had been early warned of his practices. The paragraph contains these words.

"I return your Grace most hearty and humble thanks for the favourable expressions in your letter. I beg leave to assure you, that *I serve you by inclination and principle*, and a very little time will make that manifest, as well as that *I have no views or aims of my own.*

The conduct which Mr. Harley observed, after these assurances, was so directly contrary to them, and became quickly so notorious, that my Lord Godolphin could not help representing it to the Queen as of the utmost prejudice to her affairs: And when he found that her Majesty *would believe nothing of it*, he went so far as to say, that if Mr. Harley continued to act the part he did, and yet to have so much credit with her, as he perceived he had, Lord Marlborough and himself must of necessity quit her service. The Queen appeared pretty much alarmed at this, and presently wrote a letter to me, in which were several expressions of great kindness.

“*Kensington, Oct. the 30th.*—If I have not answered all my dear Mrs. Freeman's letters (as indeed I should have done), I beg she would not impute it to any thing but the apprehensions I was in of saying, what might add to the ill impressions she has of me. For though I believe we are both of the same opinion in the main, I have the misfortune that I cannot agree exactly in every thing, and therefore what I say is not thought to have the least colour of reason in it, which makes me really not care to enter into particulars; but though I am unwilling to do it, it is impossible for me to help giving you some answer to your last letter, in which I find you think me insensible of every thing. I am very sorry, you, who have known me so long, can give way to such a thought, as that I do not think the parting with my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer of much consequence, because I did not mention any thing of my Lord Marlborough's kind letter concerning me. The reason of that was I really was in a great hurry when I writ to you, and not having time to write on that subject to both, I thought it was the most necessary to endeavour to let him see he had no reason to have suspicions, of any one's having power with me, besides himself and my Lord Treasurer, and I hope they will believe me.

“Can dear Mrs. Freeman think that I can be so stupid, as not to be sensible of the great services that my Lord Marlborough and my Lord Treasurer have done me, nor of the great misfortune it would be, if they should quit my service? No, sure, you cannot believe me to be so void of sense and gratitude. I never did, nor never will give them any just reason to forsake me; and they have too much honour and too sincere a love for their country to leave me without a cause. And I beg you would not add that to my other misfortunes, of pushing them on to such an unjust and unjustifiable action. I think I had best say no more for fear of being too troublesome. But whatever becomes of me, I shall always preserve a most sincere and tender passion for my dear Mrs. Freeman to my last moment.”

After my return to London, I had another kind letter from her Majesty in the following terms.

Saturday Night—“My dear Mrs. Freeman, I cannot go to bed without renewing a request that I have often made, that you would banish all unkind and unjust thoughts of your poor unfortunate, faithful Morley, which I saw by the glimpse I had of you yesterday you were full of. I indeed I do not deserve them, and if you could see my heart, you would find it as sincere, as tender, and passionately fond of you as ever, and *truly sensible of your kindness in telling me your mind upon all occasions*. Nothing shall ever alter me. Though we have the misfortune to differ in some things, I will ever be the same to my dear dear Mrs. Freeman, who I do assure once more, I am more tenderly and sincerely hers than it is possible ever to express.”

I was every day in expectation of hearing from Mrs. Masham, who, I supposed, would now endeavour to clear up what had created so much uneasiness between us. But, to my great surprise, I was twelve days at St. James's under the same roof with her, before I had so much as any message from her. At length having one night past by her window in my return home, she sent one of her maids to my woman to ask *her* how I did, and to let me know that she was going to Kensington. This behaviour was so very ridiculous, that the next time I saw the Queen I could not forbear speaking of it, and at the same time telling her all that had past between us. The Queen looked grave and said, "she was mightily in the right not to come near me." I answered that I did not understand *that*, since she had expressed such a concern at my displeasure, and since the clearing up of matters had been reserved to our meeting. The Queen replied, that "it was very natural for her to be afraid to come to me, when she saw I was angry with her." To this I answered, that "she could have no reason to be afraid, unless she knew herself guilty of some crime." It was the Queen's usual way on any occasion, where she was predetermined (and my Lord Marlborough has told me that it was her father's) to repeat over and over some principal words she had resolved to use, and to stick firmly to them. She continued therefore to say, *it was very natural, and she was very much in the right*. So that this conversation with her Majesty produced nothing but an undeniable proof, that the new favourite was deeply rooted in her heart and affections; and that it was thought more advisable to let the breach between me and Mrs. Masham grow wider and wider, than to use any method to make it up.

But now within two days, Mrs. Masham contrived to make me a visit when I was abroad. Upon observing this, and considering that our meeting could be to no purpose but to draw fruitless and false professions from her, I gave a general order to my servants to say, whenever she should call, that I was not at home. After some time, it was thought proper that she should write to me, and desire I would see her; to which I consented, and appointed her a time. When she came, I began to tell her, *that it was very plain, that the Queen was much changed towards me, and that I could not attribute this to any thing but her secret management; that I knew she had been very frequently with her Majesty in private, and that the very attempt to conceal this, by artifice, from such a friend as I had been to her, was alone a very ill sign, and enough to prove a very bad purpose at bottom*. To this she answered, *that she was sure the Queen, who had loved me extremely, would always be very kind to me!* It was some minutes before I could recover from the surprise, with which so extraordinary an answer struck me. To see a woman whom I had raised out of the dust, put on such a superior air, and to hear her assure me, by way of consolation, *that the Queen would always be very kind to me!* At length I went on to reproach her with her ingratitude and her secret management with the Queen to undermine those, who had so long, and with so much honour served her Majesty. To this she answered, *that she never spoke to the Queen about business, but that she sometimes gave her petitions, which came to the back stairs, and with which she knew I did not care to be troubled*. And with such insincere answers she thought to colour over the matter, while I knew for certain, she had, before this, obtained pensions for several of her friends, and had frequently paid to others, out of the privy purse, sums of money, which the Queen had ordered me to bring her; and that she was, every day, long with her Majesty in private.

But thus our conversation ended, and when we had sat a while silent, she rose up and said, "she hoped I would give her leave to come sometimes and inquire after my health;" which, however, it is plain, she did not design to do; for she never once came near me after this. Notwithstanding which, when she owned her marriage publicly, I went with Lady Sunderland to visit her; not that I intended to have any further intercourse with her, or to dissemble the ill opinion I had of her (as I had fully resolved to let her *then* know, in case I found an opportunity of speaking to her privately), but purely out of respect to the Queen, and to avoid any noise or disagreeable discourse, which my refusing that ordinary part of civility might occasion.

Not many days after this, I went to pay my respects to the Queen in the Christmas holidays, and before I went in, I learnt from the page that Mrs. Masham was just then sent for. The moment I saw her Majesty, I plainly perceived she was very uneasy. She stood all the while I was with her, and looked as coldly upon me, as if her intention was, that I should no longer doubt of my loss of her affections. Upon observing what reception I had, I said, "I was very sorry I had happened to come so unseasonably." I was making my courtesy to go away, when the Queen, with a great deal of disorder in her face, and without speaking one word, took me by the hand: and when thereupon I stooped to kiss her's, she took me up with a very cold embrace, and then, without one kind word, let me go. So strange a treatment of me, after my long and faithful services, and after such repeated assurances from her Majesty of an unalterable affection, made me think that I ought, in justice to myself, as well as in regard to my mistress's interest, to write to her in the plainest and sincerest manner possible, and expostulate with her upon her change to me, and upon the new counsels, by which she seemed to be wholly governed. My letter was in these terms.

"*December the 27th, 1707.*—If Mrs. Morley will be so just as to reflect and examine impartially her last reception of Mrs. Freeman, how very different from what it has been formerly, when you were glad to see her come in, and sorry when she went away; certainly you can't wonder at her reproaches, upon an embrace that seemed to have no satisfaction in it, but that of getting rid of her, in order to enjoy the conversation of one, that has the good fortune to please you much better, though I am sure no body did ever endeavour it with more sincerity than Mrs. Freeman has done. And if I had considered only my interest and that of my family, I might have borne this change without any complaint. For I believe Mrs. Morley would be sincere in doing us any good. But I have once been honoured with an open, kind confidence and trust, and that made all my service agreeable; and it is not possible to lose it without a mortification too great to be passed in silence, being sure I have never done any thing to forfeit it, having never betrayed nor abused that confidence, by giving you a false representation of any body. My temper is naturally plain and sincere, and Mrs. Morley did like it for many years. It is not in the least altered. But I can't help thinking those things reasonable that appear to be so. And I appeal to God Almighty, that I never designed or pursued any thing, but as I was thoroughly convinced it was for Mrs. Morley's true interest and honour: and, I think, I may safely put it to that trial, if any thing has yet proved unsuccessful, that was of any public consequence, that Mrs. Freeman has been earnest to persuade Mrs. Morley to. And it is not possible for me to dissemble so as to appear what I am not.

"So much by way of apology for what happened upon Wednesday last. And if Mrs. Morley has any remains of the tenderness she once professed for her faithful Freeman, I would beg she might be treated one of these two ways, either with the openness and confidence of a friend, as she was for twenty years; (for to pretend kindness without trust and openness of heart is a treatment for children, not friends;) or else to that manner, that is necessary for the post she is in, which unavoidably forces her to be often troubling Mrs. Morley upon the account of others. And if she pleases to chuse which of these ways, or any other she likes to have Mrs. Freeman live in, she promises to follow any rule that is laid down that is possible, and is resolved to her life's end, and upon all occasions to shew, that Mrs. Morley never had a more faithful servant."

My Lord Marlborough or my Lord Godolphin (I have forgot which) carried my letter. The Queen took no notice of it to either of these Lords. But some days after she wrote me an answer, in which she very much softened what had past. I was much pleased to find her Majesty in that disposition; and once more put on as easy an appearance as I could.

But in a very short time after this, the great breach at court became public. Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin had often told the Queen in the most respectful manner, that it was impossible for them to do her any service, while Mr. Harley was in her confidence. Her Majesty nevertheless seemed determined not to part with him; till at length those two Lords, being urged by necessity to it, declared their resolution to serve no longer with him, and they absented themselves from the council. Mr. Harley would have proceeded to business without them when the council met, but the Duke of Somerset said, he did not see how it could be to any purpose, when neither the General nor the Treasurer was present; whereupon the council immediately broke up. This had such an effect upon the Queen, that, very soon after, Mr. Harley was dismissed from his post.

Such a compliance with the ministers seemed to the world a very great concession, but was in truth nothing. For it was evident by what followed, that this appearance of giving up Mr. Harley was with his own consent, and by his own advice, who, as long as Mrs. Masham continued in favour, would, under pretence of visiting her, (who was his cousin) have all the opportunities he could wish for, of practising upon the passions and credulity of the Queen; and the method of correspondding with him had been settled some time before; I was fully apprised of all this; yet I resolved to try, if by being easy and quiet I could regain any influence with her Majesty. She had given me some encouragement to hope it. For when, a little before Mr. Harley's dismission, Lord Marlborough resolved to quit the service, and when on that occasion I had with tears (which a tender concern at the thought of parting from her Majesty made me shed) represented to her, that if the Duke retired, it would be improper, and even impossible, for me to stay at court after him, she declared, "that she could not bear the thought of my leaving her, and that it must never be." And at that time she made me a promise that if ever I should leave her, (which, she again said, *must never be*) she would bestow any Offices among my children.

Nay, the whigs had some reason to flatter themselves about this time, that her Majesty would become better disposed to them, than she had hitherto been.

The Pretender's attempt to land in Scotland, which happened about this time, gave her an alarm, that seemed to bring a conviction along with it, that

the whigs were the most to be depended upon for the support of her government ; at least what she said in her answer to the Lords' address, upon the occasion, had this appearance. But as the danger presently blew over, and as her fears ceased with the cause of them, so all the hope which the whigs had raised in themselves from those fears, presently vanished,

However, by the manner in which her Majesty wrote to the Duke of Marlborough, in a letter dated May 6th, 1708, she seems still to have retained a great degree of regard for him. After complaining to him of being so tired, that day, with importunities from whigs, that she had not spirits left to open her afflicted heart so freely and fully as she intended, she goes on to say, she is entirely of his opinion, thinking it neither for her honour nor interest to make steps (meaning the first steps) towards a peace, as the Duke had been pressed to do abroad ; and assures him, that whatever insinuations her enemies might make to the contrary, she would never give her consent to a peace, but upon safe and honourable terms. She begs the Duke to be so just to her, as not to let the misrepresentations, made of her, have any weight with him : Adding, that it would be a greater trouble to her than could be expressed, and concludes with these words,—“I cannot end without begging you to be very careful of yourself, there being no body, I am sure, that prays more heartily than her; who will live and die most sincerely yours, &c.”

The campaign of 1708 proved very glorious to the Duke of Marlborough by the victory at Oudenarde, the taking of Lisle, and the saving of Brussels.

Her Majesty, on occasion of the victory, wrote the following letter to him.

“*Windsor, July the 6th, 1708.*—I want words to express the joy I have that you are well, after your glorious success ; for which, next to God Almighty, my thanks are due to you. And indeed I can never say enough for all the great and faithful services you have ever done me. But be so just as to believe, I am as truly sensible of them as a grateful heart can be, and shall be ready to show it upon all occasions. I hope you cannot doubt of my esteem and friendship for you, nor think that because I differ with you in some things, it is for want of either : no, I do assure you. If you were here, I am sure you would not think me so much in the wrong in some things, as I fear you do now. I am afraid my letter should come too late to London, and therefore dare say no more, but that I pray God Almighty to continue his protection over you, and send you safe home again. And be assured I shall ever be sincerely your

“*Humble Servant.*”

To this the Duke answered.

“*July 23d, 1708.*—MADAM,—I have the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 6th, and am very thankful for all your goodness to me. And I am sure it will always be my intention, as well as duty to be ready to venture my life for your service.

“As I have formerly told your Majesty that I am desirous to serve you in the army, but not as a minister, I am every day more and more confirmed in that opinion. And I think myself obliged upon all accounts, on this occasion, to speak my mind freely to you. The circumstances in this last battle, I think, shew the hand of God ; for we were obliged not only to march five leagues that morning, but to pass a river before the enemy, and to engage them before the whole army was passed, which was a visible mark of the favour of heaven to you and your arms.

“Your Majesty shall be convinced from this time, that I have no ambition, or any thing to ask for myself or family. But I will end the few years which

I have to live in endeavouring to serve you, and to give God Almighty thanks for his infinite goodness to me. But as I have taken this resolution to myself, give me leave to say, that I think you are obliged in conscience, and as a good Christian, to forgive, and to have no more resentments to any particular person or party, but to make use of such as will carry on this just war with vigour; which is the only way to preserve our religion and liberties, and the crown on your head. Which that you may long enjoy, and be a blessing to your people, shall be the constant wish and prayer of him, that is with the greatest truth and duty,

"Madam, &c."

But now, what was very strange, the successes of my Lord Marlborough this year seemed rather to lower his credit with her Majesty, than to raise it; a thing so extremely out of the common course of nature, that no one, I think, can doubt of it's being the pure effect of art, the product of that wonderful talent Mr. Harley possessed, in the supreme degree, of confounding the common sense of mankind.

The Duke was perfectly sensible of the change in her Majesty towards him, and having complained of it in a letter to me, I sent this letter to her, inclosed in the following one from myself.

"I cannot help sending your Majesty this letter, to shew how exactly Lord Marlborough agrees with me in my opinion, that he has now no interest with you: Though when I said so in the church on Thursday (19th Aug. 1708.), you were pleased to say it was untrue. And yet I think he will be surprised to hear that when I had taken so much pains to put your jewels in a way that I thought you would like, Mrs. Masham could make you refuse to wear them, in so unkind a manner; because that was a power she had not thought fit to exercise before. I will make no reflections upon it; only that I must needs observe, that your Majesty chose a very wrong day to mortify me, when you were just going to return thanks for a victory obtained by Lord Marlborough."

In answer to this, her Majesty was pleased to write to me these few words:

"*Sunday*.—After the commands you gave me on the thanksgiving day of not answering you, I should not have troubled you with these lines, but to return the Duke of Marlborough's letter safe into your hands, and for the same reason do not say any thing to that, nor to yours which enclosed it."

Upon receiving so extraordinary a letter, I could not avoid writing again as follows.

"I shall not trouble your Majesty with any answer to your last short letter but to explain what you seem to mistake in what I said at church. I desired you not to answer me there for fear of being overheard. And this you interpret as if I had desired you not to answer me at all, which was far from my intention. For the whole end of my writing to you so often, was to get your answer to several things in which we differed, that if I was in the wrong, you might convince me of it, and I should very readily have owned my mistakes. But since you have not been pleased to show them to me, I flatter myself that, I have said several things to you that are unanswerable. And I hope some time or other you will find leisure to reflect upon them, and will convince Lord Marlborough, that he is mistaken in thinking that he has no credit with you, by hearkening sometimes to his advice; and then I hope you will never more be troubled with disagreeable letters from me: for I should be much better pleased to say and do every thing you like. But I should think myself wanting in my duty to your Majesty, if I saw you so much in the wrong, as without prejudice or passion, I really think you are in several particulars I have mentioned, and

did not tell you of it. And the rather, because nobody else cares to speak out upon so ungrateful a subject. The word *command*, which you use at the beginning of your letter, is very unfitly supposed to come from me. For though I have always writ to you as a friend, and lived with you as such for so many years with all the truth and honesty and zeal for your service that was possible, yet I shall never forget that I am your subject, nor cease to be a faithful one."

Through the whole summer after Mr. Harley's dismissal, the Queen continued to have secret correspondence with him. And that this might be the better managed, she staid all the sultry season, even when the Prince was panting for breath, in that small house, she had formerly purchased at Windsor, which, though as hot as an oven, was then said to be cool, because from the park such persons, as Mrs. Masham had a mind to bring to her Majesty, could be let in privately by the garden.

And when upon the death of the Prince, one would have thought that her Majesty's real grief would have made her avoid every place and every object that might sensibly revive the remembrance of her loss, she chose for her place of retirement his closet, and for some weeks, spent many hours in it every day. I was amazed at this; and when I spoke to her of it, she seemed surprised, just like a person who on a sudden becomes sensible of her having done something she would not have done, had she duly considered. But the true reason of her Majesty's chusing this closet to sit in, was that the back-stairs belonging to it came from Mrs. Masham's lodgings, who by that means could secretly bring to her whom she pleased.

And that a correspondence was thus carried on with Mr. Harley, became every day more and more manifest by the difficulties and objections which her Majesty had learnt to raise against almost every thing proposed by her ministers. Nay, it is well known, that Mr. Harley and his associates, when at length they had compassed their designs, and got into the management of affairs, did often (both in their cups and out of them) boast that they, while the Queen's ministers were asleep, were frequently at court giving advice in secret, how to perplex them in all their measures.

But they were much mistaken, if they imagined that their proceedings at the time I am speaking of, were so entirely covered. The ministers were fully convinced of the truth, and frequently represented to her Majesty, what a discouragement it was to them in their endeavours for her service, to find that she had no confidence in them, but was influenced by the counsel of others who counterworked them in every instance. Upon this subject, I myself wrote and spoke a great deal to her with my usual plainness and zeal. But finding, not only that I could make no impression on her in this respect, but that her change towards me in particular was every day more and more apparent, I at length went to her, and begged to know what my crime was, that had wrought in her so great an alteration. This drew from the Queen a letter, dated October 26, 1709, wherein she charges me "with inveteracy," as her word is "against poor Masham," and "with having nothing so much at heart as the ruin of my cousin." In speaking of the misunderstandings betwixt her Majesty and me, she says, they are "for nothing that she knows of, but because she cannot see with my eyes, and hear with my ears." And adds, "that it is impossible for me to recover her former kindness, but that she shall behave herself to me, as the Duke of Marlborough's wife, and her groom of the stole." This declaration so plain and express of her Majesty's thorough change towards me was the more extraordinary, as in this same letter are these words,

"you have asked me once or twice if you had committed any fault that I was so changed, and I told you, no; because I do not think it a crime in any one not to be of my mind."

Upon receipt of this letter, I immediately set myself to draw up a long narrative of a series of faithful services for about 26 years past; of the great sense the Queen formerly had of my services; of the great favour I had been honoured with on account of them; of the use I had made of that favour and of my losing it now by the artifice of my enemies, and particularly of one, whom I had raised out of the dust. And knowing how great a respect her Majesty had for the writings of certain eminent divines, I added to my narrative, the directions given by the author of the *whole duty of man* with relation to friendship; the directions in the *common prayer book* before the communion with regard to reconciliation, together with the rules laid down by Bishop Taylor upon the same head; and I concluded with giving my word to her Majesty, that if after reading these, she would please only to answer in two words, that she was still of the same opinion, as when she wrote that harsh letter, which occasioned her this trouble, I would never more give her the least trouble upon any subject, but the business of my office, as long as I should have the honour to continue her servant: assuring her, that however she might be changed towards me, and how much soever we might still differ in opinion, I should ever remember that she was my Mistress and my Queen, and should always pay her the respect due from a faithful servant and dutiful subject.

I sent from St. Albans this narrative, which she promised to read and answer. And ten days after, writing to me upon another occasion, she said she had not leisure yet to read all my papers, but when she had, she would send me some answer. But none ever came: nor had my papers any apparent effect on her Majesty, except that, after my coming to town, as she was passing by me, in order to receive the communion, she looked with much good nature and very graciously smiled upon me. But the smile and pleasant look I had reason afterwards to think were given to Bishop Taylor and the *common prayer book*, and not to me.

In the beginning of January 1709-10 the Earl of Essex died; and the Queen presently wrote to the Duke of Marlborough to give his regiment to Mr. Hill, a man who had been basely ungrateful to me who raised him; and whose sister, Mrs. Masham, the Duke well knew was at this time undermining the interest of himself, his family and friends.

The scheme of the Queen's new counsellors to make her ministers quit her service, or engage her to discard them, began now to appear without disguise. They durst not tell her Majesty at once all they designed, but, proposing to her only one thing at a time, led her by insensible degrees to the accomplishment of the whole. They began, as I before observed, with engaging her to nominate persons to bishoprics without consulting her ministers. And now they prevailed with her to appoint military officers, without advising with her general. And nothing could be more to their purpose, than this choice of Mr. Hill for Lord Essex's regiment, because they knew that nothing could be more disagreeable to the Duke of Marlborough, or would tend more to lessen his weight and authority in the army, and consequently at home too. The new counsellors saw that if the Duke readily yielded in this matter, it would sow discontent among the officers, and that a door would be opened for his enemies to come into the army and insult him. And on the other hand, if the Duke should not comply, or should show any

reluctance in complying, this would furnish an excellent pretence for grievous complaints and outcries, *that the Queen was but a cypher and could do nothing.* It was indeed by representing her to herself, as a slave to the Marlborough family, that they worked upon her passions; while at the same time (as is too evident) they meant to make her in reality *their* slave, to do for them those drudgeries that would dishonour her, instead of following the counsels of ministers, whose fidelity she had experienced, and who had carried her glory to the highest pitch.

Upon this message from the Queen, the Duke waited upon her, and with all humility represented to her, what a prejudice it would be to her service, to have so young an officer preferred before so many others of higher rank and longer service. Besides, that the shewing so extraordinary and partial favour to Mrs. Masham's brother, could be interpreted no otherwise than as a declaring against all those who had so much reason to be uneasy with her; and that indeed it would be setting up a banner for all the discontented persons in the army to repair to. In short the Duke said every thing he could think of, and with all the moving concern that the nature of the affair created in him, to engage her Majesty to change her resolution. But all seemed to no purpose. He could not draw one kind expression from her, nor obtain any answer, but *that he would do well to advise with his friends.*

Lord Godolphin spoke often to her upon the same subject, representing to her the Duke's long, great, and faithful services, and the very bad influence which her intended favour to Mr. Hill must necessarily have in the army. But neither had this so much effect as to engage her to say one favourable word about the Duke. On the 15th of January therefore he left the town and went to Windsor in great discontent. It was council-day. The Queen did not ask where he was, nor take the least notice of his absence. His withdrawing himself made a great noise in the town. Many of the nobility spoke with earnestness to the Queen of the very ill consequences of mortifying a man, who had done her so long and important services. Her Majesty answered, that his services were still fresh in her memory, and that she had as much kindness for him as ever she had. The noise however still continued and increased, and there was a great discourse, not without probability, that some notice would be taken of the matter in the House of Commons, and some votes past disagreeable to her Majesty and her new counsellors. This design was laid to my charge, but I said enough to the Queen to vindicate myself from it. And it was indeed owing to the Duke's particular friends in the House, that no such notice was taken.

The new counsellors being alarmed with apprehensions of what the Parliament might do, and believing that they should be able at a proper season to make better use of the Queen's yielding up the point, than of her insisting upon it, gave her advice accordingly: so that January the 20th, she ordered Lord Godolphin to write to the Duke, *that he might dispose of the regiment as he himself thought fit:* and to desire him to come to town. But before this reached Lord Marlborough, he had written the following letter to the Queen.

"MADAM,—By what I heard from London, I find your Majesty is pleased to think, that when I have reflected, I must be of opinion, that you are in the right in giving Mr. Hill the Earl of Essex's regiment. I beg your Majesty will be so just to me, as not to think I can be so unreasonable, as to be mortified to the degree that I am, if it proceeded only from this one thing; for I shall always be ready and glad to do every thing that is agreeable to you, after I have

represented what may be a prejudice to your service. But this is only one of a great many mortifications, that I have met with. And as I may not have many opportunities of writing to you, let me beg your Majesty to reflect what your own people, and the rest of the world must think, who have been witnesses of the love, zeal and duty, with which I have served you, when they shall see that after all I have done, it has not been able to protect me against the malice of a bed-chamber woman. Your Majesty will allow me on this occasion to re-mind you of what I writ to you the last campaign, of the certain knowledge I had of Mrs. Masham's having assured Mr. Harley, that I should receive such constant mortifications, as should make it impossible for me to continue in your service. God Almighty and the whole world are my witnesses, with what care and pains I have served you for more than twenty years, and I was resolved, if possible, to have struggled with the difficulties to the end of this war. But the many instances I have had of your Majesty's great change to me, has so broke my spirits, that I must beg as the greatest and last favour, that you will approve of my retiring, so that I may employ the little time I have to live, in making my just acknowledgements to God, for the protection he has been pleased to give me. And your Majesty may be assured that my zeal for you and my country is so great, that in my retirement I shall daily pray for your prosperity, and that those, who shall serve you as faithfully as I have done, may never feel the hard return that I have met with."

The Queen wrote him an answer, expressing some concern at several parts of his letter, assuring him, without entering into particulars, that he had no ground for suspicions, and desiring him to come to town.

But fearing at the same time that some motion might be made in Parliament against Mrs. Masham, which might be attended with very disagreeable consequences, she sent about in much concern, to many persons to stand by her, as if some great attack were going to be made upon her. This application and the closetting some persons, who were known enemies to the Revolution, gave encouragement to the jacobites; several of whom were now observed running to court with faces full of business and satisfaction, as if they were going to get the Government into their hands. And this being represented to the Queen, as a kind of victory gained by her over the Marlborough family, was doubtless one means of hindering all thoughts of a real accommodation.

In about a month after this, both Houses of Parliament addressed the Queen to order the Duke of Marlborough over into Holland, to attend to the great affair of a peace, (towards which there were then some overtures) and in case that project did not take effect, to prepare for an early opening the campaign.

The Queen in her answer to that address used these words.—"I am very glad to find by this address, that you concur with me in a just sense of the Duke of Marlborough's eminent services."

But notwithstanding this, he had not been long gone, before her Majesty gave a signal proof how much his declared enemies were in her favour, by granting Mr. Hill a pension of 1000 *l.* a year. (And in some time, she made both him and Mr. Masham (men of little or no service) general officers, over the heads of many brave men, who had frequently hazarded their lives in her service, and had gone through the toils and hardships of a tedious war.)

In the mean time, as to myself, I learnt that the Queen was made to believe that I often spoke of her in company disrespectfully. And I know myself wholly free from the guilt of this charge, and indeed incapable of it, I waited

on her Majesty the 3d of April 1710, and begged of her that she would be pleased to give me a private hour, because I had something which I was very desirous of saying to her Majesty, before I went out of town. I named three several hours, in which I knew the Queen used to be alone, but she refused them all, in a very unusual and surprising manner: and at last she herself appointed six o'clock the next day, the hour of prayers, when she could least of all expect to be at leisure for any particular conversation. But even this small favour, though promised, was not thought advisable to be granted by her new counsellors. For, that night, she wrote a letter to me, in which she desired me "to lay before her in writing whatever I had to say, and to gratify myself by going into the country as soon as I could." I took the first opportunity of waiting upon the Queen again, and used all the arguments I could to obtain a private audience; alledging, that when her Majesty should hear what I had to say, she would herself perceive it impossible to put things of that nature into writing; that I was now going out of town for a great while, and perhaps should never have occasion to give her a like trouble as long as I lived. The Queen refused it several times in a manner hard to be described, but at last appointed the next day after dinner. Yet upon farther consideration it was thought advisable to break this appointment: for, the next morning she wrote to me to let me know, "that she should dine at Kensington, and that she once more desired me to put my thoughts into writing."

To this I wrote an answer, begging that her Majesty would give me leave to follow her to Kensington; and, that she might not apprehend a greater trouble than she would receive, I assured her Majesty, that what I had to say would not create any dispute or uneasiness, (it relating only to the clearing myself from some things which, I had heard, had very wrongfully been laid to my charge,) and could have no consequence, either in obliging her Majesty to answer, or to see me oftner than would be easy to her: adding, that if that afternoon were not convenient, I would come every day and wait till her Majesty would please to allow me to speak to her. Upon the sixth of April I followed this letter to Kensington, and by that means prevented the Queen's writing again to me, as she was preparing to do. The page who went in to acquaint the Queen that I was come to wait upon her Majesty staid longer than usual; long enough, it is to be supposed, to give time to deliberate whether the favour of admission should be granted, and to settle the measures of behaviour if I were admitted. But at last he came out, and told me I might go in. As I was entering the Queen said she was just going to write to me. And when I began to speak she interrupted me four or five times with these repeated words, "whatever you have to say, you may put it in writing." I said, her Majesty never did so hard a thing to any, as to refuse to hear them speak, and assured her, that I was not going to trouble her upon the subject which I knew to be ungrateful to her, but that I could not possibly rest till I had cleared myself from some particular calumnies with which I had been loaded. I then went on to speak, (though the Queen turned away her face from me,) and to represent my hard case: that there were those about her Majesty, who had made her believe that I had said things of her, which I was no more capable of saying than of killing my own children; that I seldom named her Majesty in company, and never without respect, and the like. The Queen said, "Without doubt there were many lies told." I then begged, in order to make this trouble the shorter, and my own innocence the plainer, that I might know the particulars of which I had been accused. Because, if I were guilty,

that would quickly appear; and if I were innocent, this method only would clear me. The Queen replied, "that she would give me no answer," laying hold on a word in my letter, that what I had to say in my vindication, "would have no consequence in obliging her Majesty to answer," &c. which surely did not at all imply, that I did not desire to know the particular things laid to my charge, without which it was impossible for me to clear myself. This I assured her Majesty was all I desired, and that "I did not ask the names of the authors or relators of those calumnies," saying all that I could think reasonable, to enforce my just request. But the Queen repeated again and again the words she had used, without ever receding. And it is possible that this conversation had never been consented to, but that her Majesty had been carefully provided with those words, as a shield to defend her against every reason I could offer. I protested to her Majesty, that I had no design in giving her this trouble, to solicit the return of her favour, but that my sole view was to clear myself; which was too just a design to be disappointed by her Majesty. Upon this, the Queen offered to go out of the room, I following her, and begging leave to clear myself; and the Queen repeating over and over again, "You desired no answer, and shall have none." When she came to the door, I fell into great disorder; streams of tears flowed down against my will, and prevented my speaking for some time. At length I recovered myself, and appealed to the Queen, in the vehemence of my concern, whether I might not still have been happy in her Majesty's favour, if I could have contradicted or dissembled my real opinion of men, or things? whether I had ever, during our long friendship, told her one lie, or played the hypocrite once? whether I had offended in any thing, unless in a very zealous pressing upon her, that which I thought necessary for her service and security? I then said I was informed by a very reasonable and credible person about the court, that things were laid to my charge of which I was wholly incapable; that this person knew that such stories were perpetually told to her Majesty to incense her, and had begged of me to come and vindicate myself; that the same person had thought me of late guilty of some omissions towards her Majesty, being entirely ignorant how uneasy to her my frequent attendance must be, after what had happened between us. I explained some things which I had heard her Majesty had taken amiss of me, and then with a fresh flood of tears, and a concern sufficient to move compassion, even where all love was absent, I begged to know what other particulars she had heard of me, that I might not be denied all power of justifying myself. But still the only return was, "You desired no answer, and you shall have none." I then begged to know if her Majesty would tell me some other time?—"You desired no answer, and you shall have none." I then appealed to her Majesty again, if she did not herself know that I had often despised interest in comparison of serving her faithfully and doing right? And whether she did not know me to be of a temper incapable of disowning any thing which I knew to be true?—"You desired no answer, and you shall have none." This usage was so severe, and these words, so often repeated, were so shocking (being an utter denial of common justice to one who had been a most faithful servant, and now asked nothing more) that I could not conquer myself, but said the most disrespectful thing I ever spoke to the Queen in my life, and yet, what such an occasion and such circumstances might well excuse, if not justify. And that was, that "I was confident her Majesty would suffer for such an act of inhumanity." The Queen answered, "that will be to myself." Thus ended this remarkable conversation, the last I

ever had with her Majesty. I shall make no comment upon it. The Queen always meant well, how much soever she might be blinded or misguided. But in a letter, which I had from the Duke of Marlborough, about eight months before, there is something so pertinent to the present occasion, that I cannot forbear transcribing the passage.

Aug. 26, 1709.——“It has always been my observation in disputes, especially in that of kindness and friendship, that all reproaches, though ever so just, serve to no end but making the breach wider. I cannot help being of opinion, that however insignificant we may be, there is a power above, that puts a period to our happiness or unhappiness. If any body had told me, eight years ago, that after such great success, and after you had been a faithful servant 27 years, that even in the Queen's life time, we should be obliged to seek happiness in a retired life, I could not have believed that possible.”

I never saw the Queen after the interview I have been speaking of, nor ever had any correspondence with her, except on two occasions relating to the public, one of which I shall now mention, because it was the very next day after our parting. I received a letter from Lord Marlborough, with one enclosed to Lord Godolphin, who was then at New-market, and whose letters, at such times, and when dispatch was required, I had the privilege to open. In this letter the Duke gave Lord Godolphin an account of a man then coming to England, who, as Prince Eugene informed him, had been guilty of many vile practices at Vienna, and was a very great villain, desiring that he might not be admitted to see the Queen, but be immediately sent out of England. Hereupon I wrote a letter to her Majesty, in which, after saying that I thought it my duty to impart to her without delay what so nearly concerned her, I added, that I could not forbear taking notice of the usage I had met with, the day before, when I waited upon her; and when my only business was to be heard on a point that touched me very sensibly, in order to clear myself from what had been laid to my charge if I were innocent; or to beg pardon, if in any thing I had done amiss.

All the answer I received to this letter was in these few words, dated from Kensington.

“I received yours, with one enclosed from the D. of M. to Lord Treasurer, just as I was coming down stairs from St. James's, so could not return the enclosed back, till I came to this place.”

But notwithstanding this thorough alienation of the Queen's affections from me, I was not yet divested of my employments. Perhaps it was not yet determined who should succeed me; nor whether it were proper, that Lord Marlborough should have that mortification, before the season was fully ripe for the execution of the new scheme. Matters had been greatly advanced towards maturity by the business of Sacheverel, which had engaged the attention of the nation for the greater part of the last winter. Every body knows that whole story, and the terrible cry that was raised about the danger of the church, from the attempt that was made in a Parliamentary way, to punish an ignorant, impudent incendiary, a man who was the scorn even of those who made use of him as a tool. I shall only observe, that the Duke of Shrewsbury, who had voted for the acquittal of that scurrilous declaimer against the Queen's ministers, was, in about three weeks after, appointed Lord Chamberlain by her Majesty.

When the Queen had resolved to make this step, she thought fit to write to my Lord Godolphin, then at New-market, to acquaint him with her reso.

lution, and that she hoped she should have his approbation in this and all her actions. The answer which he returned to her Majesty is so great a proof of his honest heart and clear understanding, and of the injustice of those whigs, who did not scruple to call in question his zeal and even his sincerity in their cause, that I think it is but discharging a debt I owe to his memory, to give a copy of his letter.

"*New-market, April 15th, 1710.*—I have the honour of your Majesty's letter of the 13th, by which I have the grief to find that what you are pleased to call spleen in my former letter, was only a true impulse and conviction of mind, that your Majesty is suffering yourself to be guided to your own ruin and destruction as fast as it is possible for them to compass it, to whom you seem so much to hearken.

"I am not therefore so much surprised, as concerned at the resolution which your Majesty says you have taken, of bringing in the Duke of Shrewsbury. For when people began to be sensible it would be difficult to persuade your Majesty to dissolve a Parliament, which for two winters together, had given you above six millions a year for the support of a war, upon which your crown depends; even while that war is still subsisting, they have had the cunning to contrive this proposal to your Majesty, which in its consequence will certainly put you under a necessity of breaking the Parliament, though contrary (I yet believe) to your mind and intention.

"I beg your Majesty to be persuaded, I do not say this out of the least prejudice to the Duke of Shrewsbury. There is no man of whose capacity I have had a better impression, nor with whom I have lived more easily and freely for above twenty years. Your Majesty may please to remember, that at your first coming to the crown, I was desirous he should have had one of the chief posts in your service; and it would have been happy for your Majesty and the kingdom, if he had accepted that offer: But he thought fit to decline it, and the reasons generally given at that time for his doing so, do not much recommend him to your Majesty's service. But I must endeavour to let your Majesty see things as they really are. And to bring him into your service and into your business at this time, just after his being in a public open conjunction in every vote with the whole body of the Tories, and in a private, constant correspondence and caballing with Mr. Harley in every thing, what consequence can this possibly have, but to make every man that is now in your cabinet council except

to run from it as they would from the plague. And I leave it to your Majesty to judge, what effect this entire change of your ministers will have among your allies abroad, and how well this war is like to be carried on, in their opinion, by those who have all along opposed and obstructed it, and who will like any peace the better, the more it leaves France at liberty, to take their time of imposing the Pretender upon this country.

"These considerations must certainly make Holland run immediately into a separate peace with France, and make your Majesty lose all the honour, and all the reputation your arms had acquired by the war; and make the kingdom lose all the fruits of that vast expence which they have been at in this war, as well as all the advantage and safety which they had so much need of, and had so fair a prospect of obtaining by it. And can any body imagine that after so great a disappointment to the kingdom, there will not be an enquiry into the causes of it; and who have been the occasion of so great a change in your Majesty's measures and counsels, which had been so long successful, and gotten

you so great a name in the world? I am very much afraid your Majesty will find, when it is too late, that it will be a pretty difficult task for any body to stand against such an enquiry. I am sure if I did not think all these consequences inevitable, I would never give your Majesty the trouble and uneasiness of laying them before you. But, persuaded as I am that your Majesty will find them so, it is my indispensable duty to do it out of pure faithfulness and zeal for your Majesty's service and honour. Your Majesty's having taken a resolution of so much consequence to all your affairs both at home and abroad, without acquainting the Duke of Marlborough or me with it, till after you had taken it, is the least part of my mortification in this whole affair. Though perhaps the world may think the long and faithful services we have constantly and zealously endeavoured to do your Majesty, might have deserved a little more consideration. However for my own part, I most humbly beg leave to assure your Majesty, I will never give the least obstruction to your measures, or to any ministers you shall please to employ. And I must beg further, to make two humble requests to your Majesty, the one, that you will allow me to pass the remainder of my life always out of London, where I may find most ease and quiet. The other, that you would keep this letter and read it again about next Christmas, and then be pleased to make your own judgment, who hath given you the best and most faithful advice, "I am," &c.

I think it is pretty plain from the Queen's letter, to which, what I have just now given was an answer, that her new counsellors did not open their whole scheme to her at once. For if they had, they certainly could never have engaged her to tell my Lord Godolphin that *she hoped he would approve of all her actions*. But they judged wisely, that passing on under their direction from one step to another, she would quickly come to a desperate necessity of going as far as they themselves wished.

About the beginning of June, the design of turning out Lord Sunderland began to be talked of. Lord Marlborough was now abroad at the head of the army.

As soon as the news of this design reached him, he wrote a very moving letter to the Queen, representing the very ill consequences it would necessarily have upon all affairs abroad, to have his son-in-law, against whose fidelity nothing could be objected, and in whom the allies had so entire a confidence, turned out of her service in the middle of a campaign; and begging it as a reward of all his past services, that she would at least delay her resolution till the campaign was ended. I was likewise urged by some friends to try to say something to divert if possible such a stroke; because it was given out that the Queen would do this chiefly on my account, that I might feel the effects of her displeasure in so sensible and tender a point. No consideration proper to myself, could have induced me to trouble the Queen again, after our last conversation. But I was overcome by the consideration of Lord Marlborough, Lord Sunderland and the public interest, and wrote in the best manner I could to the Queen June 7th, 1710, begging, for Lord Marlborough's sake, that she would not give him such a blow, of which I dreaded the consequence, putting her in mind of her letter about the Duke upon the victory at Blenheim; and adding, the most solemn assurances, that I had not so much as a wish to remove Mrs. Maaham, and that all the noise which had been about an address for that purpose, had been occasioned by Lord Marlborough's discontents at that time which most people thought were just. To this the Queen wrote a very short and harsh answer, complaining that I had broke my promise of not saying any

thing of politics, or of Mrs. Masham; and concluding, that it was plain from this ill usage what she was to expect for the future.

I could not forbear, for my own vindication, to write a second letter, in which I assured her Majesty, that I should not have troubled her with the first, but I heard it reported, that the persecution, begun against Lord Marlborough and his family, was chiefly occasioned by her Majesty's displeasure and aversion to me, as having promoted an address against Mrs. Masham; that it was only to vindicate myself from that aspersion, that I had presumed to trouble her; that I could not imagine it could be interpreted as an offence, to vindicate myself from what was now made the pretence for turning out Lord Sunderland, and pushing Lord Marlborough to extremities; that I had no reason to think, that the assuring her Majesty, that I would never have any hand in any thing against Mrs. Masham, could have been construed as an ungrateful speaking about her, or called a continuation of ill usage; that I thought this was rather a complying with her Majesty's inclination, and saying what she could not but approve; that all the politics in my letter was my concern for Lord Marlborough; making it at last my most earnest request, that her Majesty would only defer the blow till the end of the campaign. This, I added, I begged upon my knees, and left her Majesty to judge whether, after such an expression, it was likely that I should ever enter into any thing that could displease her.

Whether my interfering in this matter hastened the execution of the design, I cannot say. Certain it is that it did not retard it, for Lord Sunderland was presently after dismissed from his office. On which occasion several great men, who wished well to their country, and who feared that my Lord Marlborough might in disgust quit the service, immediately wrote him a joint letter, which I shall here insert, in honour both of them and the Duke.

"June 14th, 1710.—MY LORD, We should not have given your Grace the trouble of this joint letter, but for the great concern and uneasiness in which we find you, on account of my Lord Sunderland, by your letter of the 20th to my Lord Treasurer, which he has communicated to us. That letter, as moving and as reasonable as it was, has not hindered the seals from being taken this morning from my Lord Sunderland. No wonder then if the utmost endeavours which could be used to prevent it, and the strong arguments which have been made of the ill consequences, that must attend such steps both at home and abroad have met with so little success. We find ourselves so much afflicted with this misfortune, that we cannot but be extremely sensible of the great mortification this must give you at this critical juncture, when you are every moment hazarding your life in the service of your country, and whilst the fate of Europe depends in so great a degree on your conduct and good success: But we are also as fully convinced that it is impossible for your Grace to quit the service at this time, without the utmost hazard to the whole alliance. And we must therefore conjure you by the glory you have already obtained, by the many services you have done your Queen and country, by the expectation you have justly raised in all Europe, and by all that is dear and tender to you at home, whose chief dependance is upon your success, that you would not leave this great work unfinished, but continue at the head of the army. This we look upon as the most necessary step that can be taken to prevent the dissolution of this Parliament. Your Grace's compliance with this our earnest request would be the greatest obligation to us, and all that wish well to our country. And you may depend upon it, that the contrary will be the greatest

satisfaction to your enemies. We are, my Lord, your Grace's most humble, and obedient servants, COWPER C., GODOLPHIN, SOMERS, NEWCASTLE, DEVONSHIRE, ORFORD, HALLIFAX, H. BOYLE."

The removal of my Lord Sunderland, who was so nearly allied to the Duke of Marlborough, as it had an immediate effect on the funds and the public credit at home, so it gave an alarm to all the courts concerned in the grand alliance; an event, which brought the Queen's private counsellors under a fresh necessity of deceiving her, and engaged her to promise what they had determined she should not perform. For not only the strongest assurances were given here, that there was no thought of any other changes, but Mr. Secretary Boyle had orders from the Queen to write to the foreign courts in her name, and assure them, that all fears were groundless, and that she would continue the administration of her affairs in the hands of her present ministry, of whose abilities she had had so long experience. And yet in less than two months after this, and even the very day after the Queen had expressed her desire to my Lord Godolphin himself, that he would continue in her service, she dismissed him; and her letter of order to him to break his staff, was sent by no worthier a messenger than a man in livery, to be left with his Lordship's porter. A proceeding which in all its parts would remain very unaccountable, if the Queen herself had not, to those who expostulated with her, made this undoubtedly true declaration, *that she was sorry for it, but could not help it.* Unhappy necessity! that urged her to dismiss a minister of my Lord Godolphin's experienced abilities and integrity, and to put into his place a person, whom I indeed should be at a loss to describe, but of whom a friend of mine, many years ago, drew the following just character.

"He was a cunning and a dark man, of too small abilities to do much good, but of all the qualities requisite to do mischief, and to bring on the ruin and destruction of a nation. This mischievous darkness of his Soul was written in his countenance, and plainly legible in a very odd look, disagreeable to every body at first sight, which being joined with a constant, aukward motion or rather agitation of his head and body, betrayed a turbulent dishonesty within, even in the midst of all those familiar airs, jocular bowing and smiling, which he always affected, to cover what could not be covered. He had long accustomed himself so much to dissemble his real intentions, and to use an ambiguous and obscure way of speaking, that he could hardly ever be understood when he designed it, or be believed, when he never so much desired it. His natural temper led him to so expensive and profuse a way of living, that he had brought himself into great necessities, though he had long enjoyed the advantages of very great and profitable posts. One principal and very expensive piece of his art, in which he seems to have excelled all that went before him, was, to have in pay a great number of spies of all sorts, to let him into what was passing in all considerable families. It was remarkable, that when he came most into favour with the Queen, he was perhaps the only man, in whose ruin the two contending parties would have united, as one in whom there was no foundation to repose any confidence. And that when he came to have the greatest power with the Queen, he had lost all credit every where else."

The same necessity which forced her Majesty to dismiss my Lord Godolphin from her service, rendered her irreconcilable to me, though by means of one person at court, who happened to be in good favour with her, I made all possible attempts to remove her unjust prejudices against me. I wrote to him long and plain accounts of what had past, justifying myself, and exposing the

ingratitude as well as malice of my enemies ; All which accounts he read to the Queen, but without any effect upon her. She said not a word to any of these representations, except one, wherein I had set forth a faithfulness and frugality, with which I had served her in my offices ; and had complained of the attempts made by the agents of her new friends to vilify me, all over the nation, as one who had cheated my mistress of vast sums of money. Her Majesty, on this occasion, was pleased to say, *every body knows, cheating is not the Duchess of Marlborough's crime,*

The same person, to try the Queen further, mentioned my coming to court, as what might be proper, on account of some *new clothes*, which, as groom of the stole, I had by her Majesty's order bought for her. But she presently charged him to advise me, as from himself, not to come. And when after a very successful campaign, the Duke of Marlborough was returned to London, the Queen most readily accepted the resignation, which he carried her from me, of my offices. The Duchess of Somerset was made groom of the stole, and had the robes ; and Mrs. Masham had the privy-purse.

The Duke of Marlborough, notwithstanding an infinite variety of mortifications, by which it was endeavoured to make him resign his commission, (that there might be a pretence to raise an out-cry against him, as having quitted his Queen's and his country's service, merely because he could not govern in the cabinet, as well as in the field) continued to serve yet another campaign. All his friends here (moved by a true concern for the public) pressed him to it, the confederates called him with the utmost importunity, and Prince Eugene intreated him to come with all the earnestness and passion that could be expressed. He went ; but his authority was now diminished, and his forces weakened, many of his best regiments being drawn off, some to go moulder in Spain, and others to be sacrificed in the wild expedition to Quebec. On the other hand the French had regained a spirit by the proceedings of their friends here ; and they seemed to think themselves secure now of bringing disgrace upon a general, who had so often humbled *them*, and whose very name had been among them for many years a sound of terror. His masterly conduct, and his surprising success, disappointed the hope, both of our foreign and domestic enemies. The latter seemed to repent that they had permitted him to make this campaign, the happy event of which must unavoidably render a peace with France, upon French conditions, the more infamous. Yet a peace was so necessary to the preservation of the new ministers' power, that it must be had at any rate. And in order to it, the confidence of the French King must be gained. This confidence could never be hoped for, so long as the Duke of Marlborough was at the head of the army. And therefore, as all the arts of malice and detraction had proved ineffectual to make him resign his post, it was become necessary to remove him from it. But what plausible pretence to remove so able and so successful a general, while the war was, in appearance, still subsisting ? A frivolous and groundless complaint in parliament about certain perquisites he had claimed, as belonging to his state, must serve the turn. The Queen, indeed, when he had laid before her what was doing him by the *commissioners of accounts*, was pleased to say, *she was sure her servants* (her new ministers) *would not encourage such proceedings.* Nevertheless, in a very short time, her Majesty, once more pressed by an irresistible necessity, made use of that very complaint as a reason for dismissing him from all his employments.

To the Queen's letter, importing this dismissal, the Duke returned the following answer.

"MADAM,—I am very sensible of the honour your Majesty does me in dismissing me from your service by a letter of your own hand, though I find by it that my enemies have been able to prevail with your Majesty to do it in the manner that is most injurious to me. And if their malice and inveteracy against me had not been more powerful with them than the consideration of your Majesty's honour and justice, they would not have influenced you to impute the occasion of my dismissal to a false and malicious insinuation contrived by themselves, and made public, when there was no opportunity for me to give in my answer; which they must needs be conscious would fully detect the falshood and malice of their aspersions, and not leave them that handle for bringing your Majesty to such extremities against me.

"But I am much more concerned at an expression in your Majesty's letter which seems to complain of the treatment you had met with. I know not how to understand that word, nor what construction to make of it. I know I have always endeavoured to serve your Majesty faithfully and zealously, through a great many undeserved mortifications. But if your Majesty does intend by that expression to find fault with my not coming to the cabinet-council, I am very free to acknowledge that my duty to your Majesty and country would not give me leave to join in the counsel of a man, who, in my opinion, puts your Majesty upon all manner of extremities. And it is not my opinion only, but the opinion of all mankind that the friendship of France must needs be destructive to your Majesty: there being in that court a root of enmity irreconcilable to your Majesty's government, and the religion of these kingdoms. I wish your Majesty may never find the want of so faithful a servant, as I have always endeavoured to approve myself to you. I am with the greatest duty and submission,

"Madam, Your Majesty's most dutiful and obedient subject,

"MARLBOROUGH."

§ III.—Thus, my Lord, I have given you a short history of my favour with my Royal Mistress, from its earliest rise to its irrecoverable fall. You have seen with admiration how sincere and how great an affection a Queen was capable of having for a servant who never flattered her. And I doubt not but your friendship made some conclusions to my advantage, when you observed for how many years I was able to hold my place in her regard, notwithstanding her most real and invariable passion for that phantom which she called the church: That darling phantom which the tories were for ever presenting to her imagination, and employed as a *Will in the whisp*, to bewilder her mind, and entice her, (as she at last unhappily experienced) to the destruction of her quiet and her glory. But I believe you have thought that the most extraordinary thing in the whole fortune of my favour, was its being at last destroyed by a cause in appearance so unequal to the effect, I mean Mrs. Abigail Hill. For I will venture to affirm, that whatever may have been laid to my charge of ill behaviour to my Mistress in the latter years of my service, is all reducible to this one crime, my inveteracy to poor Masham. I have indeed said, that my constant combating the Queen's inclination to the tories did, in the end, prove the ruin of my credit with her; and this is true, in as much as without that, her Majesty could never been engaged to listen to any insinuations against me. Her passion for the church furnished the sole means by which Mrs. Masham (the machine in the hands of Harley) could take hold of her mind, and bring her by degrees, to look upon that behaviour in me, as rudeness and disrespect, which before had been only sincerity and frankness, and a warmth of zeal for her service. And yet (as you have seen) in that very letter where her Majesty tells me, *I have lost*

her kindness irrecoverably she declares, that this change is not owing to any fault I have committed. But though the Queen, in her highest discontent with me, and after I had been in her service seven and twenty years, had no crime to lay to my charge, except *my malice to poor Masham*, yet the ready invention of others, who knew nothing of my conduct, but whose interest it was to decry me, could presently find in it abundant matter for accusation.

The calumnies against me were so gross, and yet so greedily devoured by the credulity of party rage, that I determined to write and publish something in my own justification; the following is the substance of a sort of memorial, which for that purpose I drew up in 1712. I have already related by what means I was then dissuaded from making it public, and the reasons that now induce me to pursue that design.

It was spread about in libels, that I had behaved myself unworthily in my offices, and had been unfaithful to the trusts reposed in me; that I had abused my favour with the Queen, by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant grants to myself; and that, through an insatiable greediness of riches, I had prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust.

As to my conduct with respect to the Robes, this one observation is almost sufficient, that all my accounts of the robes, for the whole nine years in which I served the Queen in that office, were passed in the Exchequer with the greatest regularity; and that, in passing them, I produced acquittances for every sum to the value of twenty shillings paid to any tradesman; which was such a method of exactness as had never before been used by any master or mistress of the robes.

Upon my bringing in the first accounts of this sort, in order to have them passed, it was said, in a report made to the Treasury from Auditor Harley's office, that no such accounts had ever been brought there before. Mr. Taylor, in the Treasury, and all the clerks of that board, made the like observation. But it is most worthy to be remembered, Mr. Harley, the same Mr. Harley who was afterwards Lord Treasurer, and who then hired his creatures to misrepresent me, throughout all the nation, as no better than a pickpocket, he, I say, upon occasion of his brother's having made an extract from the accounts of former reigns of the yearly expences of the robes, wrote me the following.

"*Thursday, August 8th, 1706.*—MADAM, I missed the opportunity of paying my duty to your Grace last time at Windsor, which occasions you the trouble of this letter. My brother, having made a state of your Grace's accounts, desired that I would receive your pleasure, when you would permit him to wait upon your Grace with it, *I perceive your Grace's conduct will shine on all occasions*; for my brother tells me, he has made a collection of all the accounts which have been brought in for robes for 46 years, since the year 1660, and by that it will appear, upon the comparison, how much better (to a great value) your Grace has managed for the crown. He will have the honour to present this to your Grace whenever you please to appoint a time to receive it." &c.

The yearly expence of the robes in all the reigns before Q. Anne was one year with another above 5040*l.*, and the expence of the four first years of her reign was not 2900*l.* But because there is a great difference between the expences for the robes of a queen and those of a king, it will be more equitable to compare my accounts for the robes of Queen Anne with those for Queen Mary, when under the management of Lady Derby, of which, for two years, I procured a copy from the office. It appears that in the first of those two years, the expence of Queen Mary's robes was greater by a thousand pounds than that of

Queen Anne for the whole four years mentioned in auditor Harley's collection. For the expence of those four years was no more than 11,563*l.* 7*s.* 1*d.*; the expence of the first year only of Queen Mary was 12,604*l.* 12*s.* 2*d.* In the second year the expence of Queen Mary's robes was 11,131*l.* 9*s.* 1*d.*, being little short of the whole expence of the said four years of Queen Anne.

After these four years, the expence of the following five years (which make up the whole amount of my service) amounting to 18,972*l.* 9*s.* 10*d.* was more in proportion than that of the said four preceding years. This was chiefly occasioned by the extraordinary expence on account of the mourning for the Prince, and the Queen's ordering every thing belonging to the robes of what kind soever to be given away, so that at the end of the mourning all were new at once, and amongst them some very rich clothes, which happened just before I left the office. These two articles necessarily made a considerable increase of the ordinary expence, especially as the Queen gave 600*l.* to the maids of honour to buy them mourning. However, the yearly expence of my nine years, taken one with another, is very small in comparison with the two years before-mentioned, when Lady Derby managed Queen Mary's robes. For the sum total paid by the Exchequer on account of the robes in my nine years amounts only to 32,050*l.* 1*s.* 3*d.*, from which deduct the coronation expence, 1512*l.* 4*s.* 4*d.*, and there will remain 30,537*l.* 16*s.* 11*d.* being 3393*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* 1*q.* for the yearly expence during the said nine years. In this sum are included the salaries and other matters belonging to the robes, being about 1400*l.* p. an. which I always put into my account (because I thought it the fairest way), but which before my time were put into a separate account, that the account of the robes might appear the less. Subtract this 1400*l.* from the 3393*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* 1*q.* the remainder (the yearly expence of Queen Anne's robes in my nine years) is only 1993*l.* 1*s.* 9*d.* 1*q.* which is less than the yearly expence of Queen Mary's robes, according to Lady Derby's account, by the yearly sum of 9874*l.* 18*s.* 10*d.* 1*q.* So that it evidently appears that by my economy in the nine years I served her Majesty, I saved her near 90,000*l.*

To show, however, how much people were determined to defame me at any rate, and at all adventures, I had the fortune, that while some accused me of being *too profuse* of the Queen's money, others censured me as being *too saving* of it, and too hard upon the tradesmen I dealt with. I will therefore give some account of these matters.

It is very well known, that in the preceding reigns, the tradesmen gave money to serve the crown, which brought in great sums to the masters of the robes, but at the same time obliged the tradesmen to charge extravagant prices for their goods, a privilege which could hardly be disputed with them, considering the sums they had given for the custom, and the accidents they were then always exposed to by the death of the Prince, or the death or removal of the master of the robes. But the tradesmen whom I made use of had nothing of this to plead; they gave no money to serve the crown, nor were put to any expence, not so much as the customary one of poundage; they were paid regularly, ran no manner of hazard, and had no more trouble in serving the Queen than in serving a common customer, and therefore I did not think it reasonable that they should be allowed above a shilling or two in the pound extraordinary for their goods. But those who had the honour to see the Queen, and to make her clothes, were allowed more than the double of what they had from the first quality. And this was all I thought myself at liberty to do in an office in which I was entirely trusted.

My method to prevent all mistakes or abuses, was always to sign the tradesmen's bills at the same that they delivered their goods. They were paid by Mrs. Thomas, a person of whose honesty I had had long experience, and to whom I had given the employment of chief of the robes, making it worth to her between two and three hundred pounds a year, not by a salary, but by old clothes and other little advantages; and I had a promise from her, never to take money of any of the tradesmen. It is very certain that she was punctual to this promise, and if any of the tradesmen themselves are still living, they will I am sure bear witness to it.

I now come to my management of the privy-purse, the yearly allowance for which was 20,000*l.* not half the sum allowed in King William's time, and indeed very little, considering how great a charge there was fixed upon it by custom, the Queen's bounties, healing gold, and charities, besides the many pensions that were paid out of it. The allowance was augmented to 26,000*l.* two years before I left the office. But in those two years Mrs. Masham was become the great dispenser of the Queen's money, I only bringing to her Majesty the sums that were called for.

The privy-purse is not subject to any account by law, notwithstanding which I observed the same method with regard to this as with regard to the robes, taking acquittances from all persons to whom I paid any money, and *from the Queen herself for all sums paid into her own hands*, as likewise a discharge from her Majesty upon every account given in, which discharge was in these words, "I have examined these accounts, and am satisfied they are right. ANNE R."

The money of the privy-purse was paid upon my notes, by Mr. Goggs, a goldsmith over-against St. Clement's church, whom I strictly charged never to take any poundage, which used constantly to be taken before my time. But I thought it would be as mean as it was inhuman, to deduct from charities, and make advantage of the indigence of others, and therefore I broke that custom. Let any one then judge from the whole, whether I did not put this office into such a method, as rendered it impossible for me to cheat the Queen, even supposing I could at any time have been base enough to desire it.

The second charge^a against me is, that of abusing my favour with the Queen, by obtaining unreasonable and exorbitant grants to myself.

I have never been disposed to deny any of the Queen's favours to me; I have always remembered them with gratitude, and freely spoke of them as there was occasion; and I shall here give a particular account of all the grants and bounties I ever had from her.

I have in the former part of this relation, taken notice of my being appointed one of the ladies of her bed-chamber, at her own request, upon her marriage with the Prince of Denmark. The salary of this place was 200*l.* a year,

I have mentioned also that her Royal Highness, upon the Countess of Clarendon's leaving her to go to Ireland, advanced me to be first Lady of the bed-chamber; by which promotion I came to have a yearly salary of 400*l.*

I have further related, that the Princess soon after her obtaining a settlement by Parliament of 50,000*l.* a year, believing, that she owed the ease and independency of her condition to the zeal, industry, and diligence of my Lord

^a The principal of them were Mr. Vernon, Mr. Inchly, Mr. Sands upon Ludgate-hill, and Mr. Alexander in Covent-garden, all mercers. Mrs. Devent, Mrs. Tombes and Mr. Bagshaw, who kept Indian shops, and Mr. Eliot (since succeeded by his nephew) a lace-man in the Strand.

Marlborough and myself upon that occasion, was pleased to grant me, of her own motion, an annual pension of 1000*l*. And I cannot here entirely pass over the intention, which her Royal Highness had of giving us another mark of her favour, when my Lord Marlborough fell into disgrace with King William. She would have made a new office for him in her court, like that which Lord Berkeley had in her father's. But as soon as I was apprized of this design, I dissuaded her from it; because I thought it not reasonable on her own account; and besides, as I lived in friendship with Sir Benjamin Bathurst, who would have been hurt by the creation of such an office, I thought this a sufficient reason for declining the offer.

A little before the Princess came to the crown, my eldest daughter was to be married to Lord Godolphin's son, on which occasion her Highness wrote to me in these terms.

"I have a request to make to my dear Mrs. Freeman. It is, that whenever dear Lady Hariotte marries, you would give me leave to give her something to keep me in her thoughts,—and concluded thus,—I beg my poor mite may be accepted, being offered from a heart that is without any reserve with more passion and sincerity my dear Mrs. Freeman's, than any other can be capable of."

The mite which the Princess here speaks of was 10,000*l*. the whole portion that was to be paid on my daughter's marriage. It had always been the custom for the crown to give portions to the daughters of their favourites, but the Princess having but 50,000*l*. a year, I thought the offer too large for her income, and would therefore accept no more than the half of it.

The like sum of 5000*l*. the Princess gave to my second daughter when she was married to Lord Sunderland, adding a promise at the same time to take care of all my children.

I fancy, my Lord, if you consider only the almost unparalleled affection the Queen had for me, you will be little surprised, either at these expressions of it, or those which I am going to relate. And you will certainly be much less so, if you can believe the Queen herself in a matter, where perhaps it would not become me to expatiate, I mean the proofs I had given her of my affectionate fidelity in her service, and inviolable attachment to her interests and happiness. It would be as endless as it is needless to transcribe all the letters I have from her to this purpose. A few extracts from some of them will be sufficient.

On occasion of something done for the Prince in King William's time, she wrote to me in these terms.

"I was going to thank your Lord myself for what was done last night concerning the Prince's business, it being wholly owing to your and his kindness, or else I am sure it would never have been brought to any effect. But I durst not do it for fear of not being able to express the true sense of my poor heart, and therefore I must desire my dear Mrs. Freeman to say a great deal both for Mr. Morley and myself: and though we are poor in words, yet be so just as to believe we are truly sensible and most faithfully yours. And as for your faithful Morley, be assured she is more, if it be possible, than ever, her dear dear Mrs. Freeman's."

In another, after complaining to me of being ill served (as indeed she was to a very great degree) she adds,——

"Though it will be impossible for me to have every thing done to my mind, unless I could meet with a Mrs. Freeman in every post of my family; but her

fellow I do really believe is not to be found the world over, and I am sure I never can have any friend that will be so dear to me as she is."

In another——(I forget upon what occasion)——"I give you millions of thanks for all your and Mr. Freeman's kindness, which I am more truly sensible of than I can express, and shall never be satisfied with any thing I can either do or say in return; for where one owes so much, one can never get out of debt: but whilst I have life, I will endeavour to shew my dear Mrs. Freeman, I have a grateful heart that is most passionately and faithfully at her command."

When her Royal Highness was pleased to give the 5000*l.* I have mentioned on my eldest daughter's marriage, I wrote her a letter full of gratitude and respect. At that time I kept no copies of my letters, having no suspicion that I should ever have occasion for such vouchers, however the Princess's answer will show the tenour of what I wrote, as well as her Highness's sentiments in my regard.

"My dear Mrs. Freeman has no reason to be uneasy with the thoughts that she can never do enough to deserve my kindness, for she has done more than ever any mortal did to merit another's friendship. And it is very kind in setting so great a value upon so poor an expression as I have made of my truth, which upon my word I am not satisfied with, it coming far short of what my heart is inclined to do. But as long as I live, I must be endeavouring to shew, that never any body had a sincerer passion for another, than I have for dear Mrs. Freeman."

All these favours I received from the Princess before she came to the crown, soon after which, I had the following letter from her, which as it shews the continuance of her sincere affection for me, will at the same time serve for a voucher that I did not accept the whole that was offered for a portion to my eldest daughter.

"Friday's Morning.—My Lord Bridgewater being in haste to be married, I cannot any longer defer telling my dear Mrs. Freeman, what I have intended a great while, that I hope she will now give me leave to do what I had a mind to when dear Lady Hariotte was married, and let me speak to my Lord Treasurer about it when I see him," &c.

This letter was a kind proof that the Queen had not forgot her promise of providing for all my children, which she afterwards fully performed by giving the like portion to my fourth daughter.

I shall now mention all the grants made to myself during the whole time that I served her Majesty.

The first was the office of ranger of the great and little parks at Windsor. This I esteemed as a great favour, because the lodge in the great park (the same that Mr. May enjoyed many years, and after him the Earl of Portland) is a very agreeable place to live in: and because her Majesty was pleased to give it me of her own accord, remembering that when we used in former days to ride by it, I had often wished for such a place. The lodge in the little park at that time was no better than such as the underkeepers live in, and I gave it to a brother of the Duke of Marlborough's who was so well pleased with the situation as to lay out five or six thousand pounds upon it; of which the crown will have the advantage after one life, as also of between four and five thousand pounds that I laid out upon the lodge in the great park.

This grant used to be represented to the public as worth 4000*l.* a year: but all the keepers, and many of the inhabitants of Windsor know, that I never made any advantage of it worth mentioning, unless the milk of a few cows

and a little firing when I was there may be reckoned such. And how indeed can it be imagined, that any other profits could arise from it (without taking away the very allowances of the keepers) when it is remembered, that to answer the crown warrants, it is necessary to keep up four or five thousand head of deer in the park, for which the allowance was but 500*l.* a year (which however was taken from me some years ago) and that the ranger must be at the expence of making, and sometimes of buying hay for the deer: that the keepers wages were payable out of this allowance, with several other expences which in parks belonging to the crown are much greater than in others? So that the thing had plainly very little to recommend it, besides the pleasantness of the habitation.

The next grant, of which by my Lord Godolphin's means I obtained the promise from the Queen, after the Queen dowager's death, was the ground in St. James's Park upon which my house stands. This has been valued by my enemies at 10,000*l.* how justly let any one determine, who will consider that a certain rent is paid for it to the Exchequer, that the grant was at first but for fifty years, and that the building has cost between forty and fifty thousand pounds, of which the Queen never paid one shilling, though many people have been made to believe otherwise.

These were the only grants I ever had from the Queen except one, which occasioned the witty comparison that was made between me and the lady's woman, who out of her mistress's pin-money of 26*l.* put twenty-two into her own pocket. The matter was this. At the Queen's accession to the government, she used to lament to me, that the crown being impoverished by former grants, she wanted the power her predecessors had enjoyed to reward faithful servants; and she desired me to take out of the privy-purse 2000*l.* a year, in order to some purchase for my advantage. I made my grateful acknowledgments to her Majesty, but as she had provided for my children, and as the offices I enjoyed by her favour brought me in more than I wanted, I could not think it reasonable to accept her offer; and I absolutely refused it. The Queen some time after, in two several letters, pressed me to receive this bounty, and she frequently did the same by word of mouth. Nevertheless I constantly declined it; until the time, that, notwithstanding the uncommon regard I had shown to her Majesty's interest and honour in the execution of my trusts, she was pleased to dismiss me from her service. Then indeed it was thought I had no longer the same reason to be scrupulous on this head. By the advice of my friends, I sent the Queen one of her own letters, in which she had pressed me to take the 2000*l.* a year; and I wrote at the same time to ask her Majesty whether she would allow me to charge in the privy-purse accounts, which I was to send her, that yearly sum from the time of the offer, amounting to 18,000*l.* Her Majesty was pleased to answer, that I might charge it. This therefore I did, *inserting in my accounts* (which were a kind of *memorial*) these words:

"After the Princess came to the crown, she was pleased to write to me to take 2000*l.* a year out of the privy-purse, and *to make no more words of it*, and lay it up to do something with it; because, she added, she had not power to do as others had done before her, to reward faithful services. And I might own or conceal it as I liked best; for she did not care who knew what she gave to one she could never reward enough."

Her Majesty after keeping my accounts a sufficient time to have them carefully examined, (I suppose by Mr. Harley) returned them to me signed in this manner.

"Feb. 1, 1711.—I have examined these Accounts, and allow of them,

"ANNE R."

If some persons may be inclined to censure my conduct in this particular as too interested, yet every body must, I think, be candid enough to own, that it shewed a consciousness of my integrity in the discharge of my trusts, and that I feared no accusation upon that head, even from malice in power. Nay I will venture to say, that impartial judges will not think this part of my behaviour liable to any criticism, when they remember and consider, that by my unprecedented fidelity and economy in the discharge of my offices, I saved to her Majesty not only more than the sum in question, but more than the whole value of all the gratuities I ever had from her. For besides the bounties I have already mentioned, the Queen after her coming to the crown, never made me the present of a diamond, or of any thing worth taking notice of during the whole time that I was in her favour.

As to my offices under the Queen they were indeed considerable, and I have ever acknowledged them to be so, amounting to 5600*l.* a year, deducting only for taxes and fees. But it is to be remembered, that they were only the same employments that I had executed when she was Princess at the salary of 400*l.* a year; and it was therefore nothing extraordinary that she should continue me in them when she came to be Queen. And in what manner I discharged these offices, I have already related.

I come now to the third article of accusation against me, *That I prostituted to sale titles of honour and places of trust.*

As for *titles of honour*, I never was concerned in making any peer but one, and that was my Lord Hervey the present Earl of Bristol. I had made a promise to Sir Thomas Felton, when the Queen came first to the crown, that if her Majesty should ever make any new Lords, I would certainly 'use my interest that Mr. Hervey might be one. And accordingly, though I was retired into the country under the most sensible affliction for the death of my only son, yet when the Queen had resolved to create four peers, Granville, Guernsey, Gower and Conway, I had such a regard to my word, that I wrote to Lord Marlborough and Lord Godolphin, that if they did not endeavour to get Mr. Hervey made a peer, I neither would nor could shew my face any more. The thing was done purely at my request, and at a time when affairs at court ran so violently against the whole party of whigs, that Mr. Hervey had laid aside all hopes of the peerage, and was therefore surprised to the last degree, when a message came to him from the Duke of Marlborough, that he must come on such a day by the backstairs, to kiss the Queen's hand for being made a peer. On this occasion my Lady Hervey wrote to me in the following terms.

"March 14, 1702.—MADAM.—Mr. Hervey and myself have both so long and justly sacrificed the satisfaction of our own, to the ease and quiet of your Grace's mind, that could you know what incessant importunities we have resisted from the one, you would the easilier forgive the unseasonable interruptions we fear this must at last prove to the other; but the sense of our obligations to your Grace calls too clamorously upon us to be any farther withstood, and therefore we rather venture this intrusion upon your solitude, than to be longer silent upon a subject, which requires the earliest endeavours after all returns that can be made your Grace by us for it. I know nothing we have so much at heart (unless it be the due sympathy we feel of your Grace's present condition) as how we may in some sort deserve the great honour her Majesty has

been so graciously pleased to bestow on us and our family, by your Grace's kind mediation, and how we may ever acquit ourselves of so generous a piece of friendship towards your Grace, which I am very sure we both think the future study of our lives can never enough compensate, unless your Grace's usual goodness will accept of the most zealous and grateful wills for payment, and then we conclude the chief of those very many, whom you have bound to be your Grace's well wishers must remain, as much if not more indebted to you than I know Mr. Hervey (so qualified) to be as well as.

"Madam, Your Grace's most obliged, and faithful humble servant,

"E. HERVEY."

This letter would alone be a sufficient proof, that the service I then did was not the purchase of money; but my Lord Bristol is still living, who will vouch for the truth of this account.

Certain it is, that I might have made considerable profit by this sort of traffic, could I have thought it consistent with justice and honour. I was offered 6000*l.* to get Mr. Coke of Norfolk made a peer. And how easy and inoffensive a thing would this have been at that time? For he was a gentleman of an estate equal to the title desired, and was grandson to the Duke of Leeds, and in that interest which then carried all before it at court. The answer I gave to the proposal was to this effect:

That I thought her Majesty, the fountain of honour, should never bestow it but upon true merit, and as an encouragement to such persons as were considerable enough to be useful to their Prince; and that the granting the peerage upon such generous conditions, was the most likely way to oblige those she honoured with it, and strongly engage them to her service; to which they would look upon themselves as but little bound on account of their titles, if these were the purchase of their own money.

And as I was never carried by avarice to concern myself in procuring titles of honour for others, so I shall take occasion to observe here, that ambition had no share in procuring that new title, which, by her Majesty's favour to my Lord Marlborough, I myself acquired. The following letters will be some proof of it. The first is from my Lord Godolphin.

Tuesday Night, Oct. 22.—"By the enclosed address from the House of Lords, which is to be presented to the Queen to-morrow, you will see they take notice very thankfully of the benefits they receive from her Majesty's protection, and mention her good successes with better grace for her, in my opinion, than if she had done it herself.

"I shall send a copy of this address to-morrow by the post to my Lord Marlborough, because I believe it will be a satisfaction to him. I am apt to think Mrs. Morley may say something to you upon this subject, which perhaps you may not like, but I think it must be endured upon such an occasion, when it is visible to all the world, that it is not done upon your own account."—

My Lord had rightly conjectured; for I received a letter of the same date with his, from the Queen, upon the same subject.

St. James's, Thursday 22 Oct.—"I have had this evening the satisfaction of my dear Mrs. Freeman's of yesterday, for which I give you many thanks, and though I think it a long time since I saw you, I do not desire you to come one minute sooner to town than it is easy to you, but will wait with patience for the happy hour, and only beg when you do come you would send for a coach, and not make use of a chaise. Lord Treasurer intends to send you a copy of the address from the House of Lords, which is to be given me to-morrow, and that

gives me an opportunity of mentioning a thing to you, that I did not intend to do yet. It is very uneasy to your poor, unfortunate, faithful Morley to think she has so very little in her power to show how truly sensible I am of all my Lord Marlborough's kindness, especially at a time when he deserves all that a rich crown could give. But since there is nothing else at this time, I hope you will give me leave, as soon as he comes, to make him a Duke. I know my dear Mrs. Freeman does not care for any thing of that kind, nor I am not satisfied with it, because it does not enough express the value I have for Mr. Freeman, nor nothing ever can how passionately I am yours, my dear Mrs. Freeman."

The other letter from my Lord Godolphin, as far as it relates to this affair, is in these terms.

"*Saturday night.*—I give you many thanks for the favour of your letter, which I received this evening. I did easily believe Mrs. Morley's letter would make you uneasy, but having her commands not to speak of it, I durst not say any more, than just to prepare you to submit to what I found by her she was convinced was necessary for the satisfaction of the public. I have waited upon her this evening to let her see how truly uneasy you were, and have begged of her, when she sees you, not to part till she has made you easy again, either by your submitting to please her, or by her condescending to cure your apprehensions."

As these letters from my Lord Godolphin were written at a time when there could not be even the remotest view of making them public, they shew that in his opinion, at least, I was not ambitious of a higher title, which indeed I considered as what would serve only to provoke malice, without giving me the least degree of pleasure.

As to *selling Places*, which was the last thing I was to clear myself from, I shall now give an account of my conduct with respect to this charge, from the time that I came first into any office at court.

A little before I succeeded Lady Clarendon in the post of first lady of the bedchamber to the Princess of Denmark, her Highness wrote to me, that she intended to take two news pages of the back-stairs, but that she would not do it till my Lady Clarendon was gone, that I might have the advantage of putting them in, meaning, that I might have the advantage of selling those two places. For it must be remarked, that at that time no person who was in any office at court, with places in his disposal, made any more scruple of selling them, than of receiving his settled salary, or the rents of his estate. It is no great wonder, therefore, that being a young courtier, and not very rich, and having such an express direction from my mistress, I followed the prevailing custom, and sold those two places. Yet it was not long before I began to condemn in my own mind this practice. There was something I thought that felt wrong in the selling of employments, and from this thought I came presently to a resolution, never more to make any advantage to myself by such means. And when, some time after, the Princess thought proper to part with her Roman catholic servants, three in number, of whom two were pages of the back-stairs, and of which two one had bought his place of me at the time before mentioned, and paid 400*l.* for it, I gave him back the whole sum: and I gave the like sum to the other Roman catholic page, though he had risen to this employment from being footman, and without money. Nay, I procured for this man, (whose name was Guyn) the continuation of his salary for life, which I mention, only that I may speak of his uncommon gratitude: For during five and twenty years afterwards, I did not set out upon a journey

from London, without finding him at my coach side full of his good wishes for my health and happiness.

The first vacancy that happened under the Prince (whose confidence in me was equal to that of the Princess) was of the place of groom of the bedchamber. This I procured for Mr. Maul, who knowing what was usual in such cases, sent a message to me, desiring leave to make me a present, to which I immediately returned answer, that I was resolved against every thing of that kind.

Another place that became vacant under the Prince was that of groom of the stole, which being given to my Lord Delawar, he brought a present of 500*l.* to Mr. Guidot, for me; but Mr. Guidot, who knew my dislike of such Practices, quickly satisfied him that I would not accept of it. I had afterwards many letters from his Lordship, and some but a little before my leaving the court, full of the greatest acknowledgments; and to him I always appealed for the truth of this fact.

I also refused a present from my Lord Lexington, who employed Mr. Scarborough, to make me the offer, when his Lordship was desirous to be master of the horse to the Prince.

When the Queen came to the crown, I had every day much greater opportunities than before, of making advantage of her favour, but I invariably adhered to the resolution I had taken: And I doubt not but every candid person will be perfectly convinced of this, when I have finished what I have to say upon the subject.

Had I been disposed to heap up money by the sale of employments, I should certainly not have neglected to sell those, which by virtue of my offices were in my own disposal. I might have done it with the greatest ease; and custom had given me a sort of right to do it: But I could never think of selling my own favour, any more than that of my royal mistress,

The first places, which I had to dispose of, were those of the three pages of the backstairs; places so considerable, that several grooms of the stole were credibly said to have sold them for a thousand guineas each. But these I gave freely to Mr. Kirk, Mr. Saxton, and Mr. Smith, and purely at the request of three Ladies, the Lady Charlotte Beverwaert, the Lady Fitzharding, and the Countess of Plymouth.

The other places in my disposal were in the office of the robes—waiters, coffee-bearers, groom of the wardrobe, chief of the robes, starcher, sempstress.

Were the persons I have named above, and those to whom I gave these last mentioned employments, all, or most of them now living, as they were in 1712, when this account was first drawn up, their testimony (to which I had there appealed) would have amounted to a *positive* proof of my integrity and disinterestedness on these occasions. But as this kind of proof cannot now be had, so neither is it wanted, there being still a *negative one*, which, I am persuaded, must appear no less strong and irresistible. And it is this.

My enemies at a time, when they had all power in their hands, when they had raised such a spirit of virulence and malice as would make any thing to my prejudice readily believed, when they both could and would have amply rewarded any person, that was capable of proving the base practices they charged me with, even *then* I say, all their accusations were general; they were never able to fix upon me any one particular action, either unjust, mercenary, or even ungenerous in the use I made of my royal mistress's favour, or in the management of my own great offices. Nay, they never pretended to name or to appeal to any one person for a proof of what they laid to my charge.

But my Lord, all I have hitherto said on this article of accusation, is to satisfy those, who are not acquainted with me. Those who are, will, I am persuaded, believe me, upon my *word*, when I affirm, as I here solemnly do, that (excepting the pages' money above-mentioned) I never received the value of one shilling in money or jewels, or in any other form, either directly or indirectly, by myself, or by any other person, for procuring any place or preferment, or any title of honour, or any employment in my own disposal, or, in a word, for doing any favour during my whole life.

20th Jan. 1742.

I am, My Lord, &c.

THE
HISTORY

OF THE

REVOLUTION IN PORTUGAL,

IN THE YEAR 1640;

OR, AN ACCOUNT OF THEIR

Revolt from Spain,

AND SETTING THE CROWN ON THE HEAD OF DON JOHN OF BRA-
GANZA, FATHER TO DON PEDRO, AND CATHERINE QUEEN DOWAGER
OF ENGLAND.

TRANSLATED FROM THE FRENCH OF VERTOT.

THENCE CONTINUED DOWN TO THE PRESENT TIME.

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1813.

HISTORY

RELIGION IN AMERICA

IN THE YEAR 1800

BY THE REV. J. C. CALVERT

AMERICAN METHODISM

THE HISTORY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA, FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT TIME, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF ITS DOCTRINES, DISCIPLINE, AND LITURGY.

BY THE REV. J. C. CALVERT

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REVISED

THE HISTORY OF THE METHODIST CHURCH IN AMERICA, FROM ITS ORIGIN TO THE PRESENT TIME, WITH A DESCRIPTION OF ITS DOCTRINES, DISCIPLINE, AND LITURGY.

INTRODUCTORY MEMOIR
ON THE MILITARY TOPOGRAPHY OF PORTUGAL,

BY GENERAL DUMOURIER.

THE whole extent of Portugal is about three hundred and forty British miles in length, and from one hundred and thirty to one hundred and forty in breadth; it is therefore five times less than Spain. But the advantages of its situation, the assistance of England, the weakness of its enemy, the impervious nature of its approaches, and the number of its strong holds, will always preserve it from the ambition of Spain, were all the rest of Europe to remain an indifferent spectator of the conflict. With these weapons, it will always baffle the efforts of the Spaniards.

Portugal is divided by geographers into six provinces, three of which form the department of the north, viz. *Entre Douro e Minho*, (between Douro and Minho) *Traz os Montes*, (behind the mountains) and *Beira*; the remaining three compose the southern department; viz. *Estremadura*, *Alemtejo*, (beyond the Tagus) and the kingdom of *Algrave*.

Entre Douro e Minho.—The province of *Entre Douro e Minho* is bounded on the north by Galicia in Spain and the river Minho; on the east by *Traz os Montes*, from which it is separated by the mountains of Santa Caterina and Geres; on the south by *Beira*, from which it is divided by the river Douro; on the west by the ocean. Its length is above sixty miles from north to south, its width about forty, from east to west. In proportion to its extent, it exceeds every other province in the number of inhabitants.

In it are two cities, Braga, the capital, and o Porto; twenty-six towns, or walled burghs; the principal of which are Viana, Guimaraens, Ponte de Lima, Villa de Conde, Caminha, Monzao, Barcelos, Valenza; it reckons two cathedral, five collegiate, and more than five hundred parish churches; it is watered by many rivers, which distribute fertility, and are crossed by more than two hundred stone bridges.

The chief productions are corn, wine, oil, wool, and flax; living is cheap; game and fish abound.

It is divided into six jurisdictions; viz. three royal, called *Corregedorias*, and three feudal, called *Ouvidorias*.

Guimaraens is the first *corregedoria*, extending over four towns; its district is large and populous, containing 124,000 souls. The chief town stands between the rivers Dave and Visela, three leagues from Braga; it was the residence of the early kings of Portugal, the birth-place of Alphonsus Henry, who first assumed the regal title. Here is a collegiate church; the canons possess great riches, and belong to the higher class of nobility. In the fish-market is a ruined church, dedi-

rated to St. James, which was in Pagan days the temple of Ceres; the town contains 5000 inhabitants, and is defended by an ancient castle, built on an eminence.

The second corregedoria, Viana, consists of nine towns; the most considerable Monçao and Ponte de Lima. It numbers 98,000 souls.

Viana is situated at the mouth of the Lima, with a harbour once very practicable, but of late years the sand banks have accumulated, and no vessel of burden can get in; it is well built, in an agreeable country, with about 7000 inhabitants; Alphonsus III. was the founder in 1253. The castle of St. James, raised on a neck of land, with bastions cut in the rock, defends the entrance of the port.

Ponte de Lima boasts of great antiquity, attributing its foundation to the Greeks; it stands on the Lima, ten miles above Viana, and is a neat little town, of about 2000 souls. Monçao was built by Alphonsus III. about nine miles from Valença, on the Minho; contains only 700 persons; the fortifications might be made very respectable with moderate repairs.

The third corregedoria is o Porto ("the Port"), or Oporto, or Porto, in which are one city, three towns, and 100,000 inhabitants; next to Lisbon Oporto claims pre-eminence, in point of value, over all Portugal; its port, at the mouth of the Douro, is famous for its traffic, which has drawn to it a great concourse of people, especially within the last thirty years; the effects of the tremendous earthquake of 1755 were but little felt here; foreigners swarm at Oporto, and carry on its trade; the English are the most numerous. In 1732 this place contained only 24,000 inhabitants, the number is now nearly double: it is open and unfortified, except towards the sea, where two forts have been built. Living is cheaper than at Lisbon, society more agreeable. After the earthquake, the court had thoughts of removing hither. The inundations of the Douro frequently cover the quays and low quarters of the city.

The first ouvidoria is Barcelos, containing seven towns, and 50,000 souls. The town of Barcelos gives title of count to the house of Bragança; it stands nine miles from Braga, and has a collegiate church, but only 15,00 inhabitants.

The ouvidoria of Valença embraces three towns, of which the principal one, Valença, was founded on the Minho by the veteran soldiers of Viriatus; it was once regularly fortified, but the works have long been in a state of ruin; the present minister has directed them to be restored; Tuy, the frontier town of Galicia, is not out of cannon shot from Valença, which gives title of marquis to the house of Vimioso. The population of the district does not exceed 26,000, that of the town amounts only to 900 souls.

The ouvidoria of Braga includes that city only, and 34,000 inhabitants, of whom 12,400 reside at Braga, which is said to have been founded by some Greeks returning from the siege of Troy; it stands in

a pleasant plain, distant seventeen miles from the sea, watered by two rivers; the Cavado on the north, and the Deste on the south side. This city was an important station in the days of ancient Rome, and still shows, as proofs of its former grandeur, an aqueduct and a ruined amphitheatre; it is well built; the see of an archbishop, to whom its lordship belongs, who assumes the title of Primate of Spain, as filling the most ancient episcopal chair in the peninsula. Five councils have been holden here, and 114 prelates have worn its mitre, some of which are held in high repute for sanctity and learning; the famous Bartholomew of the martyrs at their head.

The six jurisdictions of this province contain, according to the last rates, 504,000 inhabitants, who are in easier circumstances in general, as being more industrious and resolute than those of the other provinces. They are of a handsomer breed, robust, and agile, frank and loyal subjects, and esteemed the best foot soldiers in the kingdom.

Entre Douro e Minho is exposed in time of war to nothing more dangerous than slight desultory attacks on the frontiers, which towards Galicia are well covered by the Minho, and cut through with innumerable defiles and impenetrable dells; its people are brave, and animated by a most ardent hatred against the Castilians. There are besides some fortresses, especially along the banks of the Minho, such as Talença, Villanova, Lapela, Monção, and Melgasso. Many large streams, that run across the frontier from the deep recesses of the mountains, contribute greatly to the strength of the country; every river that waters the inner parts of the province (viz. the Lima, Neyva, Cavado, Deste, Dave, and Grisoner) directs its course from east to west, and consequently forms natural points of defence, and posts which, joined to the steep mountains, must render an irruption on this side very difficult and hazardous. Near the source of the Lima towards the north, the entrance is wider, but there also are many excellent posts along the Vazzeas, viz. Traz, Paradela, Forte da Estreia, and Portela de Homem. On the east side, the province is separated from Tras os Montes by the chain of Geres, Santa Caterina, and Maram, which is very hard to pass, and very easy to defend, by breaking up the ways, making abattis, throwing up breast-works and redoubts; upon the whole, this province, though tempting from its riches, is in little danger: the Spaniards have never made any great impression upon it; and so well is it calculated to defend itself, that its safety is entrusted to its own militia, except two or three battalions placed in the garrison of Oporto. Such hitherto has been the arrangement, which has sufficed for the preservation of Oporto against hostile attacks. The badness of the roads, the quantity of wood, and the abruptness of the mountains that hang over this city, inspire it with confidence of security, and perhaps ought rather to excite apprehensions, if the Spaniards understood the art of making war with light troops.

Traz os Montes, (or Tralos Montes.)—The province of Traz os Montes is so denominated from its situation with regard to Entre Douro

e Minho, from which it is disjoined by the ridge of Maram and Geres on the west side; to the north is Galicia; to the east the kingdom of Leon, and to the south Beira. Its surface is mountainous and dry, but near the rivers, the narrow slips of plain are populous and fertile. It comprehends two cities, Braga and Miranda, and fifty towns; reaches about eighty-six miles from east to west, and between sixty and seventy from north to south; is divided into two *corregedorias* and two *ouvidorias*.

The *corregedoria* of Torre de Moncorvo contains 26 burghs and 45,000 inhabitants. In 1762, the Spaniards placed a detachment here, which did a great deal of mischief. As they marched to attack it, they took it for granted they were to meet with a fortified town, and it was said that a corps of 8000 Portuguese were to defend it. The astonishment of the Spaniards equalled their ignorance, when they found Moncorvo was but a sorry village, that, for the last hundred years, had had neither wall nor gate, nor had it seen a soldier stationed there during all that time.

The *corregedoria* of Miranda contains an episcopal city, 12 burghs, and 24,000 souls. Miranda was fortified, but in the ancient style, when the Spaniards came to invest it in 1762; a powder magazine blew up accidentally, tore the castle to pieces, killed 600 men of the garrison and of the town, and laid the place open to the enemy. The same disaster had befallen it in the wars for the Spanish succession. It is impossible to re-establish this fortress to any good effect, as it is commanded by the heights; yet a post here would be a great barrier against Leon, and be an advantageous outlet for an invasion of Spain with light troops.

The *ouvidoria* of Bragança comprehends a city, 12 towns, and 75,000 inhabitants. Bragança is the capital of the province, but the bishop's see has been removed to Miranda; it stands in a narrow plain, near the banks of the little river Fervença, only nine miles from Galicia, and Leon. Its founder is said to have been Brigo, the fourth monarch of Spain, in fabulous times; but it has another full as honourable and more probable. A colony was settled here by Augustus, and, in honour of his great-uncle, called Julio Briga. It bears the title of duchy, and belongs to the reigning family. Here are some good manufactories of silk, velvet, and program. Its walls are antique, defended by sixteen towers; the castle pretty strong. In point of relative situation to Spain, it resembles Miranda, and contains 2700 inhabitants. In 1762, the Spaniards lost above 4000 soldiers in an hospital they had established here.

Chaves is the most considerable town of the province, and the residence of the commander-in-chief of the northern department. Vespasian first settled it, and built fine baths here, of which some fragments remain to this day. On the river Tamega is still to be seen a very remarkable bridge, erected by Trajan. There are fortifications, but all difficult to defend, being, as all the rest in the district are, commanded by eminences. The royal family possesses the seignory. It was from Chaves that the Spanish general detached, in 1762, a corps of 3000 vo-

lanteers, that were to march to Oporto as avantcouriers of the army; Alexander O'Reilly, now a lieutenant-general in the Spanish service, in high esteem, was put at their head, and was to have been supported by other parties. He pushed on as far as Villa Real without meeting with any resistance, but there he learned that the peasantry was arming, and that the defiles were dangerous, upon which he turned back, and made a very disorderly retreat; at Villa Pouça, and as far as Chaves, the peasants harrassed him exceedingly, and had the glory of driving him back with loss and disgrace, though their number did not exceed 600, nor had they a single military man with them. This feat was highly celebrated in Portugal; and the particulars of it repeated with great pride. The failure in this operation occasioned the retreat of the Spanish army to Zamora, the siege of Almeida, and all the confusion and blunders of the campaign. Portugal was at that time without troops and panic-struck; had the army advanced rapidly upon Oporto it must have taken it without firing a gun. Great resources would have been found there, both in money, stores, and provisions, and an excellent climate; the Spanish troops would not have perished as they did, with hunger and want of accommodations; the face of affairs would have been totally changed.

This province is not worth an attack in a war between Spain and Portugal; it is even dangerous for the Spaniards to penetrate into it, as they found to their cost in the late war; 40,000 men advanced to Chaves, Bragança, and Miranda, without magazines or provision of any sort, and about a fourth of their number died there of sickness, hunger, and want, without a single point being carried in favour of the general attack upon Portugal.

Beira.—The province of Beira is the largest in the kingdom; it borders to the north on Entre-Douro e Minho and Traz os Montes; to the east on Leon and Spanish Estremadura; to the south on the Portuguese Estremadura and Alentejo; and to the west on the Atlantic. Its length eighty-two miles, its breadth above one hundred; is divided into six corregedorias and two ouvidorias; contains four bishopricks, viz. Coimbra, Viseu, Guarda, and Lamego; four cities, and 234 little towns, with 560,000 inhabitants: in some parts the country is fruitful in wheat and rye, and abounds in game, and sheep, fish, and fruit; in others, an universal sterility reigns. The climate inclines to cold, on account of the quantity of mountains. In some districts near the sea Beira produces excellent wine and oil, as good as that of Andalusia; the English buy most of it, as well as its lemons and oranges. This province is divided into upper and lower by a lofty ridge, called La Serra de Estrella.

The corregedoria of Coimbra, contains one city, many burghs, and 150,000 souls. Coimbra (Conimbriga) was built by the Romans, about 200 years before Christ, on a spot distant one league from the present city; but the Alani having destroyed it, Ataris king of the country raised it anew in 415, on the banks of the Mondego. Coimbra is celebrated

for its university, founded by king Denis, which has seven professorships for divinity, seven for canon law, ten for civil law, seven for physic, one for mathematics, and one for music. The city has a fine bridge over the Mondego, and musters 10,000 inhabitants, besides 4000 students. The bishop is titular Count of Arganil.

The ouvidoria of Montemor Velho contains 30,000 inhabitants; the ancients knew it by the name of Medobriga. This town stands on the banks of the Mondego, thirteen miles from Coimbra, and has 4000 inhabitants. Aveiro, comprised within this district, is a sea-port that improves daily, and with a little expence, may become excellent: its situation, and the fertility of the environs, have allured it to many strangers, English especially, who carry on a considerable traffic in oil. This is the chief town of the duchy of Aveiro, and reckons 4400 inhabitants.

The ouvidoria of Feira contains 42,000 souls; its town, with title of county, is supposed to have been founded by the Austrians, in 1000, at the distance of twelve miles from Oporto. It offers nothing worthy of notice.

The corregedoria of Viseu includes an episcopal city, and 22 small towns, with a population of 95,000 souls. Viseu is situate in the centre of the provinces, between the waters of the Mondego and those of the Vouga; it was founded in the time of Sertorius, by the proconsul D. Brutus, and called Vicontium. Two towers yet remain, of Roman construction, on which appear the eagle and the names of Flaccus and Frontinius, probably the architects or overseers of the building. But the greatest curiosity is the tomb of the ill-fated Gothic king Rodrigo, who, if we are to credit the groundless legend of the Portuguese, escaped from the battle of Xeres and the destruction of his empire, became a monk at Viseu, and died long after in dolour of sanctity.

The corregedoria of Lamego comprehends an episcopal city, 33 towns, and 60,000 inhabitants. Lamego stands on the Douro, in a plain surrounded by mountains. Its origin is carried back to some fugitives of Laconia, 360 years before our æra; Trajan restored it by the name of Urbis Lamacænorum. Notwithstanding many disasters, which at various periods have befallen it, the inhabitants, in number 5000, possess considerable wealth. Here is a great annual fair for horned cattle.

In the corregedoria of Pinhel are 55 towns and 70,000 inhabitants. The town is fortified after the old fashion, and contains nothing remarkable. Almeida is the principal place of the district, and the strongest fortification in Portugal. It has six royal bastions of stone and as many ravelins; that fronting the river Coa, which runs at the distance of a mile, is of a noble extent, and furnished with a *cavalier*, for the purpose of commanding the circumjacent country: there is a good ditch and covered way. Nearly in the centre of the town, on a lofty mound, stands a castle, famous for its strength, and magazines bomb-proof; within its walls are wells, and at a small distance a fine spring of water. The number of souls in the town 25000. The siege and surrender of this place to

the Spaniards in 1762, caused the loss of a great deal of precious time, provisions, and treasure, without obtaining any important end ; the same thing will always happen when the same plan of a campaign shall be adopted ; for the conquest of this fortress is of no importance with regard to the real frontier of Portugal ; the conqueror of Almeida is not more certain of penetrating to the heart of the kingdom, than he was before he took it. An absurd inveterate prejudice urges us often to sacrifice men and money before useless ramparts, merely because the ancestors of our enemies have been such systematic fools as to fortify them.

The corregedoria of Guarda contains an episcopal city, 30 burghs, and 7000 souls. The city of Guarda was founded in 1199, by king Sancho I. near the head of the Mondego, and at the foot of the Serra da Estrella ; its walls are of stone, and turreted ; its castle overlooks the plain. Its population 27000 persons. The prelate resides at Castelbranco. The plain of Guarda is much above the level of the whole province, and commands it completely ; it would be an excellent camp for 20,000 men. Lord Galway in his *Memoirs* decides that it is by far the best post that the Portuguese can take for the defence of Lisbon. It has before it Sabugal, Penamacor, Castelbranco, &c. for advanced stations, commands the defiles that lead from them, and is defended by woods and swamps in front ; while the river Zézere covers its right flank : thus it would protect all Beira, and the towns both of the Tagus and the Douro.

The corregedoria of Castelbranco is composed of 22 burghs, and 40,000 inhabitants. The town stands between two streams, the Liria and the Ponzul, fifteen miles distant from the Tagus ; it is fortified with a double wall, seven towers, four gates, and an old castle once formidable, and contains 4000 inhabitants. Idanha a Nova (New Idanha) is a burgh, so rich and abounding in provisions, that the Spanish army lived upon what it furnished for a whole month. The knights of the order of Christ have the seignory. Penamacor, erected by Sancho I. is on an eminence thirty-five miles from Almeida, and on the Spanish limits ; its castle commands to great advantage the whole range from Castelbranco to the Coa ; but its fine position for defence has not been improved by any works : 2500 inhabitants form its population. The conquest of Beira can only be achieved with ease through the Portuguese Estremadura and the plain of Leiria. To an enemy marching from the Tagus towards Coimbra, the province becomes an easy prey, as its natural defence of mountains, ravines, and defiles, which guard the frontier, are by this line of march turned and rendered useless. A passage along the banks of the Tagus is easily forced, for there the walls and fortresses are in a state of neglect and ruin.

The Portuguese, though guided in general by very erroneous principles in their wars with Spain, seem, however, to have blinded their enemies as to the real point of attack ; indeed, to all appearance, they themselves are completely ignorant of it, for they are now working, at an enormous expence, and great activity, at the repair of that most useless

fortress, Almeida; they are also lavishing great sums upon the fortifications of Elvas, in order to deceive the Spaniards, and induce them still to look upon those as the keys of Portugal; but they do not endeavour to find out what other openings the enemy might push through; a line of posts might, with ease and with little expence, be formed along the mountains and the course of the rivers, which, by a very simple method of fortification and defence, would cover Lisbon and Oporto from insult. But to state the matter fairly, the Portuguese government is not so much to blame, as it knows the character of the Spaniards, and has reason to think they will always esteem Almeida a place of infinite consequence, and its reduction a sufficient reward for a whole campaign; that they will always commence their operations by the invasion of Beira, and by that prejudice keep the war at a distance from both Lisbon and Oporto, the loss of which would endanger the whole kingdom.

The reduction of a few places, which at the peace must be restored, whatever men and money they may have cost you to take and preserve, are nothing to throw into the balance of a negotiation: this truth the French have found out after every German war. In the present state of things, Portugal depends upon Spain's adopting a false, expensive, undecisive system of warfare—woe to Portugal if Spain should discover its error, and take advantage of Portuguese ignorance and negligence.

To return to the siege of Almeida. If the Spaniards undertake it, this project detains them far from Lisbon, gives time for decision in the Portuguese cabinet, and for the arrival of English succours. The fortress, if well defended, may waste a whole campaign, and when taken will be of little use, by reason of its distance from the centre of operations; meanwhile the enemy may take post in the gorges and defiles of Beira, entrench themselves in the fine camp of Guarda, and so ward off from Lisbon the blows of war, against which, in fact, they ought principally to be directed. I even affirm that were all the provinces of Portugal to fall into the hands of an invader, if Lisbon and Oporto be not reduced, the aspect of the war would not be more changed, as far as regards a negotiation for peace, than if nothing had been done; I therefore am confident that the surrender of Almeida, instead of promoting, really retarded the progress of the war. After taking that fortress, the remainder of the campaign was spent in uncertain wanderings and countermarches; the minister disregarded the advice of his general, the Count of Aranda, who, being on the spot, was the best qualified to take a decided part and proper measures. All military men allowed the purity of his intentions, and his prudence, by which alone he repaired the mischiefs occasioned by the disorder in the supplies and hospitals, and enabled the army, by a restoration of health and order, to commence the following campaign under better auspices. His plan was to move against Coimbra, and also seize upon Oporto; the only way to derive any benefit from the capture of Almeida, and to make amends for the lost time. It is clear that if Aranda could have put this project in execution, the war of Por-

tugal would have ended in a very different manner; but still the Count had discerned only a small part of the only plan capable of finishing the war of Portugal in two months, for he would have left time for the enemy to cover Lisbon, and to render the approaches extremely difficult.

After taking Almeida an army advances into Beira, and there meets with the Serra da Estrella, forming a tremendous barrier before the capital. Then you must expect to have to encounter an army of 20,000 Portuguese, and 7000 British soldiers: what is to be done against such a force, intrenched among the mountains, where there is no passage for waggons and artillery, especially if you are without maps, scouts, light baggage, medicines, and provisions, harassed and surrounded by 30,000 brave and desperate peasants.

Estremadura.—Portuguese Estremadura is bounded north by Beira; east and south by Alentejo; west by the Ocean: is one hundred and twenty miles long, and seventy wide; divided from east to west by the Tagus, which falls into the sea a little below Lisbon. Its soil the best in Portugal, produces all its different sorts of fruit; its commerce very considerable, carried on, in great part, by the Brazil fleet. It contains two cities, 111 towns, and 660,000 inhabitants, comprised in six corregedorias, two ouvidorias, and 460 parishes, exclusive of the country of Setuval, which contains a corregedoria and two ouvidorias.

The corregedoria of Lisbon comprises only that metropolis and its district, but reckons 360,000 inhabitants.

Lisbon is situated like an amphitheatre along the Tagus, upon seven high hills and intermediate eminences. If you take in the suburbs, its length reaches near four miles, by two in width. Its latitude 38 d. 42 m. 50 s.; its longitude 9 d. 3 m. According to the fables of antiquaries, it was built 278 years after the flood, by a grandson of Noah, called Elisa; then rebuilt by Ulysses, who gave it the name of Ulyssipona, which is still its appellation in Latin. It was a municipium under the Romans; and at present is the seat of a patriarch, first instituted in 1708. Its college of canons, who are all dignified with the title of Monsignore, and are chosen from the first families of the kingdom, is extremely rich. The patriarch, on solemn days and functions, dresses like the pope, and his canons like cardinals. The city is divided into two towns or sees; the western governed by the patriarch, and the eastern by an archbishop, who is however subordinate to the patriarch. The number of parishes is thirty-seven, of convents of men thirty-two, and of nuns eighteen.

The approach to Lisbon from the sea is defended by the forts of St. Julian and Bugio, which cross their fire, and command the bar: the former, which stands high, and was built during the minority of Don Sebastian, is cut out of the solid stone in an irregular style, because it was necessary to conform to the shape of the rocks, but is almost impregnable; it consists of five irregular bastions and a ravelin on the land side, other works and a number of batteries towards the river. South of this castle is the tower of Bugio, or St. Laurence, placed on a mound of rock and

sand in the middle of the river, in form circular, but of small dimensions; the batteries numerous. Between these two forts runs the bar of Lisbon, crossed in the middle by a bank of stone, called *Os Cachopos*, which beigns at the distance of a gun-shot from fort St. John, or St. Julian, and runs up above six miles to the S. S. W. The channel on the north side is called the *Corredor*, (or *Barra Pequena*) from its narrowness, and is not attempted without a leading wind and the tide. The southern channel, much wider, is called *A Carreira da Alcazova*. Two miles below Lisbon rises the tower of Bellem, near the beach, where vessels are visited by the officers of the customs. Don Manoel erected it by the name of St. Vincent. To the south of it stands the tower of Velha on a rock, its batteries traversing with those of Bellem. There are some batteries level with the water, but very ill distributed. The situation of the city is extraordinary, and, from its great unevenness, little susceptible of regular embellishments. Since the earthquake, which overwhelmed thirty thousand of its inhabitants, Lisbon is little better than a heap of ruins, of tottering palaces, and burnt churches, resembling the demolition of a fortress blown up with gunpowder.

The climate is remarkably pure and salubrious, but subject to violent falls of rain, storms, and earthquakes. The streets are full of filth, and as they are all uneven, billy, and ill paved, the only vehicles in common use are calashes, drawn by two mules. The only level space is called the *Rocio*, and runs along the river side about a mile and a half, being near a mile broad; here formerly stood the royal palace, overthrown to its very foundations by the earthquake; the Count d'Oeyras is covering this space once more with splendid edifices, and straight well-paved streets; it will be ornamented with a broad quay, an arsenal, and a custom-house.

The king lives at Bellem, three miles from Lisbon, encamped in wooden barracks, for he dares not sleep under a house of stone; nor is he to blame; for there have been earthquakes every year since 1755. And had it not been for the necessity of being near so fine a harbour, and the enormous expence attending a change, the whole court would have been removed to Oporto.

The port of Lisbon is indisputably one of the finest in Europe; it has a reach of two miles, sheltered from every wind, easy of access for any tonnage, and for any number of ships; nothing is wanting but a commodious quay for landing and carrying goods: vessels of all nations flock hither, and a prodigious trade is carried on by foreign merchants; most of it is in the hands of the English; and Lisbon in fact may be considered as an English factory, both on account of the number of British subjects resident here in great state and affluence, and of the influence which the court of St. James's has over the politics of that of Portugal.

The *corregedoria* of Torres Vedras contains 18 towns and 40,000 souls. This town was an ancient Roman *præsidium*, as its Latin name of *Turres Veteres* denotes.

The *corregedoria* of Alenquer comprizes eight burghs and 28,000 in-

habitants. Alenquer was built by the Alani, and reckons 2000 souls ; it would be an excellent post for a corps of troops to awe or defend Lisbon.

The corregedoria of Leyria is composed of an episcopal city, 21 towns, and 60,000 inhabitants. Leyria, a bishop's see, stands in a plain near the Lis and Lena, with a strong old castle, and 3600 inhabitants.

The corregedoria of Thomar comprehends 19 towns and 40,000 souls. Thomar was built by Don Galdim Paez, grand-master of the Knights Templars in 1145, a little after the institution of the order of Christ. In 1338, King Dennis and Pope John XXII. assigned to the latter order all the possessions belonging to the former, which had been destroyed in 1312. The town contains 3600 inhabitants.

The ouvidoria of Abrantes has but two burghs, and 12,000 souls. Abrantes, situated on the right shore of the Tagus, is a very ancient place. In the reign of Augustus it was already a municipium : John V. erected it into a marquise. It may be considered as the key of the Tagus, and would soon become a considerable place, if the government were to fortify it, and encourage the navigation of the river up into the country.

The ouvidoria of Ourem is a county, belonging to the reigning branch, and reckons but seven burghs, and 10,000 souls. Ourem, on an eminence, has 1800 inhabitants.

The corregedoria of Santarem contains fifteen towns and 50,000 souls. Santarem is built in the form of a crescent upon the Tagus, about fifty miles from Lisbon, overlooking a noble plain ; its walls are ancient, with six gates, and an old citadel, to which Alphonso VI. added a pitiful horn-work, without curtain or out-works. The Romans called this place *Scalabis* and *Præsidium Julium*. It has often been besieged by the Moors, and its plains have frequently been the scenes of victories obtained over them ; often has it been the residence of kings, and now is very rich, containing 8000 inhabitants, and a chapter of the order of Avis.

The county of Setuval, on the left side of the Tagus, comprizes three jurisdictions ; the corregedoria of Almada, the ouvidoria of Setuval, appertaining to the order of St. Jago, and the ouvidoria of Azeitao, which belonged to the house of Aveiro ; there are in it 20 towns, and 20,000 souls. Setuval, which our sailors have corrupted to St. Ubes, was founded by Alphonso, first king of Portugal, nearly opposite the site of *Cætobriga*, a Roman colony, on the other side of the river Caldao, where they stationed their fleet ; the place is now occupied by the village of Troya. Setuval exports a great deal of salt, oil, oranges, and wine of excellent quality, the greater part of which goes to England. The town is well built, environed with ancient walls and massy towers ; but from the increase of population a second town has been formed beyond this inclosure, and this has been fortified after the modern manner by John IV. with eleven bastions, two demi-bastions, a horn-work, a fort with four bastions, and another in a pentagon form. The place is commanded by the castle of St. Philip, erected by Philip III. of Spain ; in it is a numerous train

of artillery, and fine cistern. On the shore, about a mile off, is the tower of Outato, a light-house joined to a small redoubt, called As Vieiras. There are 1100 inhabitants, many of them in affluent circumstances: its red wine is equal in repute to that of Oporto, and its muscadine wine is most exquisite.

The Portuguese Estremadura ought to be, in all wars, a primary object with the Spaniards; this fertile province can supply an abundance of provisions for an army, that would die of hunger in any other part of Portugal. The Tagus facilitates the carriage of stores and ammunition to Lisbon, which is the point whither Spain must tend, when she means to make peace, to indemnify herself for her losses by sea, and treat upon a perfect equality with her inveterate foes. Her own weakness even, and the fear of not succeeding in the other points of attack, ought to spirit her up to a vigorous assault on this quarter: this plan of warfare must be rapid, without baggage, and without sieges; the event of a battle is doubly hazardous for the enemy; contributions in kind would feed the army, and those imposed in specie upon Lisbon would cover the expence of the campaign; but the attack must be resolute and steady, the country well explored, and the manœuvres executed with decision and promptitude. This province, however, is susceptible of a strong defence, by reason of its great unevenness of surface, and of the multitude of good positions that may be taken to protect the capital. Villa Velha and Abrantes are known to be important posts, but the Portuguese have never yet attempted a stand there. The plain of Santarem and the heights of Alenquer may be occupied to great advantage, as a means of defence, and the campaign may be rendered bloody and indecisive by desultory engagements. Even the metropolis, though an open place, may be defended inch by inch, if the Portuguese be resolute; and its conquest may become a work of bloodshed and difficulty.

Alemtejo.—The province of Alemtejo borders to the north upon the Portuguese Estremadura and a part of Beira; to the east upon Spanish Estremadura; to the south upon the Algarve; and to the west upon the Atlantic and part of Portuguese Estremadura. It is one hundred and forty miles long, by eighty wide. Its soil varies greatly as to its productions; in some parts it is surprisingly fruitful, and in others mountainous, sandy, or burnt up and desert. The climate very unhealthy, especially in summer, on account of the vast quantity of stagnant waters, and the want of springs and rivers. Its greatest products are corn, wine, lemons, citrons, and oranges; it has quarries of fine stone, and many sorts of rich marbles, such as the white of Estremoz, the green of Borba and Villa Vicosa, the red and white of Setuval and Arabida; the clays of Montemor o Novo and Estremoz, much employed in pottery ware. It is quite covered with fortified places, and has always been the theatre of war when the Castilians have invaded Portugal, and frequently the scene of their defeats. It contains four cities, upwards of 100 burghs, and about 280,000 inhabitants; of which the archbishopric of Evora possessess 215,000,

the bishopric of Elvas 40,000, and the bishopric of Portalegre 25,000. It is divided into eight jurisdictions.

The corregedoria of Evora contains one city and twelve burghs. It is a place of great antiquity, and was the abode of the famous Viriatus and Sertorius, the latter of whom added towers to its walls, and caused its celebrated aqueduct to be erected, called *Agoa de Prata*. John III. made it the place of his residence, and strengthened it with modern fortifications. It is surrounded with twelve bastions and two demi-bastions; to the north it has also a square fort, composed of four bastions and as many ravelins, through which passes the aqueduct of Sertorius. The archbishop of Evora, Don de Saldanha, is the chief judge of the kingdom, whose revenues exceed 200,000 crusades per annum. This city, which contains 12,000 inhabitants, was taken by Don Juan of Austria, son of Philip III. in 1663, and retaken by the Portuguese, who defeated that general at Ameixal. Estremoz is the residence of the governor of Alentejo; it is a very pretty town, situate in a very fertile country: it is surrounded by ten bastions, three demi-bastions, several ravelins, and a covered way. The castle is very ancient, but it has been strengthened by four bastions and two demi-bastions; it is, however, commanded on the south by an hill, upon which a square fort, called Saint Joseph, has been constructed, with four bastions and a ravelin, covered by a tenaille towards the country. To the north there is another height at a considerable distance from the place, defended by a redoubt, called Santa Barbara. Nevertheless, with all this appearance of strength, Estremoz is incapable of defence, from the ancient, decayed, and ill-constructed state of its fortifications. It contains near 10,000 inhabitants.

The ouvidoria of Beja comprehends a city, and three towns or burghs; it is situate about nine miles from Evora, and about two from the Guadiana, in a fertile and cheerful country. Julius Cæsar gave it the name of *Pax Julia*; it contains 5000 inhabitants. Moura is within a short mile of the Guadiana: its fortifications were demolished by the Spaniards in the war of the succession, and they have since received little or no reparations, particularly the castle.

The ouvidoria of Campo do Ourique contains fifteen burghs. Ourique is remarkable for little else than the victory which Alphonso Henriquez, first king of Portugal, obtained over five Moorish kings or governors. His army consisted of no more than three thousand men, by whom, and the revelations of an inspired crucifix, he was proclaimed king on the field of battle. It belongs to the order of St. James.

The ouvidoria of Villa Viçosa belongs to the house of Braganza, and contains twelve burghs; Villa Viçosa is nineteen miles to the west of Elvas, and situate in a very fertile plain: it is but indifferently fortified, though famous for a battle gained by the Marquis of Marialva and the Count of Schomberg, against the Marquis of Carancene, in which the Spaniards lost 15,000 men. Here is a fine palace, and a beautiful park stocked with deer, belonging to the Braganza family.

The corregedoria of Elvas consists of an episcopal city and six burghs. Elvas is situate fourteen miles to the west of Badajoz. Though its position is elevated, it is commanded by several heights, of which the two nearest to the town have been fortified. Its origin is attributed to the Gauls, about the year of the world 3009. The fortifications are not very important; they consist of four royal bastions, as many demi-bastions, and a redan. On its south side is fort La Lippe, which the general of that name began in 1763, and whose works are nearly finished: it is not well calculated to defend the place, and demands a very strong garrison. Here is a very beautiful aqueduct, the maintenance of which is attended with great expence. This town was besieged in 1658, by Don Louis de Haro; but the Count Cantanhede came to its relief, forced the lines of the Castilians, killed 6000 of their men, and took a thousand prisoners, with their artillery, ammunition, and baggage.

Oliveenza is situate on the left side of the Guadiana. Its situation, seven miles from the river, is pleasant, particularly that of the castle; it is very populous, and contains near 5000 inhabitants. Campo Mayor, situate opposite to Alburquerque and Badajoz, is a place of considerable importance to this province. Count Schomberg, the saviour of Portugal, strengthened this place with a well-constructed fort; but the fortifications, and a part of the town, were destroyed 16th September, 1732, by the blowing up of a powder magazine; which unfortunate event has greatly weakened as well as dispeopled the place, though the works have been in some measure repaired. At the close of the campaign of 1762, the Spaniards, in order to retrieve their reputation, ordered a considerable detachment to take Campo Mayor; but General Don Gregorio de Muniara, the present minister of war, who commanded that expedition, having failed in arriving before it till it was broad day-light, did not think proper to hazard an attack, and retired without attempting any thing.

The corregedoria of Portalegre consists of one episcopal city and 12 burghs. Portalegre is situate on a gentle elevation, fifteen miles from Spain: its fortifications are ancient and incapable of defence. It contains between 5 and 6000 inhabitants. Arronches is between Portalegre and Campo Mayor, at an equal distance from them both. It owes its foundation to the first kings of Portugal, and is fortified in the ancient manner.

The ouvidoria of Crato contains twelve burghs. Crato belongs to a priory of the order of Malta, and is inclosed by walls.

The ouvidoria of Avis is composed of seventeen burghs. The town is situated on a river of the same name, and forms a triangle with Arayoloz and Estremoz. It is the principal place of the order of Avis, which was first founded at Evora; it has but few inhabitants, and is surrounded with ancient walls. Its territory extends several miles, and belongs to the order.

Alemtejo has been the perpetual theatre of triumph to the Portuguese, and defeat to the Spaniards; nor could it be otherwise. The Spaniards formerly maintained the ill-founded opinion that Alemtejo offered a passage to Lisbon, because it is the post-road. The Tagus, furnished with an army to oppose the passage, cannot be crossed; an army which enters Alemtejo cannot extend its hostilities beyond that province, or at most to Algarve. But the conquest of them both would effect nothing of importance, and can never give a shock to the Portuguese monarchy, whose strength is to be found in Lisbon, Oporto, and America. The strong places of Alemtejo are not in a state to make any vigorous defence; but, besides the expence employed and time lost in taking them, the climate is so fatal, that an army, in spite of every precaution, and the utmost exertions of medical assistance, must necessarily fall a prey to hunger, thirst, and epidemic diseases. The Portuguese cannot wish for a more fortunate circumstance, in a war with Spain, than that their enemies may commence and push on their operations in this province.

Algarve.—The kingdom of Algarve is bounded on the north by the province of Alemtejo; on the east it borders on Andalusia; and to the south and west is terminated by the sea. Its length is about ninety miles, and its breadth from twenty to twenty-five. It was conquered by Sancho II. and has since belonged to the crown of Portugal, notwithstanding the ill-founded claims of Spain. It was afterwards retaken by the Moors, but Alphonso III. reunited it altogether to his dominions, by the capture of Faro. The length of coast from Cape St. Vincent to Almeria, with the opposite shores of Africa, comprising Ceuta and Tangier, then in the possession of the kings of Portugal, were named Algarve; and on this account the sovereigns of Portugal have preserved the title of King of Algarve on this side, and beyond the sea in Africa. This small country possesses an uncommon degree of fertility, and is capable of nourishing four times the number of its present inhabitants. It produces grain, wine, oil, and abundance of fruits, as figs, grapes, and sweet almonds, in which it carries on a considerable trade. The tunny fishery has been more extensive than it is at present, but it still continues to form a principal revenue of this kingdom. It contains four cities, twelve burghs, sixty villages, and 65,000 inhabitants, divided into two corregedorias, and one ouvidoria.

The corregedoria of Lagos comprehends seven burghs and one city. Lagos is situated on the south-east shore of Algarve, at twenty-four miles from cape Saint Vincent. Its bay is secure from winds at N. N. E. and is capable of receiving the largest ships (though it is not without rocks), and the entrance is protected by a battery of cannon. Twenty miles of the coast from Lagos to Sagres are defended by five forts. This town was first built by the Carthaginians: it is fortified in an irregular manner, but possesses a good citadel called Pinhao, which is the residence of the governors and captains general of this kingdom. Lagos contains 2800 inhabitants. Villa Nova de Portimao is nine miles to the east of

Lagos, and is seated on a river which forms a spacious and secure harbour, above a mile broad, and three fathoms deep; but the entrance is dangerous, and requires the assistance of a pilot. This river is navigable to Sylves, with boats only, though it is at no greater distance than eight miles. Each side of the bar is defended by a fort: on the west is that called St. Catherine's, and on the east is St. John's. These two towns contain together about 4000 souls.

The corregedoria of Tavira comprises a city and three burghs. Tavira is seated on a bay of the same name, about seventeen miles from Faro, and fifteen from Ayamonte, a frontier town of Andalusia. The bar is low and irregular, and the channel at the entrance is five fathoms deep. The harbour is protected by two forts, and the place contains about 5000 inhabitants. It is divided into two towns by the river Sequa, over which there is a fine stone bridge. Loule is a small town eight miles N. by W. of Faro, of an ancient appearance, and contains upwards of 4000 souls. Alcoutim is situated at sixteen miles from Castromarin, opposite San Lucar de Guadiana, and contains only 1000 inhabitants. It is the last town in Algarve on the side of Andalusia.

The ouvidoria of Faro comprehends two cities, of which one is episcopal, a single burgh, and a few villages. Faro is distant seventeen miles from Tavira, and thirteen from the fortress of Quarteira, which defends the coast. Its bar is narrow and variable. Its fortifications are modern, but were very much injured by the last earthquake, which made great devastation in Algarve. The bishopric of Sylves was transferred to Faro in 1580, and the town itself was burned in 1596 by the English. It contains at present 7600 inhabitants, and possesses a considerable trade, many foreign merchants being established there. Three times every month a packet-boat arrives there from Gibraltar, for the benefit of the English. At about three miles north between Faro and Loule, there is a village called Estoy, built on the ruins of the ancient Ossobona.

The kingdom of Algarve is almost impenetrable to the Spaniards; nor indeed would an entrance into it be attended with any advantage. In the various wars, therefore, between the two nations it has remained undisturbed, holding forth to the invader no other temptation but internal wretchedness. Its sea coast might be invaded, and its tunny fishery ruined; but, in general, the inhabitants of Cadiz and the coast of Andalusia have, in that respect more to lose than to gain. The coast might be made to furnish good seamen, if the government encouraged such a design. But, after all, this province is of little importance or utility to the Portuguese monarchy, though it is dignified with the pompous title of a kingdom.

THE ARMY.—*Defects of the Portuguese army.*—The Portuguese army has been in a most contemptible state for a century to the period of the war of 1762. In consequence of fifty years of peace, a most destructive earthquake, several famines, and a most abominable conspiracy, it had been totally neglected, and was sunk into the most wretched con-

dition. It was composed of from 8 to 10,000 men, of a class inferior to peasants ; without uniforms, without arms, begging alms or assassinating for a livelihood ; and the officers of these troops were servants, who mounted behind the carriages, or served at the tables of their masters, when they were not on duty. In the war of 1762, the Count de Lippe, set about reforming the whole of it.

The Count de Lippe has rendered an essential service to Portugal, in new modelling its army ; but he remained there too short a time to carry his reform into effect ; besides, he did not make a proper choice of officers to finish the work which he had begun.

When war was declared in 1762, Portugal finding itself without officers, and without soldiers, the government employed every means to engage foreign officers in its service. Instead of applying to the King of Prussia, or the Dutch, for a body of able and tried officers ; instead of holding forth adequate remunerations to military men of any nation, the Portuguese government introduced into its army a great number of foreigners, whose vices and ignorance tended to increase the disorder and pusillanimous spirit which prevailed in it. This evil was cured by a very violent remedy. The minister, having dissembled his resentment at these abuses during the war, which were so evident, that they even forced themselves upon his observation, employed an expedient as fatal as the abuses themselves, by persecuting and driving out of the kingdom every foreign officer without distinction. As to the Portuguese officers, their pay does not enable them to live better than the common soldiers, whose comrades and relations they are. The subaltern posts are filled from among the inferior classes ; and their hatred of foreigners, arising from their having one-half more pay than themselves, prevents their associating with, or receiving any improvement from them ; and hence it is that they remain in ignorance and wretchedness.

The Portuguese soldier is obedient, patient, robust, lively, and dexterous ; but he is, at the same time, idle, filthy, and disposed to find fault with every thing : but he is capable, when properly attended to, of doing credit to his character. His aversion to the Spaniards should be encouraged, but he should be made to comprehend, that he cannot gain any advantage over the superior numbers of that nation, but by superior discipline. The mutual contempt which these nations entertain for each other, arises from their ignorance and their presumption. It is very extraordinary, when it is their mutual interest to know each other, that their reciprocal aversion should operate so powerfully as to prevent any useful communication between them. Hence it is that a war between Spain and Portugal, will consist of little more than groping about in the dark, because neither the one nor the other have maps, or guides, or spies.

These defects of the military establishments in Portugal might have been easily corrected by the Count de Lippe. But to attain such an object, a full power and the exercise of a rigid discipline was indispen-

sable. It would be also necessary to make the appointments of the Portuguese officers equal to those of the foreign officers, in order to dissipate the grovelling jealousies and contempt that subsist between them, and to make talents the only distinction; at the same time to encourage the foreign officers, who live in a continual state of suspicion and distrust, by making them equal sharers in the favour of government, and attaching them to the country by solid establishments. In short, it would be the best policy to reward diligence by attaching to it honour as well as emolument, and to punish indolence by disgrace and the loss of fortune.

STATE OF THE ARMY.—*Infantry, cavalry, light troops, artillery, and fortifications.*—The state of the Portuguese army, independent of its marine and its colonies, consists of 33 battalions, containing 26,000 infantry, and 26 squadrons, which compose about 4000 cavalry. The peasantry also form a militia of upwards of 100,000 men, who serve without pay, but engage with great fury, and are very formidable to the Spaniards, by their manner of fighting; as, from the ignorance of their generals, the neglect of their officers, and the want of discipline in the soldiers, the latter are ever exposed to ambuscades, assassinations, and sudden attacks.

The Portuguese army is in a tolerable state of discipline: it marches and manœuvres well; but it ought more frequently to be drawn out into encampments, that the little manœuvres of exercise might be applied to the great operations of war. The battalions are composed of seven companies, one of which consists of grenadiers, of 140 men each. This formation is imperfect, according to the rules of tactics, as it is not capable of square divisions, without confusion. There are many other faults in its evolutions, the greater part of which proceed from the same principle. Neither are the troops accustomed to remove earth, to practise the manœuvres of attack and defence, as well as the art of fortification; and all this is essential in a country like Portugal, where war must be on the defensive, and carried on in detail. The infantry of the north is very superior in discipline, as well as in stature, to that of the south, especially of the capital and of Elvas.

The cavalry is well mounted on horses from Andalusia, Beira, and Traz os Montes; which are of a moderate height, like those of the Spanish cavalry; but they are all geldings.

It is a problem which experience alone can resolve, whether the gelding or the stone-horse is best qualified for the service of cavalry; and if the quiet disposition of the one is equal, in point of effect, to the ardent spirit of the other. The Spanish cavalry is the only one in Europe which consists of stone-horses, and it is of acknowledged excellence: but it may be doubted whether it possesses sufficient solidity to support a line of infantry. Cavalry should possess these four qualities; order, solidity, force, and swiftness. The Spanish cavalry are famous for the two latter, and the Portuguese possess the two former.

Portugal maintains twelve squadrons of cuirassiers in pretty good condition and discipline. Their breast-plates give them two incontestable

advantages; though the Spaniards are of a different opinion, as they never make use of them. The first is, that they afford protection to the soldier: and secondly, they give him an idea of his superiority over troops who are not clad in such defensive armour. The Portuguese dragoons, however, will never equal those of Spain.

It is a great advantage to this cavalry to keep always in close union with the infantry, and never to engage alone in the plains of Alemtejo, and still less in those of Estremadura, because there is great reason to conjecture that it would fail in an engagement with Spanish cavalry. Its most advantageous place is in the line, where it would be able to support the infantry; and in battle it is better calculated to maintain its ranks, to cover a retreat, or protect the forage. It would execute with less activity, but with more certainty, the great manœuvres as well as the detail of its service. The squadron has the same defect as in Spain, in being composed of four companies which require too many officers, and renders the establishment expensive,

The Portuguese cavalry has this advantage over that of Spain, that it is exercised in firing, and accustomed to leap hedges and ditches in squadrons; a manœuvre which the Spaniards can scarcely believe; but which they could execute better than any other cavalry, if they were exercised in it.

There is but one regiment of light dragoons, of about 12,000 men, very ill exercised, and of course incapable of engaging in that kind of war for which they are designed. The colonel, though a good officer, is not sufficiently active to conduct light troops. Colonel Louis Hollard is the only officer capable of that service in Portugal. It is, nevertheless, indispensable to have a body of from 5 to 6000 light troops in a war with Spain, which being defensive, the only attacks that the Portuguese can make must be by way of incursion.

The artillery is composed of three battalions, but in a very bad state of discipline. The cannon are ill made and clumsy. The minister had the good fortune to engage two excellent founders, brought up under the famous Maritz; but the prevailing prejudice against foreigners has got the better of actual want, and, in consequence of ill treatment, they have been obliged to desert from the service. There are no field pieces, nor any small cannon, to accompany the infantry; which would be of the greatest use in such a country as Portugal, where there is a post at every step. There are three colonels of artillery; Colonel York, an Englishman, who contributed so much to the taking of the Havannah; Colonel Macbean, a Scotchman, who distinguished himself in the allied army in Westphalia; and Lieutenant-Colonel Hollard, a Swiss, but who has been both in the service of Prussia and Denmark, and is well known by his valour and services. He is the only person capable of putting the artillery of Portugal upon a good footing; though he would be employed more essentially in forming a body of light troops.

The corps of engineers is ill formed, and extremely ignorant; they can

do little more than rule paper and page a register. Nevertheless there are two engineers of great reputation among them; Funck, a Swede, who served with distinction under Marshal Saxe, and Miron, a Swiss, a brave and most excellent officer; who was menaced with a trial, for having attempted to restore the fortifications of Almeida, and to defend it against the Spaniards, in 1762. But the cowardice of the governor served as his justification. The School of Engineers is in a very backward state, and in 1766, its most forward scholars had not got beyond the second book of Euclid.

The Portuguese might avail themselves of their foreign engineers to procure correct maps of their country, in which they are totally deficient; at least they might obtain topographical surveys of the chains of mountains, of rivers, valleys, and frontier plains, that every post might be known in case of war. It is said that the Count de Lippe made himself well acquainted with the country which he passed through in 1762, and that he was actually engaged in making maps of it. General Fraser has, since that time, made a tour through the northern division of the kingdom; but he had only draftsmen with him, and I much doubt whether he viewed it with the eye of a master. Colonel Funck has also been employed to make designs of the frontiers; and he presented to the minister a plan of general fortification, which is supposed to have been accepted.

Generals, the Staff, Officers, &c. the Subsistence, the Minister of War.—The Count de Lippe is the restorer of the military art in this country. He is equally amiable, witty, learned, brave, and virtuous. He is intimately acquainted with the sublime parts of war, well skilled in tactics, and a good engineer. He will acquire an high degree of reputation, at the head of the Portuguese troops, if he will cease to neglect them, and return again to re-establish those parts of the army which have fallen into disorder since his absence, and to complete the work which he began, with an equal degree of zeal and success.

The second general is an old Portuguese devotee, the Count Baron of Arcos: he lets every thing go to destruction, because he is incapable of applying a remedy to any thing.

The first lieutenant-general is a Scotch gentleman, Simon Fraser, the son of Lord Lovat. He is young, and served only two years in Canada, as colonel of a regiment of Scotch Highlanders, after having been a barrister at law during the former part of his life. He has a great share of ambition, undaunted courage, a great deal of presumption, and very moderate talents.

There are two field-mmarshals of distinguished character: a German, named Bohm, a creature of the Count de Lippe, a brave and well-informed officer, but rather too much of a courtier; and a Scotchman, named Macklean, a brave and ancient officer, and an excellent commander of infantry. The rest of the staff are Portuguese, with little or no military qualifications, and those whose names are scarcely known.

The court of Lisbon, therefore, ought to procure better, and fix them in its service by just and honourable treatment.

There are some colonels, lieutenant-colonels, and majors, who are good officers, but they are almost all of them strangers. Colonel Smith, an Englishman, passes for a good engineer, as well as commander of cavalry; Macdonnell, Fitzgerald, Campbell, Forbes, and Chauncey, are good officers. There are also some Portuguese noblemen, of whom there are great hopes, from their zeal and their talents: they are the Marquis de Lavradio, the Counts de Prado, and d' Aponte, Deluis de Miranda, Pinto, Acunha, &c.

There is no staff in the Portuguese army, nor that of Spain. The post of major-general of the army was held by a Scotchman, named Preston, who retired from the service at the time of the unfortunate affair of Colonel Craveron. This post has been supplied by two inspectors of the troops. The employment of quarter-master-general is very difficult to fulfil; it is his business to issue all the orders; to provide for every undertaking, whether it relates to military operations, or to subsistence; to arrange, direct, and conduct the passage and movements of the troops, to form maps, and to keep all the archives of the war. There is neither in Spain nor Portugal, companies of guides, nor a train of waggons laden with pontoons, planks, &c. There is no military board, nor any fixed regulations for provision or forage. The great number of places, and the small extent of the theatre of war in Portugal, render this defect less likely to be felt; at the same time the troops always run some risk of dying with hunger.

A commissary named Ferrari, lately passed from the service of Spain into that of Portugal, who regulated the making of bread for the troops, so as to gain 33 per cent. for the government; and in case of a future war, he will, probably, be appointed commissary-general of the army.

The scarcity of forage will always prevent the Portuguese from keeping the field, and maintaining a large body of cavalry; and this circumstance proceeds from a defective state of agriculture. Nevertheless, the supplies for a Portuguese army might be easily collected in two or three strong places in the back parts, from whence they might be drawn with convenience and safety.

The military hospitals form no concern of the king, as a community of monks always charge themselves with that branch of military administration. But regular and fixed hospitals would be more serviceable, and might be contrived.

One of the principal objects to the due regulation of subsistence during war, is the manner of conducting it, at least, to the present time. As soon as the Spaniards enter Portugal, the king publishes a declaration, by which he enjoins his subjects to fall upon the invaders, and the national hatred excites them to execute this ordinance. The Spanish army always pushes on; the villages are depopulated, and their inhabitants fall back upon the capital. The peasants arrive there in crowds,

with their wives and children ; so that the king, who should have nothing more than his army to maintain, finds, at the end of two or three months of the campaign, two or three hundred thousand additional mouths to feed. Another resulting evil is, that the court of Madrid avails itself of the famine which is occasioned by its invading army, induces the Portuguese peasants by kind treatment to abandon their own country, or transport them by force into different provinces of Spain, with their wives, children, and cattle.

To remedy this evil, it would be necessary to regulate the number of militia in time of war, and to prohibit any peasants to resist the enemy, to abandon their villages, or to disobey the conqueror, to whom they, of course, belong, till the force of arms, or returning peace, delivers them from a foreign yoke. But whatever the Spaniards may say to the contrary, this war of the peasantry is by no means important, but to ignorant and undisciplined troops. The burning of two or three villages, and the hanging of as many monks or curates, or principal persons in the parish, quickly puts a stop to the indiscreet and barbarous fury of the country people.

A king of Portugal, who has found the means of regulating his expences by his revenue, will be able to sustain a war, upon equal if not superior terms against Spain. The article of subsistence is the principal and most expensive ; every attention therefore should be given to this fundamental object. Established magazines, and economy in the dispensation of them, form the basis and strength of that defence, which is required of this little kingdom.

The war department is not under proper regulations, and its official proceedings are dilatory. The advanced age of the Count d'Oeyras is a public inconvenience. He is continually occupied in various less important objects, to which he sacrifices his precious time. The minister of war is Don Louis d'Acunha ; a man of honour, but of little credit, and who does nothing. He is scarcely known by one half of the military officers. All the real business is in the hands of a confidential person, and secretary of Count d'Oeyras, Don Miguel d'Arriaga, he is a man of great merit, integrity, and understanding ; but he is only the echo of the count, and that minister being of a dilatory character, no advantage is derived from his superintendence, so that the administration of the army is every year becoming worse and worse. It is divided into two departments ; that of the north, which comprehends the three provinces of Entre Minho e Douro, Traz os Montes, and Beira ; and that of the south, which embraces Estremadura, Alemtejo, and Algarve.

Topography, Rivers, Mountains, and Fortified Places.—Topography, or a knowledge of the position of places ; of the course and current of rivers ; of the extent and inclination of chains of mountains ; and the situation of fortified places, is the first branch of military science, and a necessary part of the detail of a kingdom in a state of war. An enemy must be acquainted with these natural or artificial barriers, either to avoid

or surmount them ; while the citizen ought to know them still better, to employ them as the means of defence. But this grand and leading branch of the science of war, is not duly considered by many nations, particularly those of Spain and Portugal, who have not carried on one single scientific campaign against each other, since the foundation of their respective kingdoms.

Portugal is watered by four principal rivers, which may serve to direct both its offensive and defensive operations. One of these rivers, the Guadiana, which runs from the east to the south-west and the south ; enters into Portugal between Xernimena and Olivença, in Almetejo, and serves, in its course, as a natural ditch to that province and the little kingdom of Algarve, dividing the latter from Andalusia. Though the Guadiana is a considerable river, it cannot be employed to any purposes of utility in the present war, from the small importance of the provinces through which it flows, and because it is incapable of being navigated by boats for more than thirty-six miles, from Mertola to the sea. The other rivers run from east to west. The Minho divides a part of Galicia from a part of Entre Minho e Douro ; but it does not serve as the least defence to the latter province, which may be attacked without crossing this river. The Douro, coming from the kingdom of Leon, enters Portugal ; and, after dividing it, empties itself into the sea, near the city of Oporto. It is navigable by boats from Lamego, a course of above fifty miles ; its banks are rich, and it may be rendered very serviceable if that place should be the object of military operations. But the most important river of Portugal, the key of Lisbon, and the nursing mother of those armies which enter into that kingdom, is the Tagus. For about seventy-two miles from Alcantara to Abrantes, its course is interrupted by rocks and falls, and consequently incapable of navigation ; but from Abrantes to the sea, which is ninety miles ; it is navigable by vessels of considerable burden, which may convey all the necessary supplies of war. Its right bank, though mountainous, is very abundant in provisions and cattle, and is covered with villages ; while the left is marshy and barren. From Santarem, upon the right bank, to Lisbon, a distance of fifty miles, the declivity is so great, that the first of these towns commands the latter, and is the key of the country. Several small rivers discharge themselves into the Tagus ; the principal of which are the Elga, (which divides Beira from Spain) the Ponsul, the Laca, the Zezere, and the Rio Mayo. The state of the country increases the means of defence, and the difficulties of attack. All these small rivers, which descend from the mountains of Beira are very unequal and dangerous in their course ; sometimes they appear only as shallow brooks and sometimes as rapid torrents, which inundate the adjoining country. The Count de Lippe, in 1762, being encamped at Puihete, after the march of the Spaniards towards Villa Velha, and having the Zezerê, with its bridges, in his rear ; this river, in consequence of violent rains, was so greatly increased, that the bridges were broken down, and he found himself inclosed, without resource, between the Tagus and the Zezere.

The province of Beira has not so many strong places as Alemtejo; but it is nevertheless almost impenetrable. The town of Almeida, taken in 1762, possesses considerable strength, and it will be still stronger from the repair of its works now carrying on by Colonel Funck. But this town does not cover Lisbon, and serves only to guard the entrance into the upper Beira, which the Spanish army can have no inducement to obtain.

The province of Traz os Montes has no strong places that are capable of defence. But the Spaniards well know, by fatal experience, the consequence of carrying their arms into a province, at once barren, mountainous, and difficult of access. Its strong places have been constructed in low situations, which are commanded on all sides, such as Miranda, Outeiro, Bragança, and Chaves. This province is intersected by rivers, hollow ways, and mountains: particularly that of Marom, which covers Oporto, Braga, and the province of Entre Minho e Douro.

Entre Minho e Douro, possesses two principal places, Valença and Monção, which are but ill fortified, but whose condition will be immediately improved on a new plan. It is full of small forts and ancient castles, the remains of former wars, which may serve as posts to check an attempt of the enemy to penetrate to Oporto. That city is entirely open and very opulent, and while it is the only object of an invasion on that side, is well worth an attempt. At the mouth of the Minho is the small town of Caminha, a regular fortification, but commanded on all sides. A chef d'œuvre of scientific infatuation.

The strongest and most important place in the southern division, or the left side of the Tagus, and indeed of all Portugal, is Elvas; because the Spaniards cannot penetrate into Alemtejo and leave this place behind them: as well as Almeida, it requires so numerous a garrison, as to prove an inconvenient diminution of the strength of the army. It is an ancient place, with irregular bastions, and a cordon commanded by two mountains, upon which have been constructed the forts La Lippe and St. Lucia.

The leading object of the Portuguese, in a war with Spain, should be to cover both sides of the Tagus; and for this purpose Castello de Vide on the left bank presents an excellent position.

The sea coast is defended by Setuval and the fort Sagres, at the point of Cape St. Vincent. Algarve is impenetrable, and the islands of Tavira, behind which ships in time of war may be secure from privateers, are fortified, though they received considerable injury from the great earthquake. Estremoz, as well as Évora and Beja, have no defence but the old walls with which they are invested.

Portugal has about 15 or 20 strong places, and not more than 8 or 10,006 men to garrison them, without disabling its army from keeping the field.

The army of Portugal is more respectable than the Spaniards imagine, because they judge from the condition in which they saw it during the last war.

THE INTRODUCTION.

AMONG the principal events of this last age, none deserves our attention more than the revolt of Portugal, in 1640. The unanimity, zeal, and secrecy, with which this conspiracy was carried on for a long time, between persons of different ages, sexes, and qualities; the ardour for recovering their liberties, which animated them to encounter difficulties, in appearance insuperable; and lastly, the complete success, and the little blood lost in the execution of this mighty enterprize, make it truly admirable and surprising.

This work was written in French, not very long since, by the Abbot Vertot, since author of the History of the Revolutions of Sweden; both which works have been received with the approbation of the public. The materials out of which he compiled this volume, are for the most part * printed accounts, journals, gazettes, and the relations of persons who were at Lisbon when this Drama was acted. Most of these are indeed ill enough written, but have received a life and lustre since they have been touched by his incomparable pen. I might, in this place, commend the vivacity, politeness, and fidelity, with which this work is written; but I shall rather chuse to give the reader a view of the state of affairs which led to the revolution which is the subject of it.

Portugal was first erected in the year 1139 into a kingdom by Alphonso I. who, after he had defeated the Moors, refused to pay that homage to Spain which his father had. After him Alphonso III. his great grandson, had Algarva given him in dowry with the princess Beatrix, daughter to Alphonso the tenth king of Castile, which still gives a title to the heir apparent of the crown. Thus Portugal continued an independent kingdom, governed by its own princes, till the brave Sebastian unfortunately perished in the battle of Alcazar, Aug. 4, 1578, without leaving any issue behind him. The cardinal Dom Henry, his great uncle, succeeded to the throne, whose reign lasted but sixteen months. After his death, divers princes and princesses pretended to the crown. Catherine, dutchess of Braganza, Philip II. king of Spain, the duke of Parma, the duke of Savoy, and Dom Antonio, grand prior of Crete, were all descended from Dom Emanuel, father of the cardinal king, but in different degrees: there were only the dutchess of Braganza, and the king of Spain in the same degree, and nearest the crown. Catherine was daughter to the Infant Edward, and Philip was son to the empress Elizabeth, both children to Dom Emanuel. The grand prior was only natural son to the infant Dom Lewis, second son of Dom Emanuel, but his party gave out, there was a secret marriage between that prince and

* Portugal restaurado de Menezes Caet. Passarel. Lusitania reparata de Macedo, Mercure Francois de Renandot Siry, et Recueil de relations extraordinaires.

his mother. Catherine de Medicis, queen of France, sent a deputation to the states, to represent her title as descended from Alphonso III. king of Portugal, and Maud countess of Bolonia. The pope too put in, and drew an advantage from king Henry's dying a cardinal; but all these pretensions were little considered. All were agreed, and the most able lawyers had determined, that the apparent right was in the dutchess of Braganza, not only because the laws of the kingdom exclude foreigners from succeeding to the crown; but likewise by the right of lineal descent, as daughter of the infant Edward, whose title could not be disputed by the empress Elizabeth his sister, mother to the king of Spain. And doubtless, this dutchess would have been acknowledged as queen of Portugal, had she had the power necessary to assert her rightful pretensions.

THE HISTORY OF PORTUGAL,

FROM THE REVOLUTION IN THE YEAR 1640 TO THE PRESENT TIME.

THE Spaniards had been near * threescore years in possession of the crown of Portugal. Philip the second, king of Spain, after the death of Henry cardinal-king, had forced it from the house of Braganza, by the help of a formidable army, the best argument to support a bad title. This kingdom was by degrees become a province of Spain, and the Portuguese seemed for ever to despair of shaking off their chains. The great men did not dare to appear in a splendor suitable to their rank, or demand a due respect, for fear of raising jealousies in the Spanish ministers, at a time when the consideration of a man's wealth, family, or merit, were enough to render him suspected, and expose him to ill usage. The gentry were banished to their country seats, and the people oppressed with excessive taxes.

It was a maxim with the Conde Duke d' Olivarez, first minister to Philip the fourth, king of Spain, that new conquests ought to be exhausted. He knew very well the ancient and natural antipathy of these neighbouring nations must render the Spanish government hateful to the Portuguese; and that nation could never tamely see all places in the state filled with strangers, or fellows of mean extraction, whose only merit was their entire devotion to the court. For this reason he thought the best way to establish his master's power, was, to exclude the nobility and gentry from all employs and public trust, and by insensibly impoverishing the people, to leave them incapable of attempting any alteration in the state. Besides this, he judged it necessary to drain the kingdom of the flower of their youth, and the best who could bear arms, and to employ them in foreign wars, to prevent such dangerous people from disturbing the repose of the government.

This conduct, which possibly might have succeeded, if it had been carried to a certain pitch; being strained too high, had a quite contrary effect, which proceeded partly from the distress in which the court was at that time, and partly from the temper then of the first minister, naturally stiff and inflexible. They began now to disregard all measures with Portugal, disdaining to use the ordinary pretences for raising money on a people. In short, they seemed more to exact a contribution in an enemy's country, than a just imposition on subjects. The Portuguese having nothing more to lose, and despairing to see an end or mitigation of their misery, as long as they continued in their present condition, be-

* Since the year 1581.

gan now to think of freeing themselves from the severity of their cruel masters, which they had ever esteemed usurpers, and intolerable tyrants.

Margaret, duchess of Mantua, governed Portugal at that time in quality of vice-queen ; but this was but a glittering title which the court has given to a very limited power. The secret councils, and the great management of affairs, were entrusted in the hands of Moguel Vasconcellos, a Portuguese, who had the character of secretary of state to the vice-queen, but was indeed an absolute and independent minister.

This man received his orders from the Conde duke, whose creature he was, with whom he had ingratiated, and made himself necessary by a singular art he had of drawing perpetually considerable sums out of Portugal ; and an intriguing wit, which enabled him to accomplish his private designs. He had the art of raising feuds and animosities among the great men of the kingdom, which he would craftily foment by his favour, and affected distinctions, by which he was sure to please and engage those who received them, and to create spite and envy in the rest. While these divisions continued, he concluded all was safe, persuading himself the contending parties would be wholly employed in satisfying their resentments, and not have leisure to attempt any thing against the settled government.

There was no man in Portugal besides the duke of Braganza, who could give the Spaniards the least disquiet. This prince was of a mild and sweet temper, a lover of ease ; more a man of good sense, than quickness of wit. In business he went to the main point ; and easily made himself master of what he applied himself to, but seldom cared for application. Duke Theodosius his father, a hot and violent man, had laboured to infuse into him an hereditary hate to the Spaniards, whom he looked on as usurpers of a crown which belonged to his family, and used all possible means to fill his breast with the ambition of regaining his right, and all the heat and courage which is necessary for so great and hazardous an enterprise.

Dom John had indeed imbibed the sentiments of his father, not to so high a degree, but in such a manner as suited his calm and moderate temper. He hated the Spaniards, but not so as to be in pain to revenge the injury. He had ambition, and did not despair of re-ascending the throne of his ancestors ; but in this he did not shew so much impatience as duke Theodosius had done ; he contented himself with a distant prospect of a crown, without hazarding the repose of his life, and a certain fortune, which was already the greatest that could consist with the condition of a subject.

In short, it is most certain, if he had been precisely what duke Theodosius wished him, he had been less fit to obtain what he designed him for. The Conde duke observed him with so strict an eye, that if his manner of living had not been entirely the effect of his natural inclination, that vigilant minister would have soon descryed it ; and this must have been fatal to his ease and fortune. The court of Spain would never

have entrusted him with so large a power, or suffered him to lead an unmolested life in the heart of his country.

The most refined politics could never have taught so wise a conduct towards the Spaniards, as the bent of his genius, his birth, his fortunes, his title to the crown; but by the laws of politics it is ever a crime to be formidable. This he knew well enough, and saw plainly there was but one way for him to take: and this his inclination, as well as reason, led him to. There was but one way to lessen his offence, and that was to render himself less feared. To this end he concerned himself in no manner of business, and seemed wholly bent on his diversion and pleasure. He acted very well this part; and at Villavieiosa, the ordinary residence of the dukes of Braganza, there was nothing but hunting-matches, entertainments; and all those about him were a sort of people proper to make the pleasures of a delicious country relish. In short, nature and fortune seemed to conspire; one to give him all the qualities proper for the present state of affairs; and the other to dispose the state of affairs to display his natural qualities.

These did not shine enough to give the Spaniards grounds to fear he would attempt to make himself king; but they appeared solid enough for the Portuguese to hope for a mild and easy government of themselves, should they re-place him on the throne of his ancestors.

His conduct did not give the least jealousy, till a certain accident alarmed the first minister.

The people of Evora being oppressed with new taxes, and reduced to despair, rose; and, in the heat of the tumult, some of their leaders began to exclaim against the Spanish tyranny, and declared publicly for the house of Braganza. This accident made the court sensible how much they had mistaken their interest, in leaving so rich and potent a family, whose rights to the crown were so clear, in the midst of a conquered country.

For this consideration the council of Spain resolved to secure the duke of Braganza, or at least to send him out of Portugal. In the first place they offered him the government of Milan; which he refused, pretending his frequent indisposition; that he had not a sufficient knowledge of the affairs of Italy to acquit himself in a post of so much difficulty and weight.

The minister seemed to approve his reasons, but looked out for some other means to bring him into court. The king's marching to suppress the revolt in Catalonia, was the matter which afforded the next pretence. Upon this occasion he writes to him to come at the head of the nobility of his country, to join the troops of Castile in so glorious an expedition, where the king commanded in person. But the duke, who had a just suspicion of whatever came from court, soon discovered this artifice, and excused himself from this attendance; pretending, that his birth and quality obliged him to an extraordinary expence, and his fortunes were not in a condition to support it.

France and Spain were at that time engaged in a war, and the French fleet had been cut off the coast of Portugal; and this occasion gave that minister a fair colour to cover his design. It was necessary to appoint some general to command the forces which were designed for the defence of the coasts, and preventing the French from making a descent. He sent the duke, therefore, a commission for this purpose, which was so filled with compliments, and intrusted him with so unlimited a power to encrease or make alteration in all garrisons, and dispose of vessels in the ports at his discretion, that by so absolute a confidence he seemed to deliver the whole kingdom into his hands. But this fair appearance only concealed the snare; and at the same time he sent secret orders to Dom Lopez Ozono, who commanded the Spanish fleet, to put into one of the ports, near where the duke should happen to be, upon pretence of being driven in by stress of weather, and then to invite him to some entertainment, and when he was aboard to bring him into Spain. But fate ordered matters quite otherwise; and the Spanish admiral being surprised with a tempest, lost several of his ships; and the rest were so dispersed, that he could not land with them in Portugal.

The ill success of this project did not dismay the Conde duke; he imputed the duke of Braganza's escape wholly to chance and fortune, concluding, that all things must necessarily have answered his desires, if Dom Lopez had arrived in the ports of that kingdom according to his instructions. And, therefore, he invents a new trick, and writes to that prince in the most obliging manner he could imagine, filling his letter with the highest expressions of confidence, as if he had been a partner with himself in the ministry and government. In this letter he complains of the misfortune of the fleet, and how sensible he was of the loss they had sustained, at a time when the enemies were so formidable at sea; that being unhappily deprived of the naval strength, which should have guarded their coasts, the king wished he would take an exact review of all the forts and harbours of that kingdom, which might be exposed to the insults of the French. And with this he sent an order for forty thousand ducats for the defraying his expences, and raising more forces in case it should be needful.

At the same time the governors of the citadels, most of whom were Spaniards, had secret orders sent to secure his person, when a favourable occasion should present, and send him into Spain.

The duke of Braganza reflecting on these high marks of confidence; and how little agreeable this was to the usual conduct of that minister, began to suspect the sincerity of his intentions, which, in the end, caused the author to fall into that snare which he laid for another. The prince, therefore, writes back to assure him, that he accepted with abundance of joy the command which the king had given him; that he hoped by his application, and zeal for his service, he should justify his choice, and shew himself worthy of the favour he had so graciously conferred on him.

And now having a nearer prospect than before of re-mounting the throne of his ancestors, he made use of all the power he was invested with

to put his friends into all posts and employs where they might one day be useful to him. He expended the Spanish monies in making new creatures; and when he visited the forts, it was always with great attendance, which made them despair of seizing his person.

The whole court of Spain began to murmur that a trust of so high a nature should be lodged in him, the king only being privy to the reasons of this conduct. Every one began to rail at the conde duke, as allied to the house of Braganza, urging, that it was the last imprudence to make a person general of the forces in Portugal, who had so great pretensions to the crown of that kingdom; that this was in effect to put him in a condition to assert his title, and turn his arms against his lawful sovereign. This served only to confirm the king in his resolution, who approved the design better when he found the people did not discern the secret of it. In the mean time the duke of Braganza, by virtue of his new employment, traversed all parts of Portugal; in which progress he laid the foundations of his restoration. His equipage was magnificent, and drew the eyes of the people wherever he came. He heard all who came to him with great mildness and sweetness of temper. He kept the soldiers from committing the least disorder; frequently extolled the officers, winning them by all the recompences which were in his power to bestow. His free deportment charmed the nobility; all of whom he received with obliging distinctions, according to their merit and quality: In short, he dispensed his favours wherever he came, and won more by hopes of future benefits than present; and all who were about him began to esteem it the greatest happiness which could befall them, that so noble a prince should be restored to the throne.

The party who adhered to his interest, omitted nothing which might conduce to establish his reputation. Among these, none laboured more effectually than Pinto Ribeiro, comptroller of his household, to set all machines on work, and form a scheme for the advancement of his master. This man had all the qualities proper for a business of this nature: He was active, vigilant, had great experience in business, and a violent passion for the restoration of the duke; doubtless flattering himself with the hopes of having a large share in the ministry, whenever he should bring this to pass. The prince had in private assured him, that he would lay hold of any fair occasion to place himself in the throne, but was resolved not to hazard this at all adventures, as a man who had nothing to lose; that he might manage the people, and gain as many creatures as he could, provided himself did not appear to have any share in what he did.

Pinto had for a long time laboured with great industry to observe who were disaffected, and to encrease the number. For this purpose he privately raised murmurs against the present government; sometimes railing against the government with a great deal of warmth, at other times with more reserve, according to the character or humour of the persons he was with. He would frequently remind people of quality of the honourable posts their families had formerly enjoyed when Portugal was governed by its natural princes. But nothing exasperated the nobility more, than

the summons which the king had sent them to attend him into Catalonia. Pinto inveighed against this expedition, representing it as a sort of banishment; urging, that they must not hope to return without great difficulties; that, besides a vast expence, they must endure the hateful insolence of the Spaniards; that the court of Spain had a private interest to destroy the bravest men, or expose them in all places where there was most danger, and least glory to be obtained.

If he happened to be among citizens or merchants, he exclaimed against the injustice of the Spaniards, who had ruined Lisbon and the whole country of Portugal, by transferring the trade of the Indies to Cadiz; he entertained them with nothing else but discourses of the extreme misery they were reduced to by so tyrannical a government: extolling the Hollanders and Catalonians, who had nobly delivered themselves. In the last place, he suggested to the clergy how they had violated the privileges and immunities of the church: that the most considerable dignities and benefices, which ought to be a recompence to the merit and capacity of the Portuguese, were become a prey to foreigners.

In company of those whom he knew to be disaffected, he would ever turn his discourse to his master's humour and manner of living. Here he would complain of that idle life in which he seemed to be buried, expressing his great regret, that the only person who was able to remedy their grievances, should shew so little affection to his country, or concern for his honour; and observing these discourses to make an impression on them, he pushed matters so far, as to flatter some with the glorious title of the asserters of the liberty of their country, raising their indignation at the ill treatment of the Spaniard, and to give others hopes of advancing their fortunes by a revolution.

In short, he managed the temper of the people with so great skill, that being well assured of divers privately, he procured a meeting of the nobility, with the archbishop of Lisbon at their head.

This prelate was descended of one of the best houses (D' Acugna) in that kingdom; was a man of learning, an able statesman, and beloved by the people, but hated by the Spaniards, whom he hated no less, because they had preferred the archbishop of Braga, (Dom Sebastian de Mattos de Noroigua), a creature of the vice-queen, whom they had made president of the chamber of Opaco, and given a share in the administration of affairs.

Dom Miguel d' Almeida was one of the most considerable members of this company. This was a venerable old gentleman, who had gained a mighty esteem by his worth. He placed his glory in preferring the interest of his country to his fortunes, and could not without indignation see it enslaved by usurpers. He persisted in this sense his whole life with great bravery and resolution, and neither the advice of his friends, or the intreaties of his relations could ever induce him to go to the palace, nor make his court to the Spanish ministers. The steadiness of his conduct had created some jealousy of him, and determined Pinto to pitch on him to make his declaration to, being well assured he should not hazard any

thing in making a confidence with a man of such a character, and one who was able to bring so great a number of the nobility over to his party.

Dom Antonio d' Almada, an intimate friend to the archbishop was there, and Dom Lewis his son ; Dom Lewis d' Acugna, nephew to that prelate, and married to the daughter of Dom Antonio d' Almada, the master of the horse ; Mello, Dom George's brother ; Pedro Mendoza, Dom Rodrigo de Saa, high chamberlain, and divers officers of the royal family, whose places were become empty titles, since Portugal had lost her natural kings.

At this meeting the archbishop, who was naturally eloquent, displayed the calamitous state of that kingdom ; he represented to them, how Philip the second, to secure his conquest, had destroyed an infinite number of the nobility : that he had not spared the church, witness the famous brief of absolution (Conestagio) which he had obtained of the pope for the massacre of two thousand priests and religious persons, whom he had put to death to secure his usurpation : That since those dismal times, the Spaniards had not changed their measures : That they had taken off a great many worthy persons for no other crime, than their love to their country : That no man present had his life or estate secure to him : That the great men were excluded from the government, destitute of employ, and neglected : That the church had been filled with a scandalous clergy, since Vasconcellos had bestowed benefices as rewards on his creatures : That the people were oppressed with taxes ; the country wanted hands to till it, and the cities were desolate, being exhausted by those forces which were sent into Catalonia : That these orders to summon the nobility under a pretence of attending the king, were the last shift the minister could use to take off the remains of those gentlemen whom he conceived might be an obstacle to his pernicious designs : That the least misfortune which could befall them, must be a tedious banishment, and they must wear away their lives in the heart of Castile, while new colonies were possessed of their estates at home : That for his part, in this deplorable state of things, he should chuse to die, rather than see the entire ruin and destruction of his country, if he had not some hopes that so many worthy persons were not met together to no purpose.

This speech revived in the company the uneasy memory of those grievances they had so long laboured under. Every one was earnest to give some instances of the cruelties of Vasconcellos ; some had lost their estates by his injustice, others had been turned out of their hereditary places and governments to make room for his creatures ; divers of them had for a long time groaned in prison to satisfy the jealousy of the Spanish ministers ; some were concerned for the loss of their fathers, brothers, friends detained at Madrid, or sent into Catalonia as hostages for the fidelity of their countrymen. In short, there was no one in this public cause who had not some private injury to revenge. The expedition into Catalonia incensed them, and raised their indignation to the last degree. They saw plainly this did not proceed from any necessity, which constrained the Spaniards to make use of their assistance, but a design

of that court to ruin them by so long a march. These considerations, joined with the hopes of revenging so many affronts as they had received, determined them, and made them resolve to take all proper measures to throw off a yoke which they found too heavy to bear; and being deprived of all hopes of mitigating their unhappy condition, they reproached their patience as a baseness and meanness of spirit, and unanimously agreed there was a necessity of driving out the Spaniard, but were divided what form of government they ought to prefer.

One part of the company were for a republic, like that of Holland; another part were inclined to have a king; and of this number some proposed the duke of Braganza, others the marquis de Villareal, and others the duke d' Aveiro, all three princes of the royal blood of Portugal, each delivering his mind as his fancy or interest led him. But the archbishop, who was devoted to the house of Braganza, dextrously using the authority of his character, made a remonstrance, not without some vehemence; alledging, that the choice of government was not arbitrary: That they could not in conscience break that oath of fidelity which they had taken to Spain, except it were to do justice to the rightful heir of that crown; which all the world knew was the duke of Braganza; and, therefore, they must resolve to acknowledge him as their king, or for ever remain under the dominion of Spain. In the next place he desired them to reflect on the power, the great wealth, and the vast number of vassals of that prince, on whom one third of that kingdom depended; urging, they could never hope to drive out the Spaniards, unless they had him at their head; and that to engage him in an affair of this nature, they must offer him the crown, whose right was indubitable, as being the first prince of the blood. From thence he passed to his good qualities, extolling his prudence, wisdom, and especially the sweetness of his temper, and his obliging behaviour. In short, he gave so happy a turn to this matter, that they all declared for him as their king, and agreed, that nothing should be wanting that could engage him in this design. Thus the company broke up, having first agreed on the time and place where they should meet again, to consider of the best means to bring the matter to a speedy and successful issue.

Pinto seeing them thus disposed in favour of his master, writ privately to him to come into the neighbourhood of Lisbon, for the encouraging the conspirators by his presence, and taking precise measures with them for the execution of that design. This crafty man put in motion all the wheels in that affair, without appearing to be any farther concerned than a private person, acted by a zeal for the public service. He seemed to doubt whether his master would enter into it, upon the account of his natural aversion to all hazardous undertakings, which require application and attendance. He started some difficulties, which served only to remove all suspicion of any understanding between him and his master; and yet were such as tended rather to excite their ardour, than discourage them.

Upon the advice which Pinto gave, the duke some days after left Villaviciosa, and came to Almada, a castle near Lisbon, under colour of visiting the forts of that kingdom. His equipage was very magnificent, and he had a vast train, composed of men of quality, and officers of the army; which more resembled a king taking possession of his kingdom, than of a governor of a province visiting the places under his care and inspection. Being near Lisbon, he could not dispense with paying his duty to the vice-queen. When he entered the great court of the palace, all the avenues were filled with an infinite number of people, who crowded to see him pass along, and most of the nobility came to his house to wait on him. It was a general holy-day throughout the town, and all people were overjoyed to see him; there seemed only to want a herald to proclaim him king, or resolution enough in himself to put the crown on his head.

But this prince was too wise, and had too much experience to trust so important a concern to the sallies of a fickle and inconstant multitude; he very well understood the vast difference between those vain shouts which the people soon quit, and those steady motions which are necessary to support an enterprise of that nature. Thus after he had taken his leave of the vice-queen, he retired to Almada, without going to Braganza-house, or passing through the city, to prevent making the Spaniards uneasy, who were already too much alarmed at the transports of the people.

Pinto did not fail to observe to his friends the fear and caution which his master used; urging, that they ought to improve the opportunity of his stay at Almada, to break the matter to him, and to use some sort of violence to engage him to accept of the crown, which was at this time absolutely necessary for the public good. The conspirators approving this advice, appointed him to obtain of his master some favourable occasion for making this proposition: he accepted this commission without much difficulty, and the Duke of Braganza agreed to an interview, on condition that only three of the conspirators should meet him, not judging it proper to explain himself to more.

So Miguel d'Almeida, Antonio d'Almada, and Mendoza, came to him that night; and being introduced privately into his closet, d'Almada, who spoke for the rest, made a lively representation of the unhappy state of that kingdom, where persons of all conditions were exposed to the injustice and cruelty of the Castillians; adding, that himself, with all his greatness, was not secure from their attempts: that he was too discerning a person not to observe the industry which the prime minister used to destroy him: that there was no other refuge to escape his ill designs except the throne: that in order to put him into that, he had commission to offer him the services of a considerable number of persons of rank, who would sacrifice their lives and fortunes with pleasure for his interests, and to deliver their country from its insolent masters.

In the next place he told him, the time of Charles the fifth and Philip the second was past, when the Spaniards were the terror of Europe, and gave laws to their neighbours: that this monarchy which had for-

merly conceived such vast designs, could now scarce preserve her ancient territory, was attacked, and often beat by the French and Hollanders: that Catalonia alone employed her utmost strength: that she was destitute of troops and money, and governed by a weak prince, who himself was governed by a minister hateful to the kingdom. He wished him to consider the alliance and protection which he might expect from those princes in Europe who were eternal enemies to the house of Austria: that Holland and Catalonia shewed what assistance he might expect from a great minister (Cardinal Richelieu), whose mighty genius seemed bent to ruin that house: that the sea opened a way for receiving all necessary supplies. In short, that the kingdom being emptied of the Castilian garrisons, which the king had been forced to draw out of Portugal, to increase his army in Catalonia, he could never hope for a more favourable juncture to assert his right, and free his country from tyranny and slavery.

It may easily be thought this discourse was very well relished by the duke of Braganza; but he with that coldness, which was natural to him, so ordered the expressions of his reply to the deputies, that he seemed neither to lessen or encrease their hopes.

He told them, that he was of their opinion: That the Spaniards had reduced the kingdom to a deplorable state: That himself was not exempt from danger; That he could never enough commend their zeal for their country; and that he was in particular very much obliged to them for the favourable regard they had for his interest: but after all, he doubted if the time was yet come, to think of such violent remedies as they proposed, which always had very bad consequences, if the event did not fall out as was projected.

To this answer (for a more positive one he would not give) he added so many caresses and obliging thanks to each man in particular, that they went away satisfied that their message was well received; but that they must expect the prince would make no more advances in the matter, than by giving his consent when things should be in a condition to put the success out of doubt.

After the deputies were gone, he agreed with Pinto what new measures were best to be taken, and so went back to Villa-viciosa; and now he began to feel a disquiet of mind, which hindered him from relishing the pleasures of a private life.

As soon as he was returned, he communicated to the duchess, his wife, the propositions which had been made to him. This princess was of Spanish extraction, and sister to the duke of Medina Sidonia, a grandee of Spain, and a governor of Andalusia. She had by nature a strong inclination to whatever was great and noble, which in time was grown up to a boundless passion for glory. The old duke finding mighty things were to be expected from her wit and courage, had taken care to improve the gifts of nature by a suitable education. He placed about her the fittest persons to inspire ambition into her breast, which the world regards as something noble, and the chief virtue of a prince. She learned several

tongues with a great deal of ease, but nothing could come near that wondrous sweetness with which she expressed herself in her natural language. In the sound of her voice, and in every word she spoke, was a secret charm, which ravished all who heard her. Her air was noble, great, and free, full of majestic sweetness, which at the same time inspired love and respect into those who were about her.

She took the Portuguese air with so much ease, she seemed born at Lisbon. In the first place, she was careful to win the esteem of her husband, which she perfectly well did by the austerity of her life, by a solid devotion, and a perfect compliance to his relish. She waved those pleasures which are the ordinary amusement of persons of her quality and age, and seemed to employ her leisure hours in those things which might embellish her mind, or improve her judgment.

The duke of Braganza was transported with the happiness of enjoying so finished a woman: He had an infinite esteem for her, and an entire confidence in her: He never undertook any thing without consulting with her, and therefore had a care not to engage in an affair of this kind without her advice and opinion.

He discovered to her the plan of the conspiracy, the names of the persons privy to it, their zeal and warmth, and every particular that had passed at Lisbon, and the conference at Almada. He added, that on the news of the expedition into Catalonia, he plainly saw that the nobility would revolt, rather than be compelled to leave their country: That, it was to be feared, upon his refusal, they would look out for another head: That notwithstanding, he could not forbear confessing, that the danger of the enterprize startled him: That as often as he had thought of this design at a distance, the flattering idea of greatness had made an agreeable impression on his mind; but now he was upon the point of putting this in execution, and running all the risks of so hazardous an undertaking, he could not look without dread on the danger which he and his whole family were about to throw themselves into. That the fickle humour of the multitude was not much to be relied on, the edge of whose courage is taken off by the least difficulty, and they easily disperse by every blast of wind. That it was not sufficient for him to have the nobility on his side, unless they were supported by the great men of the kingdom, but very far from hoping they would come over to his interest. He could not but foresee they would be the most cruel of his enemies; the natural pride of mankind never suffering them to make a master of one who has once been their equal.

These considerations, with several others; as the power of Spain, the small assurance of foreign assistance, balanced his passion for government. But the duchess, who had a greater firmness of mind, and a more lively ambition, closed wholly with the conspiracy. The view of so great an undertaking, served only to excite her courage, and rouse up her ardent thirst after greatness. She represented to her husband with a great deal of vehemence, the undoubted rights which he had to the crown: That in the deplorable state to which the Castillians had reduced Portu-

gal, a man of his rank and quality could not dispense with remaining any longer indifferent; That his children and posterity would reproach his memory with a pusillanimity beneath his blood, if he should lose so favourable an opportunity. After this she exaggerated to that prince the sweetness of reigning in a country where he could not obey without fear; the charms of a crown, and the facility of seizing it: That in case he should miss of that foreign aid which had been offered to him, he was potent enough to expel the Spaniards, especially at this juncture, when there was a revolt in Catalonia. In fine, she so skilfully shewed him the crown on its most glittering side, that she determined him. But in this she agreed with him, to let the number of the conspirators encrease, before he declared himself more positively, and not to appear publicly in this matter till the moment of its execution.

All this while the court was not without some disquiet. The extraordinary marks of joy which the people of Lisbon had shewn on the duke of Braganza's appearing amongst them, had made a great impression on the minister. He began to suspect private clubs were held in that city; and some rumours, which commonly precede great events, exceedingly encreased his uneasiness.

The king held several councils on this occasion; in which it was resolved, that for the effectual defeating the Portuguese hopes of a revolt, the duke of Braganza, the only person whom they had occasion to fear, should forthwith be sent for to Madrid. For this purpose the conde duke sent a courtier to him, with this message; that the king had a mind to be informed from himself, and confer with him concerning the state of the troops and garrisons in Portugal: That he was mightily wished for at court by his friends; and that he could not doubt he should be received in a manner suitable to his birth and merit.

No clap of thunder could have surprised him more than this news. The earnestness and different pretences they made use of to draw him out of Portugal, confirmed his suspicion that they had a design on his person, and were resolved to take him off. They had left pretended employs and false caresses, and were now come to positive orders, which would soon be followed by force and violence in case of disobedience. This put him into a panic fear, imagining he was betrayed; the usual fate of those who have great projects in their head, who still believe the world is busy in observing their steps, and guesses at the secret of them. Thus did that diffident prince perplex himself, thinking he was now plunged in an ocean of trouble.

However, to gain time, and have leisure to give the conspirators notice of his danger, by the advice of his wife, he sent a gentleman of his house, a person of great address and fidelity, to Madrid, to assure the minister he would suddenly attend the king. To this man he gave secret instructions, to invent from time to time different pretences to excuse his delay, hoping to prevent the storm by bringing the conspiracy to ripeness. As soon as this gentleman was at Madrid, he assured the king and first minister, that his master followed him. He took a great house, which he

furnished very richly, and retained a great number of servants, giving them liveries by way of advance, laying out very considerable sums of money every day. In short, he omitted nothing to make them believe the prince would come immediately, and appear at court in all the splendor becoming a person of his rank.

Some few days after, he feigned to have received advice, that he was very ill. At last, finding this would not hold longer, he presented a memorial to the first minister, praying in the name of the duke his master, the king would assign his precedence in the court.

He thought this would take up some time to adjust, and meet with opposition from the great men, who would intervene to maintain their rights: But the minister, who began to suspect these delays, soon removed all difficulties, and engaged the king to declare in his favour, in every point for his honour; so desirous he was to draw him out of Portugal, and see him at Madrid.

The conspirators no sooner understood the orders which the duke had received from court, than fearing he should obey them they sent Mendoza to confirm him and engage him more strictly to their party. They made choice of this gentleman, because being governor of a place near Villaviciosa, the pretence of going to his government covered the secret intention of this journey from the Spaniards. He took an opportunity of meeting that prince a hunting; they struck into a wood, and stopping in a private place, Mendoza laid before him the danger which he exposed himself to by going to court: That he would absolutely ruin the hopes of the nobility and people by putting himself with too rash a confidence into the hands of his enemies: That there were a great number of well-qualified gentlemen who were resolved to sacrifice their lives and fortunes for his service: That they only expected notice from him when they should appear: That the critical minute was now come when he must chuse either to die or wear a crown: That it was hazardous to make any further delays; and he must not doubt an affair of so great importance, which was entrusted in so many hands, must needs at length come to the knowledge of the Spaniards. The duke replied, that he was of his mind, that he might assure his friends that he was resolved to put himself at their head.

Mendoza returned post to Lisbon, acquainted his friends with the success of his voyage; and that the prince desired Pinto might come to him: Him they sent away instantly with necessary instructions to inform the duke of the scheme and ways by which they intended to put their project in execution. When Pinto came, he acquainted him in what confusion the court at Lisbon was; the vice-queen made high complaints of the insolence and pride of Vasconcellos; that she could no longer endure that all the dispatches from Spain should be addressed to him, while she being invested with a glittering title, had no real authority. This complaint was the more to be regarded, because that princess was a person of great merit, and every way capable of discharging the extent of her trust; but indeed the greatness of her genius, and her other good qua-

lities, were the principal reason why she had so inconsiderable a share in the government allowed her.

Pinto observed to his master how this misunderstanding favoured his designs, and that he could not lay hold of a fairer occasion than these divisions at court, which would not give the Spanish ministers leave to observe the steps he should take.

The duke, who perceived the strength of his reasons, found himself likewise pressed by that gentleman whom he sent to Madrid. He received letters from him every day, assuring him, that he could not find new colours for his absence, or delude the minister, who would not any longer hear his excuses. Thus seeing he had no time to lose, he resolved to rise without delay. And now to gain time for the disposing his affairs, he commanded his agent to represent to the Conde duke d'Olivarez, that he should have been at Madrid before that time, if he had had money enough to bear the expences of his journey, and enable him to make a figure suitable to his quality and character; and that as soon as he could raise the necessary funds, he would instantly come away for the court.

When he had sent the dispatch, he took Pinto with him into the duchess's apartment, to consider of the most proper means to put their design in execution. And after some debate, the duke resolved on this, that it was necessary to secure Lisbon, which being the capital, was the spring which moved the whole kingdom: That on the same day that city should declare for him, he would cause himself to be proclaimed king of Portugal, in all the cities of his dependance: That those of his friends, who were governors of forts, should do the same in all places where they commanded, and the conspirators should raise the people in all the towns and villages which belonged to them; that so this general insurrection diffusing itself like a conflagration through every part of the kingdom, the Spaniards might not know whither to bend their arms: That he would fling his own regiment into the town of Elvas, the governor of which was at his devotion: That as for the manner of seizing Lisbon, he could not prescribe any thing, that action depending wholly on the time, and other circumstances when they should attempt it: That, however, he was of the opinion, they ought to make the first attacks on the palace, and secure the person of the vice-queen, and the rest of the Spaniards, who might serve as hostages for the surrender of the citadel, which otherwise might very much incommode the town after they were masters of it.

He gave two letters of credence, one to d' Almeida, and the other to Mendoza; in which he signified to them, that he had entrusted the bearer with his intentions; he only added, that he hoped they would be faithful to the assurances they had given him, and act with courage and vigour in the work they were about to undertake. After this, the duke sent Pinto to Lisbon, having first given him the highest marks of confidence, he should enjoy the same place in his affection, after a revolution, that he now had.

As soon as he came to Lisbon, he delivered his letters to d' Almeida

and Mendoza, who sent immediately to Le Mos and Coreé, whom Pinto had formerly brought over to his master's interest. These were two rich citizens, who had a mighty authority with the people; they had passed through most of the offices of the city, and had a great number of workmen who depended on them. These men had taken a great deal of pains to foment and cherish in the minds of the townsmen an aversion to the Spaniards, by rumours they daily spread of taxes intended to be raised the beginning of the next year. They had discharged several of their workmen, especially the most mutinous, pretending the badness of trade would not suffer them to employ them, they could not keep them any longer; while their real intent was by necessity and starving, to prepare them for an insurrection. And the better to accomplish their ends, they supplied these starving wretches from time to time, keeping them at their devotion. Besides this, these men held a private correspondence with the principal persons in all parts of the town; By the help of which, they assured the conspirators, that upon notice given the night before the execution, they would engage to raise the people at any hour they should assign.

Pinto being thus assured of the inferior people, began to look to the other conspirators, whom he urged to be ready upon the first alarm, desiring they would secure their friends under pretence of some private quarrel, without making them privy to the design in which they should be employed. In this conduct he gave proof of an extraordinary prudence, there being abundance of people who have courage and resolution when the sword is in their hands, who are not able in cold blood to bear the weight of so important a secret.

Thus finding every one firm, undaunted, and impatient to be revenged on the Spaniards, he conferred with d' Almeida, Mendoza d' Alnada, and Mello; who finding all things in such a condition as they wished, agreed on Saturday (1st Dec. 1640) the first of December for the execution. They gave notice to the duke of Braganza of this resolve, that so he might cause himself to be proclaimed king in the province of Alenteio, which almost entirely depended on him; and agreed before the company broke up, to have another meeting (25th of November) to take the last measures for the action.

The 25th of November, at night, they met at Braganza-house, as they had agreed. They found they could account on a hundred and fifty gentlemen, the most part of which were the heads of their families, with all their domestics, and about two hundred citizens and tradesmen; and they concluded by the interest of these they should bring the greatest part of the people over to them.

The death of Vasconcellos was resolved on as a victim due to the resentment of the Portuguese, and some proposed to treat the archbishop of Braga after the same manner. They represented him as a man whose great abilities rendered him formidable: That it was not to be thought he could stand as an unconcerned spectator in this public confusion: That possibly he might put himself at the head of the Spaniards, and

their creatures ; and whilst they were busy in making themselves masters of the palace, he might throw himself into the citadel, or come to the assistance of the vice-queen, to whom all the world knew he was devoted : That in an affair of this nature it was a great imprudence to leave enemies behind them : That such a conduct might possibly give them occasion to repent severely of their ill-timed and mistaken pity.

These reasons drew the greatest part of the company to consent to his death ; and this prelate had suffered the same fate as Vasconcellos, if Dom Miguel d' Almeida had not taken his part. He remonstrated to the conspirators, that the death of a man of his character, and in so high a dignity, would render them odious to all the world : That such an action would draw on the duke of Braganza the hatred of the clergy and inquisition, a race of men formidable to the greatest princes, and add the reproach of an excommunicated person to that of rebel and usurper : That the prince himself would be deeply affected to see his accession to the throne blemished by so bloody an action : that himself would have an eye over him, and take effectual care to prevent his undertaking any thing to the prejudice of the public interest. In short he spoke so much in his favour, that he obtained the life of that prelate, of his friends, who could not refuse any thing to a man of his worth.

Nothing farther remained to be adjusted, but the order they should march in, and the manner of making the first attack. At last it was resolved to throw themselves in four different parties, into so many several parts of the palace, and make themselves masters of the several avenues ; to cut off all communication, and prevent the Spaniards from bringing any assistance. That Dom Miguel d' Almeida should attack the German guard before the palace-gates : that the great master of the horse, Mello, his brother, and Dom Estean d' Acugna at the head of the townsmen, should surprize a Spanish company which kept guard every day before the fort : that Feillo d' Menezes, Emanuel Saa, the great chamberlain, should make themselves master of Vasconcellos's apartment, whom they forthwith should dispatch : that Dom Antonio d' Almada, Mendoza, Dom Carlos Norogna, and Antonio de Salsania, should secure the person of the vice-queen, and all the Spaniards in the palace to serve as hostages if there should be occasion : that whilst each one was busy in making themselves masters of the posts assigned them, some few horse should be detached away, who, with some principal citizens should proclaim Dom John duke of Braganza, king of Portugal : that when the multitude was drawn into the streets, they should throw themselves where any opposition should happen to be made. Thus they broke up with a resolution to meet on Saturday the first of December, some at Dom Miguel d' Almeida's, and others at d' Almada's and Mendoza's houses, where the conspirators were to arm themselves.

While the friends of the duke of Braganza were thus busy at Lisbon in advancing his affairs, he himself was employed in securing the provinces ; the first minister alarmed by these delays, dispatched away a courier, with express orders for him to come immediately to court, and

to prevent his making any pretence of want of money, he sent with him an order for ten thousand ducats on the royal treasury.

This was plain and intelligible language. The duke could not defer his journey without justly rendering himself suspected : he could not with any colour of reason dispense with obeying the king's message ; and had grounds to conclude, that all farther delays would soon bring some unwelcome orders from Madrid, which would break all his measures, and ruin his enterprize. And therefore, to make an appearance of complying with the king's pressing commands, he ordered the greatest part of his household to set forward for Madrid.

He gave all necessary orders during his absence : he dispatched away a gentleman at the same time to the vice-queen, to give her notice of his departure. He writ to the first minister to assure him, that he would be at court within eight days at farthest ; and to have all things represented to the best advantage, he bribed the courier with a sum, under a pretence of a gratuity for his care and dispatch in bringing the king's orders to him. At the same time he acquainted the conspirators with these fresh orders, laying before them the necessity of putting their designs in execution on the day which was agreed on, for fear of being prevented by the Spaniards.

But there was an obstacle which hindered them from attempting any thing so suddenly. There was a man of quality at Lisbon, who shewed on all occasions a violent hatred of the Spanish government. He would ever be railing against them, calling them tyrants and usurpers, and declaiming against their injustice and oppression ; above all, he would ever be venting his spleen on the expedition into Catalonia, and making a thousand dismal prognostics on it. D'Almada having frequently conversed with him, did not believe any man could more heartily wish the prosperity of Portugal, or would be more transported to hear of any designs on foot for the effectual restoring of its liberty. But, gods ! how he was astonished, when taking him aside, to acquaint him with this conspiracy ! he found him as fearful and backward in action, as he had appeared daring in words. He began now to excuse himself from having any share in this matter, or being concerned in this plot, pretending there was no good grounds to proceed on ; and the same person, who so bold and brave when the thing was remote, was now become timorous, and scared at the prospect of the least danger ; Where, says he to d'Almada, are those forces which are necessary to support a design of this nature ? what army have you to oppose the Spanish troops, which will be poured into the country upon the first motion of this kind ? what great men have you to appear at the head of you ? Or, have they a fund sufficient to bear the expence of a civil war ? I am afraid, that instead of restoring the liberties of Portugal, your attempt will only prove destructive to it, and furnish the Spaniards with a pretence, which they have long sought for, to accomplish the ruin of this kingdom.

D'Almada, who expected nothing less than expressions of this kind,

enraged to find he had trusted his secret in so ill hands, gave no other answer ; but drawing his sword, his eyes sparkling with rage, replied, False man ! either thou shalt take my life, together with my secret, or I will make thee an example for having thus surprized my credulity by thy lies and imposture. The other, who always held it prudent to avoid the danger which was nearest, at the sight of a drawn sword consented to all that d'Almada had proposed, and offered to enter into the conspiracy, finding reasons to invalidate those he first gave ; he swore with repeated oaths again to keep the secret inviolably : in short, he forgot nothing that might persuade d'Almada, that it was neither courage, nor want of resentment against the Spaniards, which had kept him from agreeing to the proposal as soon as he had made it.

However, d'Almada did not dare to rely on his oaths and assurances, but was mightily disturbed at this accident ; and keeping a watchful eye on this man, he gave notice to the conspirators of this adventure. The alarm was soon spread, and several reflections were made on the levity and inconstancy of this man ; and they began to fear, that the view of danger, or the hopes of a great recompence, should induce him to prove treacherous in spite of all their care for prevention. On this consideration they resolved to defer the execution of their plot, and obliged Pinto to write to his master to forbear till he received farther news from them. But Pinto, who very well knew of what importance it is to defer the day in matters of this nature, wrote privately to that prince to have no regard to his letter, as proceeding only from a panic fear in the conspirators, which would certainly vanish before the messenger could arrive at Villa-viciosa.

And so it happened ; for the next morning finding every one continue unshaken, they began to be ashamed of taking so hot an alarm ; and he who was the chief cause of this uneasiness being a little better settled (either by a greater generosity of temper, or apprehension of the bad consequence of accusing so many great men) they resolved to adhere to the day first agreed on. But scarcely was this difficulty over, when another arose, which did not create less disquiet amongst them.

Pinto had taken care to place divers of the conspirators about the palace to observe all that passed. These, as they appeared to walk idly up and down, the night before the execution, which was to begin with the death of Vasconcellos, saw that minister embark on the Tago.

None besides the conspirators could have drawn any conclusion from this, since a thousand several occasions, in which they had not the least share, might carry him over the river. But their jealousy was so great, that an alarm was instantly spread amongst them. They immediately concluded this crafty, politic minister, who had his spies in every corner, had discovered something of their plot. They made no doubt his going over the water was with design to send some of the troops which quartered in the neighbouring villages into the town. The images of the most terrible punishments, and the horrors of death presented themselves

to their imaginations ; they fancied their houses surrounded with officers of justice ; and some began to think of flying into Africa or England to escape the cruelty of the Spaniards. They passed away part of the night under these terrible apprehensions, as it were between life and death, when some of the conspirators, who kept about the court, came to inform them, that the secretary was returned with hautboys sounding before him, he only having been at an entertainmant on the other side of the water. This news put an end to all their anxious thoughts, and made them all joyful ; and so each man departed, being well assured there was nothing stirring in the palace, and that all there slept in a profound security, not once dreaming of the next day's action.

It was very late when they parted ; and from that time, to the minute of the execution, there were but a few hours of night, notwithstanding a considerable accident happened in that space ; which shews us how full of uncertainty and hazard all enterprizes are, where the fear of punishment, or the hope of reward, may tempt men to be treacherous and faithless. George Mello, brother to the master of the horse, most commonly lodged at the house of one of his relations, in one of the suburbs, at a small distance from the city. This gentleman thought that the minute of the plot breaking out being now at hand, his relation, who had for a long time been his intimate friend, might justly reproach him if he should conceal a matter of that importance from him, in which the other was equally concerned with himself for the common good of his country : That he could easily engage him in the conspiracy, and bring him with him to the rendezvous. Upon this consideration, as soon as he was returned to his lodging, he goes up to his kinsman's chamber, and taking him into his closet, communicates the enterprize to him, urging him to join with so many worthy persons, and to behave himself like a man of honour, and a true Portuguese. The other was surprized with so strange a piece of news ; however he strove to shew a sort of joy to find his country was upon the point of recovering its liberty. He thanked Mello for the confidence he had honoured him with, and assured him, he should esteem it a happiness to expose his life, and be admitted to have a share of danger with so many brave men in so just and glorious a cause.

After this they parted to take a repose of some few hours ; Mello was scarcely in his chamber before he began to repent of his excessive confidence, and to blame himself for having put the fate of so many worthy men into the hands of a person he was not entirely assured of. He thought he discovered in his eyes and countenance a secret uneasiness, and the marks of surprize and apprehension at the prospect of so dangerous an enterprize. In short, he was afraid the fear of punishment, and the hopes of a certain reward, might prevail with him to make a discovery.

Full of these tormenting reflections he walked about his chamber ; when hearing a sort of muttering noise, and several persons talking low, he opened his window to hear what they said : and by the help of a dim-

light he discovered his kinsman at the door, ready to mount on horseback. At this being fired with rage, he soon came down; and running with his drawn sword at him, demanded, what made him out of doors at that time of night? what his business was, and whither he was going? The other being exceedingly surprized, endeavoured to give several indifferent reasons; but Mello threatened to kill him, constrained him to return again into his chamber, and took the keys along with him, and kept him under his eye till the time of action, and then brought him with him to meet the other conspirators.

At length the day was come when the event was to determine whether the duke of Braganza deserved the title of king, and deliverer of his country, or that of rebel and enemy of the state.

The conspirators came early to the house of Dom Miguel d' Almeida, and the other gentlemen, where they were to arm themselves. They all appeared there with so much resolution and confidence, they seemed to go to a certain victory. It was remarkable, that in so great a number of clergymen, citizens, and gentlemen, all actuated by different interests, not one man out of the whole number failed in his word and honour: every one was impatient for the moment of execution, as if he had been chief, and author of the enterprize, and expected the crown for the recompence of the dangers which he exposed himself to. Divers ladies coveted a share in this glorious exploit; and history has preserved the memory of Dona Philippa de Villenas, who armed both her sons with her own hands; and after she had put on their cuirasses, Go, my children, says she, put an end to tyranny, and revenge yourselves of your enemies; and be assured, that if your attempt fail of success, your mother will not survive one moment the misfortune of so many brave men.

All being thus armed, made their way to the palace, and divers of them went in chairs to conceal their number and arms. They divided themselves into four bodies, as was agreed, waiting with a great deal of impatience till the clock struck eight, which was the precise moment of execution. Never did time seem so long; the fear of having their number observed, or that the early hour they appeared before the palace, might give the secretary any suspicion, made them very uneasy. At length it struck eight o'clock, and Pinto having fired a pistol, they all took the signal.

Each man charged briskly in the post assigned him, Dom Miguel d' Almeida, with his party, fell on the German guard, who being unprovided, and destitute of arms, were soon defeated, and that almost without making any resistance.

The master of the horse, Mello his brother, and Dom Estevan d' Acugna, attacked the Spanish company, which lay before that part of the palace which is called the fort. In this he was sustained by those townsmen who were concerned with him. These men, with their swords in their hands, forced the corps de garde where the Spaniards were retrenched. But none made a more considerable figure than a priest of the town, who marched at the head of the conspirators, with a crucifix in

one hand, and a sword in the other, exhorting the people to cut their enemies in pieces, and charging the Spaniards himself with the utmost fury. All fled before him ; for appearing armed, with an object that religion teaches us to revere, no person dared to hurt him. Thus, after a slight resistance, the Spanish officer and his soldiers were forced to submit, and save their lives, by crying as the rest did, God save the duke of Braganza, king of Portugal.

Pinto having thus made his way to the palace, put himself at the head of those who attacked the apartments of Vasconcellos. He marched with so much assurance and resolution, that happening to meet one of his friends, who asked him, trembling, where he was going with that number of armed men, and what he was about to do ? Nothing, replied he, smiling, but to dethrone a tyrant, and restore a lawful prince.

In entering the secretary's apartment they met Francisco Soarez d' Albergeria, the civil lieutenant (*corregidor de civil*), who was going out of his lodgings. This magistrate thinking the tumult only proceeded from a quarrel, offered to interpose his authority, to end the fray. But hearing them cry on all sides, God save the duke of Braganza, he thought the honour and duty of his place obliged him to cry, God save the king of Spain and Portugal, which cost him his life ; one of the conspirators shot him instantly dead, proud to have this occasion to punish his ill-timed loyalty.

Antonio Correa, first commissioner of the secretary, ran out upon the first noise. This man was the common instrument of his cruelties ; and after the example of his master, treated the nobility with great contempt. Dom António de Menezes, plunged his dagger in his breast. This blow could not make the wretch sensible his power was at an end, but imagining in this assault they had mistaken him for another, he turned in a rage to Menezes, crying, dogs, how dare you strike at me : the other without replying, redoubled his thrusts, and laid him on the ground, weltering in his blood. However, these wounds did not prove mortal, and he escaped at that time, to lose his life after with more ignominy, by the hands of the common executioner.

The conspirators having thus treated the commissary, who had stopt them for a small while on the stairs, forced into the secretary's chamber. He had then with him Diego Garcez Palleia, a captain of foot, who seeing such a multitude of people enter armed and enraged mistrusted a design on the life of Vasconcellos. Though he had no obligation to that minister, the generosity of his temper made him throw himself out of the door, with his sword in his hand, to dispute the entry of the conspirators, and give the secretary time to make his escape, but receiving a hurt in his arm, and being disabled from holding his sword, and oppressed by the multitude, he threw himself out of the window, and had the good luck to escape with life.

Immediately the conspirators rushed in a crowd into the secretary's lodgings, they searched for him every where, overturned the beds, opened the coffers, every one was eager to have the honour of the first blow.

However, all this while he was no where to be found, and the conspirators were reduced to despair, and enraged to think he should escape their vengeance, till an old woman servant being threatened with death, pointed to a wall in which several arms were hid, and here they found him buried in paper.

The consternation he was in at the apprehension of immediate death, which he saw before him, would not suffer him to speak the least word. Dom Rodrigo de Saa gave him the first shot with a pistol, after which, the rest of the conspirators stabbed him, and threw his body out of the window, crying, the tyrant is dispatched, God preserve our liberty, and Dom John, king of Portugal.

The crowd about the palace, seeing them throw out the body, received it with great shouts and acclamations. Every one offered some indignity to the lifeless trunk, as if by this means they hoped to revenge the oppression of their country and give a blow to tyranny.

This was the fate of Michael Vasconcellos, a Portuguese by birth, but an enemy to his country, and a Spaniard by his inclination. He had by nature an admirable genius for business, was a man of great ability and application, of a marvellous industry, fruitful in inventing new methods of drawing money from the people, and, by consequence, void of all pity, inflexible and rigorous, even to cruelty: he had no regard to kindred, friends, or other considerations: no man had any ascendant over him, he was insensible to all pleasures, and incapable of being touched with any remorse of conscience: he had heaped together immense wealth, by his place, part of which was plundered in the heat of the sedition, the people pretending to do themselves right for the damages they sustained during his ministry.

Pinto, without losing time, marched to join the other confederates, who were ordered to make themselves masters of the palace, and seize the person of the vice-queen: he found that this was done already, and that all parts of their design had been crowned with equal success. In short, those who were appointed to attack the apartment of the princess, presenting themselves before the gates, and the furious multitude threatening to set fire to them, if they did not forthwith open them, the vice-queen, attended with her maids of honour, and the archbishop of Braga, presented herself at her chamber-door, flattering herself that her presence would appease the nobility, and oblige the people to withdraw. Gentlemen, said she, advancing towards the principal of the conspirators, the secretary has justly drawn on himself the odium of the people, and your indignation, by his haughty and insolent carriage; and now his death has delivered you from so hateful a minister, methinks your resentment ought to be satisfied? Consider, gentlemen, these disorders may as hitherto be imputed to your hatred against the secretary; but if you persist any longer in this tumultuous manner, you will be guilty of rebellion, and render me unable to make any defence for you to the king.

Dom Antonio de Menezes, replied, that it was a folly to think, that so

many people of rank had appeared in arms to take away the life of a wretch, who ought to have lost it by the hands of the common hangman ; That they were met together to restore the duke of Braganza to a crown, that rightfully belonged to him, and had been usurped by strangers, and they would sacrifice their lives with pleasure, to replace him on the throne. She was about to reply, and interpose the king's authority, but d'Almeida fearing that any longer parley might abate the heat of the conspirators, interrupted her, telling her in short, Portugal owned no other king than the duke of Braganza, and the conspirators immediately gave a shout, each striving to out-vie the other,—God save Don John, King of Portugal.

The vice-queen, seeing the torrent had broke all bounds, thought she should find more obedience in the city, and that her presence would have more influence on the people and townsmen, when the conspirators were not there to encourage them. But as she offered to go down, Don Carlos Norogna intreated her to keep in her chamber, assuring her she should be served with the same respect, as if she had still the command of the kingdom, telling her, he did not judge it by any means convenient to expose the person of so great a princess to the insults of the multitude, who were all in tumult, and full of zeal for their liberty. She soon understood she was his prisoner, and, vexed, demanded in a disdainful manner, And what can the mob do to me ? To which Norogna replied, in a very great passion, Nothing, madam, but throw your highness out of the windows.

The archbishop of Braga was incensed at these words of Norogna, and, snatching a sword from a soldier near him, attempted in an outrageous manner to throw himself through the conspirators, to kill him, and revenge the affront done to the vice-queen ; but Dom Miguel d'Almeida embracing him, conjured him to consider the danger to which he exposed himself, and taking him aside by force, told him, his life had not cost nothing : that he had a great deal of difficulty in obtaining it from the conspirators, to whom his person was odious enough, that he had no farther need to exasperate them by a piece of bravery so ill-timed, and so little agreeable to a person of his character. By this means he was persuaded to withdraw, and dissemble his passion, hoping time would give him a more favourable occasion of shewing his resentment, and his devotion to the interest of Spain.

The rest of the conspirators secured the Spaniards, who were either in the palace or the city : they seized on the marquess de la Pueiba, major-domo to the vice-queen, and eldest brother to the marquess de Leganez, Dom Didaco Cardevas,—major-general, Dom Fernand de Castro,—intendant of the marine ; the marquess de Bainetto, gentleman usher to the vice-queen, and several sea-officers who were in the port. All this was done with as little disturbance as if they had been apprehended by orders from the king of Spain. No man stirred to assist them, and themselves were not in a condition to resist, being for the most part taken in their beds.

In the next place, Antonio de Saldania, at the head of his friends with a vast crowd following him, went up to the sovereign chamber of justice; he made a short speech to the company, displaying the happiness of Portugal, that now had regained her natural lord: telling them, that tyranny was now at an end: that the laws would be re-established, and justice have its ancient course, under the government of so wise and just a prince. This speech was received with a general applause, and answered by loud acclamations; and all decrees made in the king of Spain's name were changed, and stiled, By the Authority, and in the Name of Dom Juan, King of Portugal.

Whilst this gentleman obliged the chamber of justice to own the duke of Braganza for their king, Dom Gaston Contingo set free those whom the severity of the Spanish ministers had confined. These poor men passing in one moment from a gloomy dungeon, and the continual fear of death, to the delightful view of the liberty of their country, transported with gratitude, and dreading the return of their chains, made up a new company, who did not shew less ardour to establish the throne of the duke of Braganza, than the body of the nobility, who formed the first design.

In the midst of this general gladness, which the success of the enterprise gave the conspirators, Pinto, and several of the chief were extremely uneasy. The Spaniards were still in the citadel, from whence they could batter the town, and soon give them occasion to repent of their hasty joy: besides, this was a port where the king of Spain could re-enter the city at pleasure; therefore, thinking they had done nothing till they were masters of the place, they went to the vice-queen, and demanded an order from her for the governor to put that into their hands.

She rejected the proposition with scorn, reproaching them with their rebellion, and asking them disdainfully, if they intended to make her an accomplice. D'Almeida, mad at her refusal, all on fire, and his eyes sparkling with rage, swore that if she did not sign this order, without farther delay, he would instantly stab all the Spaniards they had in custody. The princess, surprised at the passion of the man, and fearing so many people of quality might lose their lives, thought the governor knew his duty too well to pay obedience to an order which he must needs see was extorted by force, and upon this consideration she signed it, but this had a very different effect from what she imagined. The Spanish governor, Dom Louis del Campo, a man of small resolution, seeing so many of the conspirators in arms, and followed by a vast crowd of people, who threatened to tear him and the whole garrison in pieces, if he did instantly surrender, was glad to come off so cheaply, and have so good a pretence to cover his cowardice, surrendered the citadel, and tamely delivered it into their hands. The conspirators having thus secured all aides, dispatched away Mendoza and the master of the horse to the duke of Braganza, to carry him the news, and to assure him from the city, that their was nothing wanting to complete their joy, but the presence of their king.

However, this was not equally desired by all persons. The great men of the kingdom could not see his elevation without a secret envy, and most of the nobility (who had no share in the conspiracy) were silent, waiting for the issue before they would declare their sentiments. Nay, some proceeded so far as to question, whether that prince would own an action which would infallibly have such terrible consequences. Above all the rest, the creatures of Spain were in a strange consternation, not a man of them daring to stir, for fear of irritating the people, furious with their new liberty, and every one kept himself close at home, till time should shew what they had to fear or hope from the designs of the duke of Braganza.

But his friends, who were well informed of his intentions, pursued their way. They met at the palace to give orders, till their new master should arrive, and unanimously declared the archbishop of Lisbon, president of the council, and lieutenant-general for the king. He excused himself at first, representing to them, that the present state of the kingdom required a general, rather than a man of his character, in such a post. But at length, pretending to comply with the importunity of his friends, he consented to take upon him the signing of the orders, provided the archbishop of Braga were appointed for his colleague in the management of business, and all dispatches till the king's arrival.

By this device, that crafty and politic prelate hoped, under colour of sharing an authority with him, to render the other an accomplice and criminal in the eyes of the Spaniards, if he accepted the offer; or in case he refused, to ruin him with the king, and render him odious to the people, and all Portugal, as a declared enemy of that kingdom.

The archbishop of Braga perceived the snare laid for him, but being wholly devoted to the Spaniards, and in the interests of the vice-queen, he refused peremptorily to have any share in the government. So the archbishop of Lisbon had it alone, and Dom Miguel d'Almeida, Pedro Mendoza, and Dom Antonio d'Almada were appointed as counsellors of state to assist him.

One of the first cares of this governor, was to seize the three great Spanish galleons in the port of Lisbon. For this purpose several barks were fitted out, into which the youth of the city threw themselves: they discovered an eager desire to gain honour in this exploit, but little opposition was made, the officers and greatest part of the soldiers being seized in the city, at the time when the conspiracy broke out.

The same evening he dispatched couriers to exhort the people to give thanks to God for the recovery of their liberty, with orders to the magistrates of each city to proclaim the duke of Braganza, king of Portugal, and secure all the Spaniards they could find. In short, he made all preparations at Lisbon, for the magnificent reception of their new master. The archbishop gave notice to the vice-queen, that it would be convenient she should leave the palace, and make room for the king and his household, and ordered an apartment to be prepared for her in the royal

house of Xabregas, at one end of the town. The princess left the palace as soon as she received this message, but with a haughty air, not speaking one word, and past through the city thither. And now, far from a crowd of courtiers attending her, she had scarce any of her domestic servants with her, only the archbishop of Braga, steady to her interests, gave her public marks of it on this occasion, at a time when he could not do it without an apparent hazard of his life.

In the mean time the duke of Braganza endured great convulsions of mind, reflecting on his uncertain destiny, and at once his breast was filled with all the various images with which hope can flatter, or fear torment a doubtful mind. The distance of Villa-viciosa, which is thirty leagues from Lisbon, prevented his being informed of what passed so soon as he earnestly wished. All he knew was, that his life and fortune lay at stake, and that critical minute must decide his fate. He had resolved at first, as was noted above, to raise all the cities under his dependancies, but after he judged it better to expect news from Lisbon, and act his part conformably to what should pass there.

There only remained the kingdom of Algarba, and the city and citadel of Elvas, which he could retire to, if success failed in the capital city; and, if the plot should miscarry, he thought he should easily excuse himself from having a share in it, at a time when the Spaniards would be glad to have him innocent.

He had planted several couriers on the road to Lisbon; and though he expected news every hour, he had past the whole day, and a great part of the night in disturbance, till at length Mendoza and Mello, with extreme diligence, arrived at Villa-viciosa. They threw themselves instantly at the prince's feet, and by this respectful action, and the joy which shone in their face, they discovered to him, sooner than they could by any expressions that he was king of Portugal.

They would have given him an exact account of the success of their enterprize; but the prince, without giving them time to enter into the particulars of this affair, conducted them, with some impatience, into the duchess's apartment. These two lords complimented her in the same manner as if she had been already upon the throne, and assured her of the hearty wishes of her subjects; and as a mark they owed her for their sovereign, they treated her with the title of Her Majesty, which was the more agreeable, since the kings of Portugal, before that time, had only taken that of Highness.

It is easy to judge how mighty was the joy of the prince and princess, if we reflect on the great uneasiness they were freed from, and the high station they were raised to. The castle resounded with acclamations, and the news spread itself every where in a moment. And the same day he was proclaimed king of Portugal, in all the cities of his dependancies. Alphonso de Mello did as much in the city of Elvas, whole crowds came in to pay their duty to the new king; and probably these first homages, though paid in a confused and disorderly manner, did not less please that prince, than those after on a public day of ceremony.

The king set forward for Lisbon, with the same equipage, which seemed designed for the court of Spain. He was accompanied by the marquis de Ferara, his kinsman, the Count de Vimiosa, and a great number of persons of quality which met him there.

He left the queen his wife at Villa Viciosa, to keep the province firm to his obedience. He found the ways lined on both sides, with an infinite number of people, which flocked to see him, and had the pleasure to hear the shouts of the people, wishing his prosperity, and loading the Spaniards with all the curses they could invent. The whole body of the nobility, the great officers of the crown, and the first magistrates, went out in several bodies to receive him, at a great distance from Lisbon, and he entered the city, amidst the acclamations and applause of the people, followed by a numerous and magnificent court, filled with joy.

At night were several fireworks in divers public places of the town. Each citizen had one before his door, and the windows shone with an infinity of candles and flambeaux, that the whole city seemed one flame, which made a Spaniard say, that prince was very fortunate, to gain so fair a kingdom for a bonfire.

The insurrection at Lisbon was instantly followed by the general revolt of the whole kingdom, and the revolution was so speedy and general, that each city seemed to have a plot ripe for execution, after the example of their capital. Couriers arrived hourly with advice, that cities, and entire provinces, had expelled the Spaniards, and submitted to the king. The governors of the other places had not more resolution than him of Lisbon, and either for want of troops, or other warlike provisions, or for want of courage, they went off shamefully, and for the most part without once firing. Every one feared the fate of Vasconcellos, and nothing appeared so terrible as an enraged multitude. In short, they fled like so many criminals escaped out of prison, and not one Spaniard was to be seen in the whole kingdom, except those who were detained; and all this in less than a fortnight's time.

Dom Fernand de la Cueva, governor of the citadel of Sir Juan, at the mouth of the Tago, was the only person who made some resistance, and pretended to keep the place for the king his master. This garrison, composed only of Spaniards, and commanded by brave officers, made a vigorous opposition, upon the first approaches of the Portuguese. To reduce this place, they thought it necessary to besiege it in form; and for this purpose brought their cannon down from Lisbon; the trenches were opened, and they made their advances as far as the counterscarp, notwithstanding the continual fire, and frequent sallies of the besieged; but a treaty being the safest and shortest way to gain the place, the king, in fine, made the governor such advantageous offers, that he had not power to stand out any longer. He was dazzled with the great sums offered, and having a commend of the order of Christ, which the king promised to confer on him. In short, the articles were agreed on, and the place surrendered, notwithstanding the endeavours of the officers to

the contrary, who refused to sign the capitulation; of this number was Dom Rodrigo de Chalon, a young gentleman of Andalusia, of great valour, who commanded a Spanish Terce in that place, and offered to hold out three weeks longer, till they should receive aid from Spain, which they had intelligence was put to sea, under the command of the Duke of Maqueda.

The king thought it best not to defer his coronation any longer, to confirm his authority, and render his person more august to the people. The ceremony was observed on the 15th of December, with all possible magnificence. The duke d'Aveiro, the marquis de Villareal, the duke de Camino, his son, the count de Monsano, and the rest of the great men of the kingdom assisted at the solemnity. The archbishop of Lisbon, at the head of his clergy, accompanied by several bishops, received him at the gate of the cathedral, and he was solemnly acknowledged king of Portugal by all the states of the kingdom, who took the oath of fidelity to him.

A few days after the queen arrived with a numerous train. The whole court went a great way out of town to meet her; the officers who were appointed to compose her household were gone before, and the king himself went out of Lisbon to receive her. This prince omitted no magnificence which might become his new dignity, or might give the world a mark, how much he thought she contributed to place the crown on his head. It was remarkable, that in so great a change she was not in the least embarrassed, but supported her new character with so much grace and majesty, that she seemed born in a throne.

Thus was that great enterprize happily finished, which may be accounted a miracle, considering the vast number, and different characters of persons entrusted with the secret. No cement could ever have made so firm an union, but that hatred to the Spanish government, an antipathy as ancient as the monarchy itself, arising from the perpetual wars, frequent between neighbouring states, and after fomented by the concurrence of both nations in discovering the Indies, and their difference in matters of trade.

The news of the revolt was soon brought to the court of Spain. The minister was enraged to find all his measures broken, and so fair a kingdom lost beyond all hopes of retrieving. The king, his master, had no occasion for new business: he found difficulties enough to defend himself against the united arms of France and Holland; but above all, the revolt in Catalonia was of dangerous consequence, and created in his mind a thousand anxious cares.

All the court knew how things went, and the king was the only man who remained ignorant, and no one dared inform him, dreading the displeasure of the minister, who would never have pardoned an offence of this nature. At last, this affair making too much noise to be concealed any longer, the Conde duke fearing some of his enemies should attempt to relate the matter to his disadvantage, resolved to disclose it to the

king. But knowing the temper of that prince, he thought to give this such a turn, that he should not know the extent of his loss ; and for this end, coming to him with a seeming openness and assurance. Sir, says he, I bring your majesty a piece of good news, your majesty is just now become master of a fair duchy, and a large estate. How so ? replied the king, all surprized. I shall explain myself, says the minister, the duke of Braganza, has been lately giddy, and suffered himself to be seduced by the populace, and proclaimed king of Portugal. By this act all his estate is confiscated, and your majesty may reunite it to your revenue ; and by the extinction of that family, enjoy that kingdom, without fearing any disturbance for the future.

Notwithstanding this prince was a very weak man, he was not so dazzled with these magnificent hopes, but he saw this was no easy matter. But not daring to see with other eyes than those of his minister, he only replied coldly, that he hoped he would use all diligence to suppress this rebellion, which if let alone might have dangerous consequences.

The king of Portugal neglected nothing which might establish his new greatness. Immediately after his arrival at Lisbon, he named for governors of the frontier places, men of the most approved valour, fidelity, and experience ; all which had orders to depart strait, with all the soldiers they could get together ; and to use all possible diligence to put their several forts in a posture of defence. He delivered out commissions for raising men, and immediately after his coronation, called a convention of the states of the kingdom.

In this assembly, to prevent all doubts, he caused his title to be examined, and, by a solemn act, was acknowledged to be the true and rightful king of Portugal, as descended by the princess his mother, from the infant Edward, son to king Emanuel, to the exclusion of the king of Spain, who was descended from the same king by a daughter, who was farther, by the fundamental laws of the kingdom, disabled, by being married to a foreign prince.

He declared to this general assembly of the states, that he would content himself with his patrimonial estate, for the support of his household, and would reserve the royal revenue for the necessities of the kingdom, and to make the people relish the sweetness of his government, he abolished all imposts, which the Spaniards had laid on them.

He filled all the most considerable posts and employs in the state with those conspirators which had shewn the greatest ardour in this revolution. Pinto had no share in this promotion, the prince not thinking his authority well enough settled to place one of his domestics of a mean extraction, in any principal place. Notwithstanding this, his power with the king and people was not less ; and without the title of a minister, or secretary of state, he performed the office, by the great confidence the king had in him.

Having thus given all the good orders imaginable, within the kingdom, he bent his thoughts next to foreign princes. He dispatched able ambas-

sadors to procure himself to be owned, to make alliances, and raise new enemies to the house of Austria. He made a league offensive and defensive with the Hollanders and Catalonians, and obtained assurance of the protection of France. The king of Spain discovered his weakness, by attempting nothing considerable on the frontiers of Portugal all the campaign, probably because the revolt in Catalonia employed all his strength. All his attempts were unsuccessful, and his troops still came off with disadvantage. Some time after news came that Goa, and other places, under the dominion of the Portuguese in the Indies, Africa, and Peru, had followed the general revolution of the kingdom; every thing seemed to promise the king of Portugal a series of success, and a kingdom quiet at home, and victorious abroad. But observe the uncertainty of human greatness, how this prince, in the midst of his prosperities, and the caresses of fortune, was upon the point of perishing, and losing at once his life and crown by a horrid conspiracy, silently formed in Lisbon, within the walls of his own court.

The archbishop of Braga was, as I related before, wholly devoted to the court of Spain, and one of their ministers in Portugal. He plainly saw he could never hope to be restored till the Spanish government should be re-established; besides, he was afraid the king, who seemed at first to have some respect to his character, in forbearing to seize him with the rest of the Spanish ministers, might nevertheless do it when his authority was better settled. But the most potent motive that put him upon any considerable action, was his zeal for the vice-queen. He could not endure to see that princess in prison in a place where he thought she had a right to reign; but above all, he was exasperated to be refused admittance to her, which was denied him, and divers other persons of quality, when it was found she only made use of this liberty to inspire rebellion to her. This proceeding seemed to him tyrannical, and an intolerable hardship; and he could not but represent to himself, that princess every moment demanding her liberty from him, as a just return for those favours he had received from her. These reflections kindled a rage in the breast of this prelate; and made him resolve to employ all means to express his gratitude, and revenge her on her enemies. And considering it would be difficult to surprize or corrupt the guards set over her, he resolved to go directly to the spring, and by killing the king, to restore at once, that princess her liberty, and her former authority.

Having concluded on this design, he applied himself to find means to put his project in execution as soon as possible, fearing he should not long continue in his place of president of the palace, and be obliged to retire to Braga. He concluded strait, he must take a different step from that which the king had taken. He never hoped to gain the people, by reason of their natural hatred to the Spaniards; on the other side, the restoring of the king being the work of the nobility, it was certain they would never engage in a conspiracy of this kind, he plainly found he

could only apply himself to the great men, who were not concerned in this revolution, and uneasy at the duke of Braganza's fortune. And therefore having first secured protection of the minister of Spain, he cast his eyes on the marquess of Villareal.

He represented to that prince, that the new king being of a timorous and diffident temper, would lay hold of all opportunities to ruin, or at least diminish the greatness of his family, to secure the crown to his own posterity. That he, and the duke d'Aveiro, both of the blood royal of Portugal, had no employs conferred on them, whilst all places of profit and trust in the kingdom, were given as a recompence to a parcel of seditious fellows. That all men of honour were concerned to see him thus contemptuously used. That he must consume his life in a mean inactivity, and be buried in the solitude of his country seat. That he ought consider his high birth and fortunes rendered him too great to be a subject to so petty a king. That he had lost in the king of Spain, a master who had several kingdoms and governments in his disposal; and was able to give him an employment suitable to the greatness of his condition.

Seeing this discourse made an impression on the mind of that prince; he added, that he had order from the court of Spain to promise him the vice-royalty of Portugal, as the reward of his fidelity: however, this was not in any manner the intention of that prelate, who aimed at nothing more than the liberty and restoration of the duchess of Mantua: but more powerful motives were necessary to engage the marquis de Villareal. The considerations which the archbishop laid before him, prevailed with him to be the head of the conspiracy, with the duke of Camino his son.

The archbishop being well assured of these two princes, engaged the grand inquisitor, his intimate friend. This man was of great consequence to the archbishop's design, because with him he brought in all the officers of the inquisition, a race of men which have ever been more formidable to honest men, than rascals, and bear a great sway amongst the Portuguese. He laboured to convince him it was his duty, reminding him of his oath of fidelity to the king of Spain, which he pretended he ought not to break in favour of a rebel: farther he urged, it could not be his interest to adhere to the new king, since neither of them could hope long to enjoy their places, under a prince who conferred all employs on his own creatures.

He spent some more mouths in gaining over more conspirators: the principal of which were the commissary La Crusada, the count d'Arnamar, nephew to the archbishop; the count de Balleais, Dom Augustin Emanuel, Antonio Correa, the same commissary of Vasconcellos, whom Menezes had given divers stabs on the breaking out of the plot; Lorenzo Pidez Carabler keeper of the royal treasury, all creatures of the Spaniards, to whom they owed their places and fortunes, which they could not hope to retain long, without the return of the Spanish government.

The Jews, who are very numerous at Lisbon, and live there, by

making an outward shew of the Christian religion, had a share in this conspiracy. The king had lately refused very considerable sums, which they had offered him to put a stop to the proceedings of the inquisition, and to obtain a permission for the public profession of their religion. The archbishop craftily made use of their resentment to engage them in this enterprize. He had private conferences with several of the chiefs of the party, who dreaded to think they had thus unseasonably declared themselves; and by this means exposed themselves to the severities of the inquisition.

This crafty prelate improved the confusion they were in to his advantage, and immediately assured them of his protection with the grand inquisitor, whom they all knew to be at his devotion. In the next place, he endeavoured to raise a jealousy, insinuating, that a prince who affected bigotry, would certainly drive them out of Portugal, and promised them liberty of conscience, and a synagogue in the kingdom, if they would contribute to the restoration of the late government.

So violent was the passion of the archbishop, he did not blush to use the assistance of the enemies of Jesus Christ, to dethrone his rightful prince; and perhaps this was the first time the inquisition ever acted in concert with the synagogue.

The conspirators, after various projects, at last resolved on this, which was the sense of the archbishop, and had been agreed between him and the prime minister of Spain: that in the dead of the night, of the fifth of August, the Jews should set fire to the four corners of the palace; and at the same time to several of the houses in different parts of the city, to keep the people employed in quenching those next their own dwellings. That the conspirators should throw themselves into the palace, under colour of assisting to extinguish the fire; and in the midst of that hurry and confusion which attends accidents of this kind, they should thrust in near the king's person, and stab him. That the duke of Camino should, in the mean time, secure the queen, and the young princes, just as the princess of Mantua had before been, as hostages for the surrender of the citadel. That preparations should be made to fire those vessels which were in the harbour. That the archbishop, and the grand inquisitor, with all his officers, should march through the city to appease the people and prevent any commotion by the dread of the inquisition: and that the marquis de Villareal should take upon him the government, till farther orders should arrive from Spain.

But having no assurance the people would declare for them, they needed troops to support this action. To this end it was agreed to solicit the conde duke to send a considerable fleet on the coasts, to be ready to enter the harbour at the moment the conspiracy should be put in action. That upon the first notice of the success, he should give orders to all the troops on the frontiers to march directly to Lisbon, to make head against all opposition.

But the conspirators found great difficulty in settling this necessary

correspondence with the prime minister. As soon as the king was informed the vice-queen had wrote to Madrid, he had placed so strict a guard on the frontiers, that no person could go out of the kingdom without his express leave; and it was not judged safe to corrupt the guards, for fear they should prove treacherous, and deliver the letters up, or disclose the practices used to corrupt them.

At length being pressed with the necessity of acquainting the Spanish minister with their intentions, without which, all the measures they should take would be in vain; and doubtful what way to effect this, they cast their eyes on a rich merchant of Lisbon, who was treasurer of the Douane, who, upon the account of his great dealings in several parts of Europe, had a permission to write into Castile. This man, named Baeze, made a public profession of the Christian religion, but was one of those whom the Portuguese call new Christians, who are suspected to observe in private the Jewish rights. They offered him a very great sum of money to engage in this affair. This joined with the importunity of the Jews, who were in the secret of this conspiracy, determined him; he accepted their offers, and undertook to have their letters delivered to the conde duke d' Olivarez.

He addressed his packet to the Marquis d' Aiamonte, governor of the first frontier place in Spain, not doubting they were safe as soon as out of the dominion of Portugal.

This marquis, who had a private interest in the affairs of Portugal, being nearly allied to the queen, surprised to find letters with the great seal of the inquisition affixed to them, and addressed to the first minister of Spain, instantly opened them, fearing they might contain some particulars of his private correspondence with the king and queen of Portugal, notwithstanding the late revolution, but found in them, to his no small amazement, the project and plan of a conspiracy, which was ripe for execution, and aimed to destroy him and the whole royal family.

He sent the packet back to the king of Portugal. His surprise was unspeakable, to find, upon opening the letters, that princes nearly allied to him, an archbishop, and several of the chief men in his court, who shewed the greatest joy at his elevation, should so soon conspire to deprive him at once of his life and crown.

He summoned a council privately, and some days after acted according to the resolutions then taken. The fifth of August was the day when the plot was to be put in execution, about eleven o'clock at night, the particulars of which were set down in the intercepted papers. The same day the king ordered all the troops quartered in the neighbouring villages, to march into Lisbon, under a pretence of a general review in the great court of the palace. He gave privately, with his own hand, several billets sealed, to those about him, in whom he most confided, with strict orders not to open them till noon, and then to execute punctually, the orders contained in them. In the next place, taking the archbishop, and the marquis de Villareal into his closet, under pretence of communicat-

ing some business to them, he secured them without noise, about noon, and a captain of the guards seized on the duke of Camino, in the great square. Those who received the billets, opening them, found orders to seize some of the conspirators, and commit them to such and such prisons, and to set a guard on them till farther orders. These measures were so well taken, and so punctually executed, that in less than an hour's time, the whole forty-seven were seized, no one having notice to make his escape.

The noise of this plot being spread through the town, the people flocked to the palace in great crowds, demanding the traitors to be delivered to them. Though the king was pleased to see the affection of his new subjects; yet this unusual concourse made him a little uneasy. He feared these popular tumults might grow frequent, which he looked on as no better than seditious assemblies. So having thanked the people for their concern for his person, and assured them justice should be done, he ordered the magistrates to disperse them.

However, lest the heat of the people should abate, who easily pass from the most violent fury and rage, to sentiments of pity and compassion, this prince gave out, the conspirators had a design to assassinate him, and the whole royal family, to set the city on fire, and seize what escaped the flames as their plunder: and to prevent all conspiracies for the future, and to discharge their vengeance, they had resolved to people the town with a colony of Spaniards, and to send the citizens to the mines in America, and bury them alive in that abyss, which had swallowed a world of people.

In the next place, he appointed judges out of the supreme court of judicature, for the trial of the conspirators; to these he added, two of the grandees of the kingdom, upon the account of the archbishop of Braga, the marquess of Villareal, and the duke of Camino.

The king ordered the commissioners not to make use of the letters which he put into their hands, if they could convict the plotters without them, for fear the court of Spain should come to know by what means they came to fall into his hands. But there was no need to employ them to discover the truth. Baeze contradicted himself in almost all the questions which were put to him; and this wretch, on the first torture, confessed his guilt, and disclosed the whole plan of the conspiracy. He owned they had a design to kill the king; that the office of the inquisition was full of arms, and they only waited the Conde duke's answer for the execution of their designs.

Most part of the other plotters being put to the question, their depositions were agreeable to those of the Jew. The archbishop, the grand inquisitor, the marquis de Villareal, and the duke of Camino confessed their guilt, to avoid the torture. The judges condemned the two last to be beheaded, and the rest to be hanged and quartered and reserved the sentence of the churchmen for the king.

The king summoned a council immediately, and told his ministers,

he feared the punishment of so many persons of rank, though they were guilty, might have bad consequences. That the chief conspirators being of several of the first houses of the kingdom, their kindred would be so many secret enemies of the government, and the desire to revenge their death, would be the unhappy source of perpetual plots. That the death of count Egmont in Flanders, and of the Guises in France, had both fatal consequences; that to pardon some, and inflict a less severe punishment than death, would win the hearts of all persons, and oblige them, their relations and friends, to act by motives of gratitude. That however his private opinion was for mildness, he had assembled them to have their sense, and resolved to proceed as they judged best.

The marquis de Ferrara was for having them executed without delay. He asserted with vehemence, that a prince on these occasions, ought to hear nothing but justice; that mildness was dangerous, and to pardon criminals of this kind, would be thought a weakness in a prince, proceeding more from a fear of their powerful friends, than a natural goodness: that impunity would bring the present government into contempt, and encourage their friends to deliver them out of prison, and possibly to push matters further. That an example of severity was necessary upon his accession to the crown, to deter others from the like attempt. That this offence was not only against the king's person, but against the state, and a design to subvert the government. That he ought to consider more the justice he owed his people, than his inclination to clemency, at a time when the preservation of his person, and the public safety, were inseparable.

All the council being of the same opinion, the king yielded, and the sentence was executed the next day. The archbishop of Lisbon interceded for the life of his friends, and solicited the queen, with all the assurance of a man, who thought nothing could be refused to his services. But the queen, who understood very well the necessity of impartial justice, how much a distinction of this nature would exasperate the friends of the rest, only replied, with a tone which shewed her inflexible resolution, My lord, the greatest favour I can grant you, is to forget that you ever spoke to me of this matter.

The king fearing to draw the court of Rome on him, and being willing to make use of the good grace of the holy father, that he might own him as king, changed the punishment of the archbishop of Braga, and the grand inquisitor, into a perpetual prison. The archbishop died of grief, because his design had miscarried. The vice-queen was delivered to the Spaniards; and the first minister of Spain seeing clandestine ways unable to destroy the king of Portugal, was resolved to attack him by open force. But this too was still unsuccessful. This prince kept a considerable number of troops on his frontier, commanded by the best generals, and composed of a great number of foreign officers and volunteers, whom his bounty had drawn into his service. Besides this, he had the dexterity to make pensioners in the very council of Spain, who served

him effectually, and disposed matters so, that those generals who were ordered to attack Portugal, were never in a condition to attempt any thing considerable to its prejudice. Thus he reigned seventeen years, the delight of his subjects, and the terror of Spain. After his death, the queen, a princess of courage and great skill in the affairs of government, gloriously kept the crown and fortune for her children. She shone with full splendor on the throne, during the whole time of her regency, and shewed all those qualities in their brightest lustre, which made her one of the most illustrious princesses that ever reigned. The conduct and the art of government were her chiefest care, and her constant study. She applied herself with great assiduity, to unmask the several characters, and guess by the most nice and fine outsides, the most concealed intentions; and if at any time she happened to be deceived, she would trace the several steps to find the original mistake. By her extraordinary diligence she had attained to great skill and judgment; the Spanish* historians as well as the Portuguese, do her the justice to own, she could see the naked hearts of her courtiers, though veiled with the most artful dissimulation. In short, where there appeared any thing great or glorious to attempt, she wanted neither courage to conquer all difficulties, or wit to find means to obtain what she desired; and there was nothing farther to be wished for in this matchless woman, except a more true notion of real greatness, or higher motives than fame and glory.

The court of Spain thinking the regency the most favourable opportunity to regain their lost power in Portugal, bent the force of their arms on that kingdom. The pensioners of the king, in the councils of Madrid, who had hitherto diverted the storm, were dead, and the regent had no way left but to prepare for war. She obtained of the princes, her allies, the best generals, and the most experienced officers. The weight of affairs did not make any impression on her. Her capacity, wit, and steady courage, were proof against all adventures. Nothing but the throne she filled could have ever shewn the great genius of this princess, wise in her counsels, impenetrable in her designs, rigid and inflexible in maintaining every point of her just authority. The people had a great affection to her government. Fear and respect kept the great men of the kingdom in a perfect submission. Never troops were in better condition, or better disciplined: her orders were executed as punctually as if she had been at the head of her army in person. Every one knew offences to the prejudice of the queen's affairs were never pardoned. All men were diligent in doing their duty: she would know every thing, read all dispatches, and nothing escaped her care and providence.

To conclude, she put every thing in so good order, in the time of her regency, that king Alphonso, her son, upon his entering into the government, found the kingdom in a condition to maintain a war against Spain,

* Ad hæc politicas artes, bonos et malos Regiminis dolos, dominationis arcana, humani lûitubula ingenii non modo intelligere Mulier, sed et pertractare quoque et provehere tam Naturâ quam Disciplinâ mirifice instructa fuit. *Cætan Passar. de Bello Lusitan.*

with advantage, his generals won great battles, and ever beat their enemies; so that some time after the abdication of that prince, Spain, wearied with so fruitless and expensive a war, was constrained to desire peace of Dom Pedro, his brother, then reigning, and own him rightful king of Portugal, and that crown, independent.*

John IV. although he took the field, was no general himself, but he had the judgment to elect and to promote men of merit; and, in the war with Spain which followed the restoration of the monarchy, we find heroes who would have done honour to the times of his great ancestor, John I. No sooner was John proclaimed and crowned, than he proceeded to repair the fortifications of the frontier towns, and to put garrisons in them, taking care, at the same time, not to be the first to commit any act of hostility.

During the greater part of the years 1641-2, the war on the part of the King of Portugal was confined to the defence of the frontiers. The Spaniards, however, soon obliged him to take the field. A Portuguese army of 12,000 infantry, 2000 cavalry, with 20 pieces of artillery, and two mortars, under the Count of Obidos, assembled at Elvas on the 6th September, 1643. This army entered Spanish Estremadura, besieged and took Villa Verde, and afterwards laid siege to Badajoz; but, after taking two or three outworks, the Count judged it prudent to raise the siege, and retire towards Villa Verde. The King no sooner heard of the siege being raised, than he deprived the Count of the command, and gave it to Mathias de Albuquerque. Albuquerque followed up the intentions of the Count of Obidos; and, after destroying some villages, he besieged and took Alconchil, Figueria de Vargus, and Villa Novo del Fresno.

While the grand army was employed in this victorious career, the detached troops in other parts were not less successful. The Count of Castello Melhor, who commanded in the north, took Salvaterra, and various towns in Galicia. The troops in the province of Beira, under Don Alvaro de Abranches, the Count de Serem, Don Rodrigo de Castro, and Don Sanchos Manuel, were universally successful, so that, during the whole of John's reign, the Spaniards, instead of making progress, lost ground considerably. And that party in the nation, which was so far lost to all honourable and patriotic feeling, as to wish their country a province of Spain, was completely annihilated.

During the usurpation of the crown of Portugal by the Philips, the Dutch had got a footing in India, as well as in America, and had taken possession of some of the principal colonies of the Portuguese. No support whatever was sent from the mother country to these colonies. Indeed, the court of Spain favoured, as much as possible, the successes of the Dutch in both continents, from an idea that, by lessening the domi-

* Vertot's History of Portugal (or the revolution of 1640) ends with the preceding sentence. The continuation is from other authorities, the principal of which are "The Present State of Portugal and of the Portuguese Army," by Dr. Halliday; "Elliot's State of Portugal;" and "A Brief Historic Memoir by General Dumourier."

nious and the consequence of the nation, there was the less probability of its ever again becoming an independent state. No sooner was the revolution known in the colonies, than it was received with the utmost demonstrations of joy, and the King was unanimously proclaimed in almost every settlement. The war was carried on against the Dutch with redoubled vigour, and with some success, until a peace between the two powers put an end to these contests. In Africa the Portuguese defended their colonies against the united efforts of the Moors and Dutch with the greatest bravery, but with considerable loss, until the peace between John and the United States relieved them also from that powerful adversary. King John IV. died at Lisbon on the 6th of November 1656, in the 52d year of his age, and 16th of his reign. The Queen was left Regent of the kingdom, and governess of the young King; but Affonso VI. was far different from the Affonsos of other times, and seemed to have nothing but the name, in common with his illustrious ancestors. Addicted to secret vices from his earliest years, he was debilitated both in body and mind, and perfectly incapable of directing the councils of a great nation. The Queen mother was at every pains to place wise and virtuous counsellors around her son; but those only who favoured his passions and his vices, and who were of the lowest character, could have any influence on his conduct.

The King of Spain, taking advantage of the confusion which naturally followed the death of John, and the irregular conduct of the young Affonso, carried on the war with great vigour, but with indifferent success. In 1657 the Portuguese were rather unfortunate in the Alentejo. In 1658 Badajoz was besieged for six months by the army under John Mendes de Vasconcelles; but, after taking the fort of St. Michael, he was obliged to retire to Elvas. Philip, having collected together an army of 14,000 infantry and 5000 cavalry, with a powerful train of artillery, proceeded to invest Elvas.

The Spanish army sat down before Elvas on the 22d of October, and it was not till the month of January 1659 that a sufficient force could be brought together for its relief. During this period, the garrison suffered every misery, and at one time lost nearly 300 a day from disease. The Count de Cantanhede was able to take the field with an army which did not (after all this delay) amount to more than 8000 infantry, and about 3000 cavalry and seven pieces of artillery. On the 13th of January, the army came in sight of the Spanish lines. Early in the morning of the 14th a detachment was sent from the Spanish camp to reconnoitre the Portuguese army; it was found to be in apparently the greatest security, not even under arms. The officer, on his return, informed the Spanish general, Don Louis D'Aro, that there was no danger of an attack that day; and in consequence, the cavalry and additional troops which had marched to that part of the lines which was opposite the Portuguese camp, were withdrawn.

The Count de Cantanhede had given his orders the night before for

the attack, and only waited for the clearing up of a thick mist to form his army. About eight o'clock the whole were put in motion. The forlorn hope, consisting of about 1000 infantry chosen from the whole army, was commanded by Diogo Gomas de Figueredo. These were followed by an advanced guard of 3000 infantry and 1200 cavalry, under the command of the Count of Misquitella, Andrew de Albuquerque, and Lieutenant-general Achim de Tamarcourt. One half of the cavalry was placed on the flanks of this advanced guard; the reserve consisted of 2000 infantry. After a short but appropriate speech, the Count de Cantanhede took his station in the front of the main body of the army, and gave orders to advance. As soon as the movements of the army were perceived from the city, every disposition was made by the governor Don Sanchus Manuel, to take a part in the approaching engagement.

The Spanish troops were scattered in the trenches and completely off their guard, so that, when the advance arrived at their line, they found only a few battalions to oppose them, and these in the greatest confusion; and, although the Duke of St. Germain and the Spanish generals made every effort to collect their troops, and although they did make several desperate efforts to recover their lost ground, yet the Portuguese, led on by their brave officers, overcame every difficulty, and in a short time were masters of every part of the lines.

The remains of the Spanish army retired to Badajoz, but their loss was most severe; for, of the 14,000 infantry and 3000 cavalry which Don Lewis D' Aro had under his command at the beginning of the engagement, he could only muster, next day at Badajoz, about 5000 infantry and 1300 cavalry. The whole artillery, many stands of colours, about 5000 prisoners, and the whole of the baggage of the Spanish army, were among the fruits of this victory. It was dearly bought, however, on the part of the Portuguese, by the loss of Andrew de Albuquerque, one of the most distinguished officers of that period, and who fell mortally wounded while directing the assault of one of the enemy's fortified posts. Fernanda de Silveira, who fell in this action, deserves also to be mentioned. He was one of those who had sustained the honour of his country, while serving as a captain of cavalry with the Spanish armies in Flanders, and who had equally distinguished himself since the restoration, in the defence of his native soil, as well as in the defence of the colonies in America.

This important victory was most joyfully received by the Queen Regent and the nation, and, if I may so express myself, it gave a death-blow to the hopes of Spain. The Count of Cantanhede, to whose judgment and valour the victory was in a great measure owing, was called to court as soon as circumstances would permit, and was received both by the Queen and the young King, with the most flattering assurance of their gratitude and regard. The troops of Portugal were equally successful in the other provinces; but the great want of men in the nation, as also a want of money, obliged the Queen to have recourse to France

for support; and notwithstanding some difficulties experienced in the first instance, a body of troops was sent to Portugal, under the command of the Earls of Schomberg and Inchiquin, the former a German, and the latter Irish. A strong body of troops was also sent from England, at first under the command of Lord Inchiquin; but afterwards, the whole were put under the orders of Schomberg.

Disgusted beyond measure with the conduct of the young King, the Queen resigned the regency, and retired altogether from public life. In 1662, France having concluded a peace with Spain, her troops were withdrawn from Portugal; and Philip determined to carry on the war with more fury than ever. In 1663, a powerful army entered the Alentejo, took and destroyed Evora, and many of the principal towns in that province, and even threatened to sit down before the capital of the kingdom. The Earl of Schomberg and Count of Villa Flor, were most incessantly engaged in the formation of an army that might afford some hopes of putting a stop to the career of the enemy. This they were fortunate enough to accomplish, for after the battle of Amexial, in which the Spaniards lost upwards of 10,000, killed, wounded, and prisoners, and many of the first nobility of the kingdom, they were obliged to retire from Portugal altogether. Philip, enraged at this defeat, removed the Duke of Austria from the command of the army, and having spent nearly two years in organizing another army, he again ordered it to enter Portugal by the Alentejo. The Spanish troops penetrated to Villa Viçosa; but the brave Cantanhede, now Marquis of Marialva, who commanded the Portuguese army, coming up with them, another and decisive victory was obtained near a place called Montes Claros. The Spaniards lost about 4000 killed, 6000 prisoners, 14 pieces of artillery, 86 stands of colours, and 1500 horses.

Notwithstanding these victories obtained by the valour of the army, the conduct and weakness of the king seemed to threaten the nation with ruin; and it came to such a height, that the Prince Don Pedro, the King's brother, and third son of John IV. was unanimously called upon to take the management of the public affairs. The King was in a manner compelled to constitute his brother Regent, which he did, by signing a paper already prepared, on the 23d of November 1667. On the 27th of January Don Pedro was sworn Regent and heir to the crown, and immediately took upon him the reins of government.

Through the mediation of Charles II. who had married Catherine the daughter of John IV. and sister to the King and Regent, a peace was at last concluded between the courts of Spain and Portugal. This peace, which was effected by the Earl of Sandwich on the part of the King of England, was signed at Lisbon on the 23d of February 1668, by the Marquis of Elich on the part of Charles, who had succeeded his father, Philip IV. on the throne of Spain, and by the Duke of Cadaval, the Marquises of Marialva, Niza, and Govea, and the Count of Miranda, on the part of the Regent of Portugal. This peace continued uninterrupted for thirty-six years, and although it increased the internal power

and wealth of the nation, it almost put an end to the military glory of Portugal.

In the beginning of the 18th century, when the succession to the crown of Spain was disputed, Don Pedro, who had been proclaimed King on the death of his brother in 1683, was induced to enter into what was called the grand alliance in favour of Charles, son of the Emperor Leopold I. An army of 25,000 infantry, and 3000 cavalry, was raised *de novo* in Portugal, for there was scarce a soldier existing who knew what war was. Thirteen thousand of these troops were paid by the allies.

The command of the province of Estremadura was given to the Duke of Cadaval; that of Beira to the Marquis das Minas; Tras os Montes to the Count of Alvor; Alentejo to the Count of Galveas, and Algarve to the Count of Avintes.

Portugal became the theatre of the war, for Philip V., grandson of Louis XIV. of France, who had been named by Charles II. as his successor, entered the province of Beira with a powerful army, passed through Castello Branco, crossed the Tagus at Villa Velha, took Portalegre, Castello de Vide, and other places in the Alentejo, without meeting with the smallest resistance. The Marquis das Minas, though not able to face the army of Philip, entered Spain as soon as it had left the province of Beira, took and destroyed the town of Fuentes de Ginaldo, then a rich and flourishing place. He also took Monsanto, and dispersed a few troops under Don Francisco de Ronquilho. The Count of Galveas also made some exertions to carry the war into Spain, but was only able to destroy a few villages.

On the 28th of March 1704, the King of Portugal left Lisbon with Charles III. and joined the army at Almeida. The British troops were commanded by the Earl of Galway, the Portuguese by the Marquis das Minas. On the arrival of the two sovereigns, the allied army was put in motion, with the view of crossing the Agueda; but this they were unable to accomplish, as they were opposed by a powerful army under the Duke of Berwick, who was generalissimo of the French and Spanish forces. After giving directions for the armies to take the field early in summer, the two Kings returned to Lisbon.

In 1705, a powerful fleet and army arrived from England, under the Earl of Peterborough, which, after leaving thirteen ships in the Tagus, proceeded with Charles to Catalonia. In the autumn of this year, the Marquis das Minas laid siege to Badajoz, but was unable to take it. Charles III. however, or rather the English army, took Barcelona. In the March following, the allied army entered Spain in force, under the Marquis das Minas; several towns were taken, and the army under the Duke of Berwick, in an affair near Brozas, was obliged to retire. Alcantara, after a blockade of six days, yielded to the allies. From Alcantara the Marquis proceeded to Placentia, which, notwithstanding that it was defended by the Duke of Berwick, was also taken possession of, as were the cities of Cidade Rodrigo and Salamanca.

On the 27th of June, the allied army entered Madrid, where the Marquis proclaimed Charles King of Spain with great pomp. Had Charles pushed on at this time with the troops under the Earl of Peterborough, and arrived at Madrid in person, he might have secured the crown of Spain. But the time which ought to have been otherwise employed, was spent in vain pomp and parade, and in listening to the opinions of councils of war. The province of Estremadura and Old Castile had acknowledged the power of Charles, as also the kingdom of Leon; and Clement XI. even acknowledged his right, which had hitherto been denied. The Emperor of Morocco congratulated the King of Portugal on the success of his arms; but the delays of Charles, and the increasing power of the army under Philip, obliged the Marquis das Minas to quit Madrid.

The army under Charles and the Earl of Peterborough, joined that under the Marquis das Minas and Lord Galway, on the 8th of August, when Peterborough was deprived of his command, and the Lord Galway appointed his successor; but, finding it impossible to attack the enemy with advantage, they retired upon Valencia, crossing the Tagus at Fuentes de Puena. They were followed by the Duke of Berwick, but no action took place, as the Duke carefully avoided a general engagement.

On the 25th of April 1707, the Duke of Berwick found himself in a favourable position near Almanza, and by a well-executed stratagem, he brought the allies to an engagement. The battle was long and bloody, and the allies were severely beaten, for not less than thirteen regiments were taken prisoners. This victory gave a complete turn to the affairs of Philip, and in a manner secured to him the quiet possession of the crown of Spain.

On the 7th of July 1708, John V. who had succeeded his father, Don Pedro, married the Archduchess Maria of Austria, daughter of the Emperor Leopold; and though the courts of England and France endeavoured to draw him off from the alliance with Charles III. yet John remained firm to his engagement with his brother-in-law, and the war was continued. In 1709, a Spanish army was known to be encamped in the plains near Badajoz, and the Marquis of Fronteira, who commanded the allies at Elvas, resolved (on some false information) to attack their camp. The Spaniards were equally successful in this engagement. Lord Galway, and two British regiments, were taken prisoners, and the allies obliged to retire with great loss. If we except the battle of Candanos, Philip was successful in every engagement during the following year. Miranda was taken possession of, as well as several other places; and though some of these were recovered, the allies were for the most part unsuccessful. At last, the death of Leopold called Charles to the throne of Austria, and Europe, wearied of the war, began to think of a general peace. Plenipotentiaries from the several nations met at Utrecht in 1713, and on the 6th of April 1716, the peace, which was there effected, was proclaimed in Lisbon.

Previous, however, to the general peace, the army of Philip, under the Marquis of Baz, laid siege to Campo Maior; and if we consider the immense force which was brought against this small place, and the brave defence which it made, we shall find it equalled by few in the history of the world. Stephen de Gama, the governor of Campo Maior, is worthy of being recorded with the Pereiras, Menezes, and Albuquerque of old. The enemy's breaching battery is said to have thrown eight hundred shot daily. The trenches were opened on the 4th of October, the breach was practicable on the 24th; but though the place was assaulted, the enemy were repulsed.

The impossibility of continuing to defend the breaches, and the impracticability of repairing them, suggested to Pedro Mascarenhas, who commanded the troops, the idea of stopping them up with brush-wood. On a second assault being attempted, this brush-wood set on fire, and it threw the enemy's troops into such confusion, that, after a severe loss, they were a second time driven back, and finally obliged to raise the siege.

During the peace which succeeded the treaty of Utrecht, the Portuguese nation increased in wealth, and John, who had received the title of Faithful from Benedict XIV. found sufficient occupation in building the palace of Mafra, and other religious houses, and in framing laws for the government of his kingdom.

In 1735, some dispute having arisen between the courts of Spain and Portugal, about the possession of the colony of Sacramento in America, an immense army was raised by John, but it never came into action, as the dispute was amicably adjusted through the mediation of England and Italy; and the peace continued uninterrupted during the rest of his days.

On the 31st of July 1750, Joseph I. succeeded his father on the throne of Portugal. The first twelve years of this reign offer nothing to the military reader; and the long period of forty-seven years peace, had in a great measure changed the very nature of the people.

In the spring of 1762, the advance of a Spanish army into Portugal, excited considerable alarm in the nation, and the King became sensible of the impolicy of neglecting his military force. John V. had corrected some flagrant abuses during the continuance of the war at the commencement of his reign, and had published a code of regulations, which are still in existence, but even these had fallen into disuse in many respects; the army was therefore ill organised, and worse officered.

Six British regiments of infantry, a regiment of light dragoons, and eight companies of artillery, were sent by this country to assist in repelling the French and Spanish armies who threatened to invade Portugal; and the Count of Schambourg Lippe, an officer who had been educated in the school of Frederick of Prussia, was invited by the court of Lisbon to take the command of the army. The command of the British forces was also intrusted to Lippe; and, with the commission of Marshal-Gené-

ral, the organization of the army, and direction of the war, was in a great measure committed to him.

In the month of July, the combined armies of France and Spain were collected in the neighbourhood of Cidade Rodrigo, to the amount of 42,000 men, with a train of artillery of 93 pieces. Lippe, who had not been above three months in the country, found himself obliged to take the field against this powerful and well-organised force. But as it was necessary to leave some troops in the north, to watch the motions of the Spaniards in Galicia, as also garrisons in most of the frontier towns, the army under his command, including the British force already mentioned, did not exceed fourteen or fifteen thousand men.

The advance of the enemy's army crossed the Coa on the 23d of July, and took possession of the Castle of Rodrigo without firing a shot. On this movement Lippe collected his army near Abrantes, that it might be ready to act according to circumstances. Almeida was besieged by the enemy, and though there was little probability of its being able to stand against so superior a force, yet the Count determined to make a diversion in its favour, and if possible delay its fall. Lieutenant-general Townsend was dispatched into upper Beira, with seven regiments of Portuguese infantry, one British regiment, and two regiments of Portuguese cavalry, and the first position which he took up was at Viseu; other small detachments were sent to Celerico and Guarda. But the fall of Almeida, through the cowardice of the governor, rendered these measures of little effect.

Two days after the fall of Almeida, the enemy advanced some leagues on the road to Celerico, but soon broke off to the left, and marched upon Sabugal and Penamacor, while a considerable column took the road of Alcantara for Spain. As soon as Lippe was apprized of these movements, four British regiments were marched to the Ponte de Murcella, to secure a junction with General Townsend, and the rest of the troops were placed in eschellons of brigades between the Tagus and the Mondega, and ready to be removed to any point. The castle of Celerico was abandoned two days after the fall of Almeida, and taken possession of by the enemy, so that the route to Coimbra or Oporto was completely open to him.

During the march of the enemy's troops upon Sabugal, a skirmish took place with their advance, in which the Portuguese regiment of volunteer cavalry suffered some loss, and was driven back. The governor of Salvaterra, notwithstanding the most positive orders to defend it to the last, thought proper to capitulate before the enemy came within sight of the place. The commandant of Segura did the same, which laid the road to Castello Branco completely open. But, instead of moving upon Coimbra or Oporto, the whole of the enemy's force was united at Castello Branco, about the middle of September. As Count Lippe presumed the enemy was intent upon entering the Alentejo, he drew off his troops from the Ponte de Murcella, and took up a position

near Abrantes ; while General Townsend, who had got to the neighbourhood of Pinhel, was directed to fall back upon the Tagus, in order to join the main body of the army. Lord Lennox was left with a small force in the neighbourhood of Almeida ; and Townsend, taking the route of Celerico and Ponte de Murcella, joined the army. When Lippe observed, that instead of marching by Alcantara, the combined armies were collected at Castello Branco, he supposed that the Count d' Arada intended to pursue the route which had been taken by Philip V. when he entered Portugal in the beginning of the succession war, and that he would attempt to cross the Tagus at Villa Velha ; and he was convinced that, if this route was followed, the whole of the frontier towns of the Alentejo must inevitably fall into the hands of the enemy, and with them the whole of that province, as well as the kingdom of Algarvê, while, with his small, ill-organised, and still worse-disciplined army, he was perfectly unable to offer any opposition in the field. As, however, the nature of the country offered some difficulties, and the enemy were compelled, in a manner, to cross the Tagus at Villa Velha, if determined to enter the Alentejo. General Burgoyne, who had been detached on a secret service, and who had taken a major-general, several officers, and about 200 men from the enemy, in an unexpected attack which he made upon Valença, was directed to occupy the south bank of the river at this point, and at the same time to observe their movements on the river, so as to secure his right. General Burgoyne fortified his position on the banks of the Tagus, and took advantage of the ground in his favour to erect batteries, which in some measure commanded the road to the bridge. The old Castle of Villa Velha was taken possession of and fortified, and the Count of St Jago, with 1000 infantry, 200 cavalry, and 8 pieces of cannon, occupied the pass of Alvito, and commanded the road which leads by Sobreira Formosa, while the army under the commander-in-chief was encamped near the village of Masan, with the view of being near to support the posts in the mountains.

The Count Arada sent about 600 men from the army at Castello Branco, to make a reconnoissance in the direction of Villa Velha, and take up a position in front of General Burgoyne ; another body of about 4000 encamped on the heights of Sarzedos and Montegarde, in front of the Count of St Jago ; while a third corps, of between 2000 and 3000, encamped in front of the pass of St. Simon, which was occupied by a major and 300 of the allied army. The enemy, after repeated trials, being convinced of the difficulty of forcing General Burgoyne from his position, resolved to open the roads by the mountains, with the view of marching upon Abrantes. The Count of La Torre, who commanded the enemy's advance, ordered 600 men to cross the river Alvito, with an intention of outflanking the troops under the Count of St Jago on their left ; while another strong detachment marched upon St Simon, and drove in that advanced post of the allies.

After considerable opposition, the enemy got possession of the heights

of Villa Velha, which obliged Count Lippe to withdraw his small force from that position ; but, on the appearance of the enemy in front of St Simon, the Count of St Jago was reinforced with two additional battalions of Portuguese infantry.

The officer who commanded the castle of Villa Velha surrendered with his garrison, although it was in his power to have crossed the river, and joined General Burgoyne. After gaining possession of these heights, the enemy advanced in that direction with a corps 6000 men, which rendered it necessary to withdraw the advanced post at Moita, which was outflanked ; and a strong force appearing in front of St. Simon, Lord Loudon was detached with four British regiments to take a position in front of Sobreira Formosa, so as to secure the retreat of St. Jago.

On the 3d of October, Count Lippe ordered the troops to be withdrawn from the Alvito. Lord Loudon's brigade was directed to remain upon the heights of Falhadas until the Portuguese troops had reached Sobreira Formosa, and then, after destroying the works which had been constructed by the count of St. Jago, to retire also. The rear-guard, which was composed of the grenadier companies of Lord Loudon's brigade, and fifty men from each regiment, and twenty-four Portuguese, with fifty British dragoons, was attacked about five o'clock in the afternoon by the enemy's advance, and almost the whole of the cavalry-horses were killed or wounded ; but, upon bringing up the whole of the brigade to the support of the rear-guard, the enemy retired from the heights, and did not attempt any thing further during the retreat.

The six thousand men which, after the fall of the heights of Villa Velha, had crossed the mountains at Porta Cabrao, left six pieces of cannon near the passage of the Tagus, with a guard of 100 horse, and 200 provincial grenadiers, which they deemed sufficient, as the river was considered impassable. General Burgoyne, observing the carelessness and inattention of these troops, directed Colonel Lee, with a detachment of 250 British grenadiers, and 50 dragoons, to pass the Tagus at a ford a little above the enemy's position, and endeavour to destroy the guns, or bring them off. Colonel Lee performed this duty with great judgment. The enemy were taken completely unawares, a great number were killed, and 6 officers, 36 dragoons, with 60 artillery-mules, taken. A considerable quantity of stores and provisions was destroyed, and four of the guns spiked.

On the 5th of October, the grand army advanced three leagues, and the head-quarters of the Count d'Aranda was in Sarzedas. The advance, under the Count de la Torre, took up a position in front of Sobreira Formosa, and 1000 men were kept constantly at work repairing the roads. Lippe had directed the Count of St. Jago to drive the country during his retreat through the Lower Beira, and every thing that could not be carried off was destroyed ; so that the enemy now found himself in a desert, without being able to procure either provisions, cars, or peasants to assist them ; the inhabitants had abandoned their villages, and carried off every

thing. The army had to be supplied with every necessary from Spain. The soldiers were harassed with fatigue in making roads, and the cavalry-horses destroyed in conducting provisions, &c.

General Townsend was detached with his division to join Lord Lennox, who was in the neighbourhood of Guarda, and who was ordered to advance upon Belmont, with the view of cutting off the communication with Almeida and Cidade Rodrigo. The army under General Townsend, when united with that under Lord Lennox, amounted to fourteen battalions of infantry, and two regiments of cavalry, but was represented as consisting of 20,000 men; and a rumour was spread, that a large force had arrived from England. To give countenance to these reports, which spies were paid to circulate, General Townsend had no sooner arrived from Pinhel at Codos, about a league from St. Domingo, and after a march of fifty leagues, than he counter-marched through the mountains, and appeared in the Beira, performing, with his troops, another march of forty leagues. "Which duty," says the Count Lippe, "was punctually and skilfully performed by General Townsend, as well by the great abilities of that officer, as by the patience and perseverance of the Portuguese soldiers, who, notwithstanding the destruction of their shoes, marched with the greatest alacrity and pleasure over the rocky mountains, leaving very visible marks of their bleeding feet upon the stones."

While Townsend was manœuvring in this manner, the allied army, under the commander-in-chief, broke up from the encampment at Masam, and moved towards the left upon St. Domingo, and the head-quarters were for some days at Sardoa; but, at last, Lippe determined to take up a position on the Sierras of Lercas and Sta Clara, with his left upon the river Codos, near its junction with the Zezere, and his right upon the Tagus, near the mouth of the rivers Frio and Codeiro, and thus await the enemy, should he attempt to advance so far.

To those acquainted with the country, the importance of this strong position must be obvious; but to such of my readers as have only the map to consult, it may be proper to observe, that every road which led to Abrantes was guarded. The nature of the country rendered the cavalry arm perfectly useless, and with regard to artillery, every advantage was on the side of the allies; while the difficult nature of the defiles through which the enemy's infantry must pass, rendered them in some measure defensible by the small army under Lippe.

General Burgoyne remained on the south side of the Tagus, and the communication with him was kept up by a chain of posts. The alarm excited in the rear of the enemy by the troops under General Townsend, kept a considerable body of their troops engaged. On the 15th of Oct. the Count d'Aranda began to withdraw his advanced posts, and in a few days he retired with the whole army to his former position at Castello Branco. Lieutenant-general Townsend had passed Fundao, and had his advance-guard in Lardoza in the Lower Beira, which obliged the

Spanish General to detach a strong body French troops to observe his motions. After a halt of some days at Castello Branco, the enemy's cavalry, and a strong body of infantry, took the road for Spain, crossing the Tagus at Alcantara. As soon as the enemy began to retire upon Castello Branco, Major-general Fraser was sent with four regiments of infantry, and two of cavalry, by the road of Sobreira Formosa, with directions to attack his rear as often as he could do so with advantage. General Burgoyne advanced between Nisa and Montalvoa, while General Townsend occupied Penamacor and Monsanto.

Notwithstanding the retreat of his cavalry, and a body of infantry, the Count d'Aranda kept his head-quarters at Castello Branco, and about twenty-eight battalions of French and Spanish infantry, and ten squadrons of cavalry, and sixteen pieces of artillery, were retained with him, Count Lippe, with his small army, determined to attack this force; but, owing to some mismanagement, the troops could not get together in time, and d'Aranda retreated at leisure, leaving his sick and wounded in the hospital at Castello Branco, with a letter, recommending them to the attention of the allied army.

This retreat of the enemy in the month of November, after so many and difficult movements, together with the ruin of their numerous cavalry, made it evident that the campaign was at an end, and that they had retired to winter-quarters. Under these circumstances, Count Lippe permitted his troops to enter into quarters. General Townsend's division was quartered in the Lower Beira; the British troops in Sardoal and its neighbourhood, with a part of the Portuguese army, but the greater part of the Portuguese regiments were cantoned in the Alentejo; while General Burgoyne's division formed a corps of observation between Nisa and Portalegre. Reinforcements were sent to the different frontier garrisons, and British officers were for the most part appointed governors. Major-general Clarke was made governor of Elvas; Colonel Vaughan, who had distinguished himself in India, was appointed governor of Arronches; and a Lieutenant-colonel Sharpe, who commanded the 2d regiment of Elvas, now the 17th infantry, was sent to assist the Marquis de Prado, an old Spanish nobleman in the service of Portugal, who was governor of Campo Major.

Count Lippe was deceived by the retreat of the enemy, and was guilty of an error in allowing his troops to disperse into quarters; for, had the enemy been aware of this oversight, they might have taken possession of the Alentejo without a blow. Lippe, however, being on the alert, soon collected his army in the neighbourhood of Fustios; and the brave defence of Marvao, which was garrisoned by a few troops under a Captain Brown, gave the commander-in-chief time to make his arrangements. General Burgoyne occupied the heights of Castello de Vide and Marvao, while the enemy was encamped in the neighbourhood of Valença. Nine regiments were marched to Portalegre, and every exertion made to defend the frontiers. The position in front of Portalegre, and in the neighbourhood

of Valença, was chosen with great judgment, and the enemy's advance was expected as an event that would in some measure decide the fate of the campaign.

The first place which the enemy attempted to take was Marvão. This small town was attacked by a corps of 4000 or 5000 men, but the firmness of Captain Brown not only saved the place, but obliged the enemy to retire with considerable loss. Oguela, another small fort, was next attempted, but here the bravery of Captain Braz de Carvalho and his small garrison was equally conspicuous, as the enemy were driven from before the place with considerable loss and obliged to abandon the attempt. The resistance which the Spaniards met with in these small places, had a visible effect upon their movements, and convinced them that any attempt upon the Alentejo, would require both active and decisive measures, which the lateness of the season in some measure would not admit of. On the 15th of November, therefore, the whole of their force retired into Spanish Estremadura, to take up their winter-quarters, and Portugal, with the exception of Almeida and Chaves, was freed from the enemy.

On the 22d of November, a Spanish Major-general arrived at the headquarters of Count Lippe, with the news of the signing of the preliminaries of peace at Fontainebleau on the 3d ult. and proposing, on the part of the Count d'Aranda, a suspension of arms. Major-general Crawford was dispatched by Lippe with his answer to the Spanish commander-in-chief, agreeing to the suspension, which put an end to the campaign of 1762, and also to the war.

FINIS.



PERSONAL ADVENTURES

AND

TRAVELS

OF

FOUR YEARS AND A HALF

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.



By MR. JOHN DAVIS.

BEING TRAVELS IN SEARCH OF INDEPENDENCE AND
SETTLEMENT.

Inveni Portum.

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TRAVELS, &c.

Voyage from Bristol to New York.

HAVING formed the resolution of visiting the United States, I repaired from Salisbury to Bristol, with a view of embarking on board a snow of two hundred tons, which lay at the quay, and was bound to New York. The captain had purposed to sail the 20th of the same month, but it was not before January 7th of the new year, that the vessel moved from the wharf, when the spring-tide enabled her to proceed down the river.

For my passage, which was in the steerage, I had paid seven guineas to the merchants who chartered the vessel, and my mess, which was with two young gentlemen of my acquaintance, cost me only three pounds more. But, with this money, besides provisions, we purchased a stove, which, during the voyage, was a treasure to us. It not only fortified us against the cold, but we cooked our victuals upon it; and the drawer which was designed to hold the ashes, made an admirable oven.

The cabin was by no means an enviable place. It offered neither accommodation nor society. Its passengers consisted of an Unitarian priest and family, and two itinerant merchants. The steerage group was composed of a good, jolly, Somersetshire farmer and his housekeeper, who were going to settle in Pennsylvania, of the two young gentlemen I have already mentioned, and myself. Having repeatedly crossed the equator, and doubled the Cape of Good Hope, there is no occasion for me to say, that the ocean was familiar to me; and that, while the other passengers were sick and dejected, I was in health and good spirits. To the roll of the vessel I was fully accustomed; but my companions not having gotten their sea legs on board, tumbled grievously about the decks. The library which I had brought with me, con-

sisted of nearly three hundred volumes, and would have endeared me to any place.

The *Two Brothers* was a miserably sailing tub, and her passage a most tedious one. Head winds constantly prevailed, and scarcely a week elapsed without our lying-to more than once. To scud her was impracticable, as she would not steer small, and several times the captain thought she was going to founder. Her cargo, which consisted of mill-stones and old iron, made her strain so with rolling, that incessant pumping could hardly keep her free. She seemed to be fitted out by the parish; there was not a rope on board strong enough to hang a cat with. She had only one suit of sails, not a single spar, and her cordage was old. If a sail was split by the wind, there was no other alternative but to mend it; and when, after being out six weeks, we had sprung our fore-top mast, we were compelled to reef it. The same day, I remember, we fell in with a schooner from New York, which we spoke. It was on the 18th of February. She was bound to St. Sebastian. The seamen being employed, I volunteered my services to pull an oar on board her, which were readily accepted. Her captain received us politely, and regaled us with some cider. She had left port only a fortnight; but it took the ill-fated *Two Brothers* a month to get thither. We parted with regret. The captain of her was of a social, friendly disposition. As to our own skipper, he was passionately fond of visiting every vessel that he saw on the passage. If an old salt-fish schooner hove in sight, he clamoured for his boarding-boots, and swore he would go to her if it were only to obtain a pint of molasses. Once, having hailed a vessel, he was justly rebuked. He told the captain of her he would hoist out his boat and go to see him; but the man not approving, I suppose, his physiognomy, hauled aft his sheets and bore round up before the wind. The skipper had contracted these habits during the American war, when he commanded a small privateer; and he could not in his old age reclaim the foibles of his youth.

On the 8th of March, we saw the Isles of Sile, and three days after weathered the breakers of Nantucket; from whence, coasting to the southward, we made Long Island, and ran up to Sandy Hook. The wind subsiding, we let go our anchor, and the next morning, at an early hour, I accompanied the captain and two of the cabin passengers on shore. It was Sunday, March 18th.

On the parched spot, very properly called Sandy Hook, we found only one human habitation, which was a public house. The family consisted of an old woman, wife to the landlord, two young girls of homely appearance, a negro man and boy. While

breakfast was preparing, I ascended, with my companions, the light-house, which stood on the point of the Hook. It was lofty, and well furnished with lamps. On viewing the land round the dwelling of our host, I could not help thinking that he might justly exclaim with Selkirk:

I'm monarch of all I survey,
My right, there is none to dispute,
From the centre all round to the sea,
I am lord of the fowl and the brute.

The morning passed away not unpleasantly. The vivacity of the captain enlivened our breakfast, which was prolonged nearly till noon; nor do I think we should have then risen from table, had not the mate, who was left in charge of the snow, like a good seaman, hove short, and loosened his sails in readiness to avail himself of the breeze which had sprung up in our favour. The captain, therefore, clamoured for the bill, and finished his last bowl of grog with the favourite toast of "Here's to the wind that blows, the ship that goes, and the lass that loves a sailor."

In our progress to the town, we passed a British frigate lying at anchor. It was sunset, and the roll of the spirit-stirring drum brought to my recollection those scenes, that pomp, pride, and circumstance of glorious war, that makes ambition virtue*. We moored our vessel to one of the wharfs, and I rejoiced to find myself on a kindred shore.

CHAP. I.

Pursuits at New-York. Interview with Mr. Burr. A walk to Philadelphia. A Tribute to James Logan. Yellow Fever desolating the City. Embark for South-Carolina.

UPON my landing at New-York, my first care was to deliver a letter of recommendation which I had been favoured with by a friend to a merchant in the city. I was now to become the architect of my own fortune. Though on a kindred shore, I had not even an acquaintance to whom I could communicate my projects. But I was not long depressed by melancholy reflections, for I found a friend in a man, who, having himself been unfortunate, could feel for another in adversity. This was Mr. Caritat, the bookseller, who inquired into my views, and promised to

* Shakespeare.

assist me ; and until he could do it effectually, that I might lose no time, gave me an immediate literary employment, in the translation of Bonaparte's Italian campaign. " It is a pity," said he, " that in this money-making country you should lose any time ; I have just imported this book, I will pay you two hundred dollars for its translation."

I procured a lodging with a young man, who called himself a physician, in Ferry-street, a melancholy alley impervious to the sun. Doctor de Bow, however, in huge gilt letters, adorned the entrance of the house. Of the medical skill of the doctor I cannot pretend to judge ; but he had little or no practice. He was a pleasant man, and read the Life of Don Quixote whilst I was toiling at my translation. The original was an octavo of four hundred pages, but the emolument was a powerful incentive to my literary industry ; and I prosecuted my translation with so much diligence, that on the fourth of June it was ushered into the literary world.

About this period, my friend the doctor relinquished his house, and rented a little medicinal shop of a Major Howe, who was agreeably situated in Cherry-street. As the major took boarders, I accompanied the doctor to his house, determined to eat, drink, and be merry over my two hundred dollars. With some of the well-stamped coin I purchased a few dozen of Madeira, and when the noontide heat had abated, I quaffed the delicious liquor with the major and the doctor under a tree in the garden. Major Howe, after carrying arms through the revolutionary war, instead of reposing upon the laurels he had acquired, was compelled to open a boarding-house in New York, for the maintenance of his wife and children. He was a member of the Cincinnati, and not a little proud of his eagle. But I thought the motto to his badge of "*Omnia reliquit servare Rempublicam*," was not very appropriate ; for it is notorious that few Americans had much to leave when they accepted commissions in the army. "*Victor ad aratrum redit*" would have been better.

My translation introduced me to the acquaintance of some distinguished characters in New-York, and among others, to the celebrated Colonel Burr, who was in the late election chosen for the office of vice-president of the United States. I found Mr. Burr at breakfast, reading my translation over his coffee. He received me with the civility of a well-bred man ; and I discovered that he was not less skilled in elegant literature, than in the science of graciousness and attraction. He introduced me to his daughter, whom he has educated with uncommon care. At the same time that she dances with more grace than any young

lady of New-York, Miss Theodosia Burr speaks French and Italian with facility, is perfectly conversant with the writers of the Augustan age, and not unacquainted with the language of the father of poetry. Martel, a Frenchman, has dedicated a volume of his productions to Miss Burr, with the Horatian epithet of "dulce decus."

My occupations at New-York, however agreeable, did not repress my desire to explore the continent before me; and I thought it best to travel while I had some crowns left in my purse. I felt regret at the thought of separating from the doctor, whom I was attached to from habit; but the doctor soon relieved me by saying, he would accompany me whithersoever I went; that no man loved travelling better than he, and that he would convert his medicines into money, to defray his expenses on the road.

But tell me, said the doctor, are you fond of walking? I assured him no person could be more so. Then, resumed he, let us each provide ourselves with a good cudgel, and begin our journey on foot. I will put a case of instruments into my pocket, and you can slip into your's the campaign of Buonaparte in Italy.

But whither, replied I, do you propose to go; and what, I beseech you is the object of your travelling? To see the world, assuredly, said he; to eat, drink, and laugh away care on the road. How, doctor, said I, would you approve of a walk to Philadelphia? I should like it of all things, said the doctor. In our way to it, we should go through the place of my birth; you have heard, I guess, of Hackinsac; and at Philadelphia I could get somebody to introduce me to the great Dr. Rush. All we have to do is, to send on our trunks in the coach, and trudge after them on foot.

Our resolution was no sooner taken than executed. The doctor got an apothecary, who lived opposite, to purchase what few drugs were contained in his painted drawers; and having dispatched our trunks forward by the coach, we began our journey to Philadelphia.

Having crossed the Hudson, which separates York-Island from the shore of the Jerseys, we were landed at a tavern* delightfully situated on the bank of the river. The doctor having once reduced a fractured leg for the landlord, proposed dining at the tavern: he will certainly charge us nothing, said he, for I once reduced his leg, when the tibia and fibula were both badly fractured. It was a nice case, and I will put him in mind of it.

* Every public-house in the United States, however contemptible, is dignified by the name of Tavern.

But you charged him ! Doctor ! did you not, said I. No matter for that, replied he. I should have been expelled from the college of whigs, had I not put in my claim.

I represented to the doctor that no man who respected himself would become an eleemosynary guest at the table of another, when he had money to defray his wants. That to remind another of past services, discovered a want of humanity ; and that a mean action, though it may not torment the mind at the moment it was done, never fails afterwards to bring compunction : for the remembrance of it will present itself like a spectre to the imagination.

The landlord of the tavern was a portly man, who in the middle of the day was dressed in a loose night-gown and mocossins* ; he recognized the doctor, whom he shook heartily by the hand, and turning to a man in company said, “ they may talk of Dr. Rush, or Dr. Mitchell, but I maintain Dr. De Bow is the greatest doctor of them all.”

It was difficult to refrain from laughing aloud ; but the speech of the landlord inspired the doctor with very different emotions : he made an inclination of his head, adjusted his spectacles, and assumed a profound look that assented to the justness of the remark.

What, gentlemen, said the landlord, would you chuse for your dinner ? It is now the hottest part of the day, and if you are walking to Newark, you will find the evening more pleasant. How comes on trade, doctor, at New-York ? I warrant you have got your share.

Why, Mr. Clinch, replied the doctor, I cannot complain. There have been several cases of fever to which I was called. And the patients were right, said Mr. Clinch, for they could not have called a better doctor had they sent over the four quarters of the globe for him. Well, it is true, God sends this country fevers, but he also sends us doctors who are able to cure them. It is like the State I was born in : Virginia is infested with snakes, but it abounds with roots to cure their bite. Come walk in, gentlemen, walk in. I will get dinner ready directly.

Our dinner was a miserable one ; but the landlord seasoned his dishes with flattery, and the doctor found it very palatable. We went forward in the cool ; nor did my friend hesitate to pay his club towards two dollars for our repast : it was high, the doctor whispered, but continued he, when a man's consequence is known at a tavern, it always inflames the bill.

It was our original design to have gone through Hackinsac, a

* Mocossins are Indian shoes, made of deer-skin.

little village that claimed the honour of my companion's nativity; but it was getting late, the road to it was circuitous, and we wished much that night to travel to Elizabeth Town. The doctor consoled himself for not visiting his family, by observing, that no man was a prophet at home.

We did not long stop at Newark, but prosecuted our walk, after taking shelter from a shower of rain in one of its sylvan habitations. The sun, which had been obscured, again gladdened the plains; and the birds which had ceased awhile singing, again renewed their harmony.

We reached Elizabeth Town a little while after the stage-coach. My companion being somewhat fatigued, retired early to bed, but I devoted great part of the night to the refined pleasures of reading and reflection. There is no life so unsettled but a lover of reading will find leisure for the acquisition of knowledge, an acquisition that depends not on either seasons or place.

When I went to bed there was little sleep to be obtained; for a huge mastiff in the yard, notwithstanding the doctor put his head out of the window and vociferated to him repeatedly, did not remit barking the whole of the night. We therefore rose without being called, and pursued our journey to Prince-town, a place more famous for its college than its learning.

The road from Prince Town to Trenton offers little matter for speculation. I know that in some places there were battles fought between the British and their revolted colonists; but the recollection of it tends to no use, and, I am sure, it cannot be pleasing.

At Trenton, the doctor who was afflicted with sore eyes, declined proceeding any farther. It was to no purpose that I expostulated with him on the folly of his conduct, and urged that we had not many more miles to travel. The son of Paracelsus was inexorable, and it only remained for me to perform the last office of friendship, which was to tie a bandage over his eyes, and lead him blindfolded to his room; in our way to which, happening to stumble, the doctor comically enough observed, "When the blind leads the blind, they shall both of them fall."

From Trenton I was conveyed over the Delaware in the ferry-boat, and walked about a mile along the bank, when the coach to Philadelphia overtook me. Finding the road dusty, I complied with the invitation of the driver to get into the vehicle. At Bristol we took up two young women, clad in the habit of quakers, whom I soon, however, discovered to be girls of the town; and who, under pretence of shewing me a letter, discovered their address.

A spacious road conducted us to Philadelphia, which we entered at Front-street. I had expected to be charmed with its animation, but a melancholy silence prevailed in the streets, the principal houses were abandoned, and none but French people were to be found seeking pleasure in society.

The coach stopped at the sign of the Sorrell-horse, in Second-street, where I heard only lamentations over the yellow-fever, which had displayed itself in Water-street, and was spreading its contagion.

It costs no more to go to a good tavern than a bad one; and I removed my trunks, which I found at the stage-office, to the French hotel in the same street. Mr. Pecquet received me with a bowing mien, and called Jeannette for the *passe-partout* to shew me his apartments. He exercised all his eloquence to make me lodge in his hotel. He observed, that his house was not like an American house; that he did not in summer put twelve beds in one room; but that every lodger had a room to himself, and, Monsieur, added he very solemnly, "*Ici il ne sera pas necessaire de sortir de votre lit, comme chez les Americains, pour aller a la fenetre, car Jeannette n'oublie jamais de mettre un pot de chambre sous le lit.*"

Monsieur Pecquet assured me his dinners were of a superior kind, and finding I was an Englishman, observed with a bow, that he could furnish me with the best porter brewed in the city of Philadelphia.

Such professions as these, what unhoused traveller could resist? I commended Monsieur Pecquet on his mode of living, reciprocated compliments with him, chose the chamber I thought the coolest, and the same night found myself at supper with a dozen French ladies and gentlemen, who could not utter a word of English, and with whom I drank copious libations of that porter which my host had enlarged upon with such elegance of declamation.

My first visit was to the library. A bust of Dr. Franklin stands over the door, whose head it is to be lamented, the librarian cannot place on his own shoulders. Of the two rooms, the Franklinian library is confined to books in the English language, but the Loganian library comprehends every classical work in the ancient and modern languages. I contemplated with reverence the portrait of James Logan, which graces the room. I could not repress my exclamations. As I am only a stranger, said I, in this country, I affect no enthusiasm on beholding the statues of her generals and statesmen. I have left a church filled with them on the shore of Albion that have a prior claim to such feel-

ing. But I here behold the portrait of a man whom I consider so great a benefactor to literature, that he is scarcely less illustrious than its munificent patrons of Italy; his soul has certainly been admitted to the company of the congenial spirits of a Cosmo, and Lorenzo of Medicis. The Greek and Roman authors, forgotten on their native banks of the Ilyssus and Tiber, delight, by the kindness of a Logan, the votaries to learning on those of the Delaware.

James Logan was born in Scotland, about the year 1674. He was one of the people called quakers, and accompanied William Penn in his last voyage to Pennsylvania. For many years of his life he was employed in public business, and rose to the offices of chief-justice and governor of the province; but he felt always an ardour of study, and by husbanding his leisure, found time to write several treatises in Latin, of which one, on the Generation of Plants, was translated into English by Dr. Fothergill.

Being "declined in the vale of years," Mr. Logan withdrew from the tumult of public business, to the solitude of his country-seat, near German-town, where he found tranquillity among his books, and corresponded with the most distinguished literary characters of Europe. He also made a version of Cicero de Senectute, which was published with notes by the late Dr. Franklin. Whether Franklin was qualified to write annotations on Tully's noble treatise, will admit of some doubt; for the genius of Franklin was rather scientific than classical.

Mr. Logan died in 1751, at the venerable age of seventy-seven; leaving his library, which he had been fifty years collecting, to the people of Pennsylvania; a monument of his ardour for the promotion of literature*.

It was at this library that during three successive afternoons I enjoyed that calm and pure delight which books afford. But on the fourth I found access denied, and that the librarian had fled

* The following extract from Mr. Logan's will, cannot fail to interest the curious in literature.

"In my library, which I have left to the city of Philadelphia, for the advancement and facilitating of classical learning, are above 100 volumes of authors in folio, all in Greek, with mostly their versions. All the Roman Classics without exception. All the whole Greek mathematicians, viz. Archimedes, Euclid, Ptolemy, both his Geography and Almagest, which I had in Greek (with Theon's Commentary, in folio, above 700 pages) from my learned friend Fabricius, who published fourteen volumes of his Bibliothecæ Græcæ in quarto, in which, after he had finished his account of Ptolemy, on my inquiring of him at Hamburgh in 1772, how I should find it, having long sought for it in vain in England; he sent it me out of his own library, telling me it was so scarce, that neither prayers nor price could purchase it: besides, there are many of the most valuable Latin authors, and a great number of modern mathematicians, with all the three editions of Newton, Dr. Wallis, Halley, &c.

"JAMES LOGAN."

from the yellow fever, which bred consternation through the city.

Of the fever I may say, that it momentarily became more destructive, Sorrow sat on every brow, and nothing was to be seen but coffins carried through the streets unattended by mourners. Indeed it was not a time to practise modes of sorrow, or adjust the funeral rites; but the multitude thought only of escaping from the pestilence that wasted at noon-day, and walked in darkness.

This was a period to reflect on the vanity of human life, and the mutability of human affairs. Philadelphia, which in the spring was a scene of mirth and riot, was in the summer converted to a sepulchre for the inhabitants. The courts of law were shut, and no subtil lawyer could obtain a client; the door of the tavern was closed, and the drunkard was without strength to lift the bowl to his lips: no theatre invited the idle to behold the mimic monarch strut his hour upon the stage; the dice lay neglected on the gaming-table, nor did the dancing-room re-echo with the steps of the dancer: man was now humbled! Death was whetting his arrows, and the graves were open. All jollity was fled. The hospital cart moved slowly on where the chariot before had rolled its rapid wheels; and the coffin makers were either nailing up the coffins of the dead, or giving dreadful note of preparation by framing others for the dying, where lately the mind at ease had poured forth its tranquillity in songs; where the loud laugh had reverberated, and where the animating sound of music had stolen on the ear.—In this scene of consternation, the negroes were the only people who could be prevailed on to assist the dying, and inter those who were no more. Their motive was obvious; they plundered the dead of their effects, and adorned themselves in the spoils of the camp of the king of terrors. It was remarked to me by a lady of Philadelphia, that the negroes were never so well clad as after the yellow fever.

I had been a week at Philadelphia, without hearing any tidings of my friend the doctor, when walking one evening past the Franklin's-head, I recognised him conversing with a stranger in the front room. The physician had arrived only that evening. He had staid six days at Trenton, leading a pleasant, convalescent life; from whence he had written me a letter, which I found afterwards at the post-office. We were rejoiced to meet each other, and the better to exchange minds, I accompanied the doctor into Arch-street, where taking possession of the porch of an abandoned dwelling, we sat conversing till a late hour. The most gloomy imagination cannot conceive a scene more dismal than the street before us: every house was deserted by those who

had strength to seek a less baneful atmosphere; unless where parental fondness prevailed over self-love. Nothing was heard but either the groans of the dying, the lamentations of the survivors, the hammers of the coffin-makers, or the howling of the domestic animals, which those who fled from the pestilence had left behind, in the precipitancy of their flight. A poor cat came to the porch where I was sitting with the doctor, and demonstrated her joy by the caresses of fondness. An old negro-woman was passing at the same moment with some pepper-pot* on her head. With this we fed the cat that was nearly reduced to a skeleton; and prompted by a desire to know the sentiments of the old negro-woman, we asked her the news. God help us, cried the poor creature, very bad news. Buckra die in heaps. By and bye nobody live to buy pepper-pot, and old black woman die too.

Finding all business suspended at Philadelphia, and the atmosphere becoming hourly more noisome, we judged it prudent to leave the city without delay; and finding a vessel at the wharfs ready to sale for Charleston, in South Carolina, we agreed for the passage, and put our luggage on board.

Having taken leave of Monsieur Pecquet, whose excellent dinners had enhanced him in the opinion of the doctor, we on the 22d of September, 1798, went on board, and bade adieu to Philadelphia, which was become a Golgotha.

The vessel having hauled out into the stream, we weighed with a fair wind, and shaped our course down the serpentine, but beautiful river of the Delaware. Our cabin was elegant, and the fare delicious. I observed the doctor's eyes brighten at the first dinner we made on board, who expressed to me a hope that we might be a month on the passage, as he wished to eat out the money the captain had charged him.

The first night the man at the helm fell asleep, and the tide hove the vessel into a corn-field, opposite Wilmington; so that when we went upon deck in the morning, we found our situation quite pastoral. We floated again with the flood-tide, and at noon let go our anchor before Newcastle.

It took us two days to clear the Capes. The banks of the Delaware had been extolled to me as the most beautiful in the world; but I thought them inferior to those of the Thames.

We were now at sea, bounding on the waves of the Atlantic. Of our passengers, the most agreeable was an old French gentleman from St. Domingo. Monsieur Lartigue, to the most perfect good-breeding, joined great knowledge of mankind, and at the age of sixty had lost none of his natural gaiety. It was impossi-

* Tripe seasoned with pepper.

ble to be dejected in the company of such a man. If any person sung on board, he would immediately begin capering; and when the rest were silent, he never failed to sing himself.

Nothing very remarkable happened in our passage, unless it be worthy of record, that one morning the captain suffered his fears to get the better of his reason, and mistook a Virginian sloop for a French privateer; and another day the mate having caught a dolphin, Mr. Lartigue exclaimed, "Il faut qu'il soit ragouti."

After a passage of five days, we came to an anchor in Rebellion Roads, from which we could plainly discern the spires and houses of Charleston; and the following day we stood towards Fort Johnson, which no vessels are suffered to pass without being examined.

Here the port physician came on board, with orders for us to perform quarantine a fortnight, to the great joy of the doctor, who had not yet eaten half of what he wished to eat on board. Monsieur Lartigue had abundantly stocked himself with comfitures and wine; and I doubt not but the doctor still remembers the poignancy of his preserved cherries, and the zest of his claret.

CHAP. II.

Projects at Charleston. The Erudition of a Professor. A New and desirable Acquaintance. College Toils. A Journey on foot from Charleston to Coosohatchie.

I LANDED at Charleston with Dr. De Bow, who had clad himself in his black suit, and though a young man, wore a monstrous pair of spectacles on his nose. Adieu jollity! adieu laughter! the doctor was without an acquaintance on a strange shore, and he had no other friend but his solemnity to recommend him. It was to no purpose that I endeavoured to provoke him to laughter by my remarks; the physician would not even relax his risible muscles into a smile.

The doctor was right. In a few days he contrived to hire part of a house in Union-street; obtained credit for a considerable quantity of drugs; and only wanted a chariot to equal the best physician in Charleston.

The doctor was in possession of a voluble tongue; and I furnished him with a few Latin phrases, which he dealt out to his hearers with an air of profound learning. He generally concluded his speeches with "Nullius addictus jurare in verba magistri!"

Wishing for some daily pursuit, I advertised in one of the papers for the place of tutor in a respectable family; not omitting to observe, that the advertiser was the translator of "Buonaparte's Campaign in Italy." The editor of the Gazette assured me of an hundred applications; and that early the next morning I should not be without some. His predictions were verified; for the following day, on calling at the office, I found a note left from a planter, who lived a mile from the town, desiring me to visit him that afternoon at his house. I went thither accordingly; but finding that the house and family, though in the first style of opulence, promised but little enjoyment, I declined the terms offered, and returned as I went.

My walk back to Charleston was along the shore of the Atlantic, whose waves naturally associated the idea of a home I despaired ever again to behold. Sorrow always begets in me a disposition for poetry; and the reflexions that obtruded themselves in my lonely walk, produced a little ode.

ODE ON HOME.

DEAR native soil! where once my feet
 Were wont thy flow'ry paths to roam,
 And where my heart would joyful beat,
 From India's climes restor'd to home;
 Ah! shall I e'er behold you more,
 And cheer again a parent's eye?
 A wand'rer from thy blissful shore,
 Thro' endless troubles doom'd to sigh?
 Or shall I, pensive and forlorn,
 Of penury be yet the prey,
 Long from thy grateful bosom torn,
 Without a friend to guide my way?
 Hard is the hapless wand'rer's fate.
 Tho' blest with magic power of song;
 Successive woes his steps await,
 Unheeded by the worldly throng.

It was not long before my advertisement brought me other applications. The principal of Charleston-college honoured me with a letter, desiring me to wait on him at his house.

I found Mr. Drone in his study, consulting with great solemnity a ponderous lexicon. And, to be brief, he engaged me as an assistant to his college for three months.

I was about to take leave, when the principal tutor entered the room, to whom he introduced me. Mr. George taught the Greek and Latin classics at the college, and was not less distinguished by his genius than his erudition. On surveying my new acquaintance, I could not but think that he deserved a better office than

that of a Gerund-grinder. Nature seemed to have set her seal on him to give the world assurance of a man. On our further acquaintance, he laughed at the starch gravity of the professor. Peace, said he, to all such ! Old Duffey, my first school-master in Roscommon, concealed more learning under the coarseness of his brogue, than this man will ever display with all his declamation.

Two young men, of similar pursuits, soon become acquainted. The day of my introduction to Mr. George, we exchanged thoughts without restraint ; and during three months that I continued at Charleston, we were inseparable companions. In six weeks, however, I grew thoroughly weary of my new office. The professor complained that I was always last in the college ; and I replied, by desiring my discharge.

I was now dismissed from the college ; but I was under no solicitude for my future life. A planter of the name of Brisbane, had politely invited me to his plantation, to partake with him and his neighbours, the diversion of hunting during the winter : and another of the name of Drayton, the owner of immense forests, had applied to me to live in his family, and undertake the tuition of his children. Of these proposals, the first flattered my love of ease, but the other seemed most lucrative. I was not long held in suspense which of the two to choose ; but I preferred profit to pleasure.

The winters of Carolina, however piercing to a native, who during the summer months may be said to bask rather than breathe, are mild to an Englishman accustomed to the frosts of his island. In the month of November, my engagement led me to Coosohatchie, an insignificant village about seventy-eight miles from Charleston ; for the plantation of Mr. Drayton was in the neighbouring woods. The serenity of the weather invited the traveller to walk, and, at an early hour of the morning, I departed on foot from Charleston, having the preceding evening taken leave of Mr. George.

The foot-traveller need not be ashamed of his mode of journeying. To travel on foot, is to travel like Plato and Pythagoras ; and to these examples may be added the not less illustrious ones of Goldsmith and Rousseau. The rambles of the antient sages are at this distance of time uncertain ; but it is well known that Goldsmith made the tour of Europe on foot, and that Rousseau walked, from choice, through a great part of Italy.

An agreeable walk of ten miles, brought me to the bank of Ashley river, where I breakfasted in a decent public-house, with the landlord and his family. Having crossed the ferry, I resumed my journey through a country which was one continued forest.

Tall trees of pine, planted by the hand of nature in regular rows, bordered the road I travelled, and I saw no other animals, but now and then a flock of deer, which ceasing awhile to browse, looked up at me with symptoms of wonder rather than fear.

" Along these lonely regions, here retir'd,
From little scenes of art, great nature dwells
In awful solitude, and nought is seen
But the wild herds that own no master's stall."

At three in the afternoon I reached Jackson-borough, the only town on the road from Charleston to Coosohatchie. Though a foot-traveller, I was received at the tavern with much respect; the landlord ushered me into a room which afforded the largest fire I had ever seen in my travels: yet the landlord, rubbing his hands, complained it was cold, and exclaimed against his negroes for keeping so bad a fire. Here, Syphax, said he, be quick and bring more wood: you have made, you rascal, a Charleston fire: fetch a stout back-log, or I'll make a back-log of you.

The exclamations of the landlord brought his wife into the room. She curtsied, and made many eloquent apologies for the badness of the fire; but added, that her waiting man, Will, had run away, and having whipped Syphax till his back was raw, she was willing to try what gentle means would do.

A dinner of venison, and a pint of Madeira, made me forget that I had walked thirty miles; and it being little more than four o'clock, I proceeded forward on my journey. The vapours of a Spanish segar promoted thought, and I was lamenting the inequality of conditions in the world, when night overtook me.

I now redoubled my pace, not without the apprehension that I should have to seek my lodgings in some tree, to avoid the beasts that prowled nightly in the woods; but the moon, which rose to direct me in my path, alleviated my perturbation, and in another hour, I descried the blaze of a friendly fire through the casements of a log-house. Imaginary are worse than real calamities; and the apprehension of sleeping in the woods, was by far more painful than the actual experience of it would have been. The same Being who sends trials, can also inspire fortitude.

The place I had reached was Asheepo, a hamlet consisting of three or more log-houses; and the inhabitants of every sex and age had collected round a huge elephant, which was journeying with his master to Savannah.

Fortune had therefore brought me into unexpected company, and I could not but admire the docility of the elephant, who in solemn majesty received the gifts of the children with his trunk.

But not so the monkey. This man of Lord Monboddo was inflamed with rage at the boys and girls; nor could the rebukes of his master calm the transports of his fury.

I entered the log-house which accommodated travellers. An old negro-man had squatted himself before the fire. Well, old man, said I, why don't you go out to look at the elephant? Hie! Massa, he calf! In fact, the elephant came from Asia, and the negro from Africa, where he had seen the same species of animal, but of much greater magnitude.

Travelling, says Shakespeare, acquaints a man with strange bed-fellows; and there being only one bed in the log-house, I slept that night with the elephant-driver. Mr. Owen was a native of Wales, but he had been a great traveller, and carried a map of his travels in his pocket.—Nothing shortens a journey more than good company on the road; so I departed after breakfast from Asheepo, with Mr. Owen, his elephant, and his monkey. Towards noon, however, I was left to journey alone. The elephant, however docile, would not travel without his dinner; and Mr. Owen halted under a pine-tree, to feed the mute companion of his toils.

For my own part, I dined at a solitary log-house in the woods, upon exquisite venison. My host was a small planter, who cultivated a little rice, and maintained a wife and four children with his rifled-barrel gun. He had been overseer to a Col. Fishborne, and owned half a dozen negroes; but he observed to me "his property was running about at large," for four of them had absconded.

As I purposed to make Pocotaligo the end of my day's journey, I walked forward at a moderate pace; but towards evening, I was aroused from the reveries into which my walking had plunged me, by a conflagration in the woods. On either side of the road the trees were in flames, which extending to their branches, assumed an appearance both terrific and grotesque. Through these woods, "belching flames and rolling smoke," I had to travel nearly a mile, when the sound of the negro's axe chopping of wood, announced that I was near Pocotaligo.

At Pocotaligo I learned, that the conflagration in the woods arose from the carelessness of some back-wood men, who having neglected to extinguish their fires, the flames had extended in succession to the herbage and the trees.

I was somewhat surprised on entering the tavern at Pocotaligo, to behold sixteen or more chairs placed round a table which was covered with the choicest dishes; but my surprise ceased, when the Savannah and Charleston stage-coaches stopped at the door,

and the passengers flocked to the fire before which I was sitting. In the Charleston coach came a party of comedians. Of these itinerant heroes, the greater part were my countrymen; and as I was not travelling to see Englishmen, but Americans, I was not sorry when they retired to bed.

I was in a worse condition at Pocotaligo than Asheepo; for at Pocotaligo the beds were so small, that they would hold only respectively one person. But I pity the traveller who takes umbrage against America because its houses of entertainment cannot always accommodate him to his wishes. I seated myself in a nook of the chimney, called for wine and segars, and either attended to the conversation of the negro-girls who had spread their blankets on the floor, or entertained myself with the half-formed notions of the landlord and coachman, who had brought their chairs to the fire, and were disputing on politics.

Early in the morning, I resumed my journey in the coach that was proceeding to Savannah; I had but a short distance more to go; for Coosohatchie is only ten miles from Pocotaligo. In journeying through America, the Indian names of places have always awakened in my breast a train of reflection; a single word will speak volumes to a speculative mind; and the names of Pocotaligo, and Coosohatchie, and Occoquan, have pictured to my fancy the havoc of time, the decay and succession of generations, together with the final extirpation of savage nations, who, unconscious of the existence of another people, dreamt not of invasions from foreign enemies.

I was put down at the post-office of Coosohatchie. The post-master was risen, expecting the mail. He invited me to partake of a fire he had just kindled, before which a negro-boy was feeding a sickly infant, whom the man always addressed by the Homeric title of "my son."

I sat with the post-master an hour, when I sought out the village tavern, where with some trouble I knocked up a miserable negress, who, on my entrance, resumed her slumbers on an old rug spread before the embers of the kitchen fire, and snored in oblivion of all care. After all, I know not whether those whose condition wears the appearance of wretchedness, are not greater favourites of nature than the opulent. Nothing comes amiss to the slave, he will find repose on the flint, when sleep flies the eyelids of his master on a bed of down. I seated myself in a nook of the chimney till day-light, when the landlord came down; and not long after, a servant was announced with horses, to conduct me to the house of Mr. Drayton.

An hour's ride through a forest of stately pines, brought me

to the plantation, where I was received with much affability, by Mr. Drayton and his lady, and where I was doomed to pass the winter in the woods of Carolina.

CHAP. III.

Memoir of my Life in the Woods of South Carolina.—Ocean Plantation. Poetry delightful in Solitude. Walks in the Woods. Family of Mr. Drayton. Midnight Lucubrations. Sketches of Natural History. Deer-hunting. Remarks on Slaves and Slavery. Militia of Coosohatchie District. A School groupe. Journey into Georgia.

DEEP in the bosom of a lofty wood,
Near Coosohatchie's slow revolving flood,
Where the blithe mocking-bird repeats the lay
Of all the choir that warble from the spray;
Where the soft fawn, and not less tim'rous hind,
Beset by dogs, outstrip in speed the wind;
Where the grim wolf, at silent close of day,
With hunger bold, comes near the house for prey;
Along the road, near yonder fields of corn,
Where the soft dove resorts at early morn,
There would my breast with love of nature glow,
And oft my thoughts in tuneful numbers flow;
While friendly George, by ev'ry muse below'd,
Smil'd his assent, and all my lays approv'd.

About half-way on the road from Charleston to Savannah, is situated a little village called Coosohatchie, consisting of a blacksmith's shop, a court-house, and a jail. A small river rolls its turbid water near the place, on whose dismal banks are to be found many vestiges of the Indians that once inhabited them; and in the immeasurable forests of the neighbourhood, (comprehended within the district of Coosohatchie), are several scattered plantations of cotton and of rice, whose stubborn soil the poor negro moistens with his tears, and

Whose sore task

Does not divide the Sunday from the week.

It was on one of these plantations that I passed the winter of 1798, and the spring of the following year.

I lived in the family of Mr. Drayton, of whose children I had undertaken the tuition, and enjoyed every comfort that opulence could bestow.

To form an idea of Ocean Plantation, let the reader picture to

his imagination an avenue of several miles, leading from the Savannah road, through a continued forest, to a wooden-house, encompassed by rice-grounds, corn and cotton-fields. On the right, a kitchen and other offices : on the left, a stable and coach-house : a little farther a row of negro-huts, a barn and yard : the view of the eye bounded by lofty woods of pine, oak, and hickory.

The solitude of the woods I found at first rather dreary ; but the polite attention of an elegant family, a sparkling fire in my room every night, and a horse always at my command, reconciled me to my situation ; and my impulse to sacrifice to the muses, which had been repressed by a wandering life, was once more awakened by the scenery of the woods of Carolina.

I indulged in the composition of lyric poetry, and when I had produced an ode, transmitted it to Freneau, at Charleston, who published it in his gazette. The following was one of my first productions.

HORACE, Book I. Ode 5. *Imitated.*

" *Quis multa gracilis te puer in rosa, &c.*"

TO PYRRHA.

WHAT essenc'd youth, on bed of blushing roses,
Dissolves away within thy glowing arms?
Or with soft languor on thy breast reposes,
Deeply enamour'd of thy witching charms?
For whom do now, with wantonness and care,
Thy golden locks in graceful ringlets wave?
What swain now listens to thy vows of air?
For whom doth now thy fragrant bosom heave?
Alas! how often shall he curse the hour,
Who, all confiding in thy winning wiles,
With sudden darkness views the heavens lower,
And finds, too late, the treach'ry of thy smiles!
Wretched are they, who, by thy beauty won,
Believe thee not less amiable than kind:
No more deluded, I thy charms disown,
And give thy vows, indignant, to the wind.

I now cultivated the lighter ode, and the time passed pleasantly as I sacrificed to the laurelled-god in the woods of Carolina. The common names of common towns, of Boston, New-York, and Philadelphia, awaken no curiosity, because every traveller has described them ; but Coosohatchie, which has scarce ever reached the ear of an European, appealed to my fancy, both from its Indian derivation, and the wildness of its situation. I therefore rejoiced at the chance which brought me to a new spot ; and I envied not other travellers the magnificence of their cities.

The country near Coosohatchie exhibited with the coming spring a new and enchanting prospect. The borders of the

forests were covered with the blossoms of the dog-wood, of which the white flowers caught the eye from every part; and often was to be seen the red-bud tree, which purpled the adjacent woods with its luxuriant branches; while, not unfrequently, shrubs of jessamine, intermixed with the woodbine, lined the road for several miles. The feathered choir began to warble their strains, and from every tree was heard the song of the red-bird, of which the pauses were filled by the mocking-bird, who either imitated the note with exquisite precision, or poured forth a ravishing melody of its own.

I commonly devoted my Sundays to the pleasure of exploring the country, and cheered by a serene sky, and smiling landscape, felt my breast awakened to the most rapturous sensations. I lifted my heart to that Supreme Being, whose agency is every where confessed; and whom I traced in the verdure of the earth, the foliage of the trees, and the water of the stream. I have ever been of opinion, that God can be as well propitiated in a field as a temple; that he is not to be conciliated by empty protestations, but grateful feelings; and that the heart can be devout when the tongue is silent. Yet there is always something wanting to sublunary felicity, and I confess, I felt very sensibly the privation of those hills which so agreeably diversify the country of Europe. I would exclaim in the animated language of Rousseau, "*Jamais pays de plaine, quelque beau qu'il fut, ne parut tel à mes yeux. Il me faut des torrens, des rochers, des sapins, des bois noirs, des chemins raboteux à monter et à descendre, des précipices à mes cotés qui me fassent bien peur*!*"

In my walk to Coosohatchie I passed here and there a plantation, but to have called on its owner without a previous introduction, would have been a breach of that etiquette which has its source from the depravity of great cities, but has not failed to find its way into the woods of America. When I first beheld a fine lady drawn by four horses through the woods of Carolina in her coach, and a train of servants following the vehicle, clad in a magnificent livery, I looked up with sorrow at that luxury and refinement, which are hastening with rapid strides to change the pure and sylvan scenes of nature into a theatre of pride and ostentation. When Venus enchanted Æneas with her presence in the woods, she was not attired in the dress of the ladies of queen Dido's court; but, huntress like, had hung from her shoulders a bow, and was otherwise equipped for the toils of the chase.

On coming to Coosohatchie, I repaired to the post-office, which never failed to give me an epistle from my beloved and literary

* Confessions, Tom. 2.

friend Mr. George ; who enlightened me with his knowledge, enlivened me with his wit, and consoled me with his reflections. I shall not expatiate on our genuine, disinterested friendship. He has consecrated to it a monument in his poem of the "Wanderer." What but the heart could have dictated the following passage ?

" Here doom'd to pant beneath a torrid sky,
And cast to happier climes a wishful eye;
No friend had I my sorrows to deplore,
With whom to pass the sympathetic hour!
For many a stream, and many a waste divide,
These lonely shores from Coosohatchie's tide ! "

I remember, with lively pleasure, my residence in the woods of South Carolina. Enjoying health in its plenitude, yet young enough to receive new impressions ; cultivating daily my taste by the study of polite literature ; blest with the friendship of a George, and living in the bosom of a family unruffled by domestic cares ; how could I be otherwise than happy, and how can I refrain from the pleasure of retrospection.

Coosohatchie ! thou shalt not be unknown, if, by what eloquence nature has given me, I can call forth corresponding emotions in the breast of my reader to those which my own felt when wandering silently through thy woods.

My pupils in the woods of Coosohatchie, consisted of a boy and two young ladies. William Henry was an interesting lad of fourteen, ingenuous of disposition, and a stranger to fear. He was fond to excess of the chase. His heart danced with joy at the mention of a deer ; and he blew his horn, called together his dogs, and hooped and halloosed in the woods, with an animation that would have done honour to a veteran sportsman. O ! for the muse of an Ovid, to describe the dogs of this young Actæon. There were Sweetlips, and Ringwood, and Music, and Smoker, whose barking was enough to frighten the wood nymphs to their caves.—His eldest sister, Maria, though not a regular beauty, was remarkable for her dark eyes and white teeth, and, what was not less captivating, an amiable temper. She was grateful to me for my instruction, and imposed silence on her brother when I invoked the muse in school. But it was difficult to controul her little sister Sally, whom in sport and wantonness they called Tibbousa. This little girl was distinguished by the languish of her blue eyes, from which, however, she could dart fire when William offended her. Sally was a charming girl, whose beauty promised to equal that of her mother.—That I passed many happy hours in watching and assisting the progress of the minds of these

young people, I feel no repugnance to acknowledge. My long residence in a country where "honour and shame from no condition rise," has placed me above the ridiculous pride of disowning the situation of a tutor.

Though the plantation of Mr. Drayton was immense, his dwelling was only a log-house; a temporary fabric, built to reside in during the winter. But his table was sumptuous, and an elegance of manners presided at it that might have vied with the highest circles of polished Europe. I make the eulogium, or rather, exhibit the character of Mr. Drayton, in one word, by saying, he was a gentleman; for under that portraiture I comprehend whatever there is of honour. Nor can I refrain from speaking in panegyric terms of his lady, whose beauty and elegance were her least qualities; for she was a tender mother, a sincere friend, and walked humbly with her God. She was indeed deserving the solicitude of her husband, who would "not suffer the winds of heaven to visit her face too roughly."

It is usual in Carolina to sit an hour at table after supper; at least, it was our custom in the woods of Coosohatchie. It was then I related my adventures to Mr. and Mrs. Drayton, in the eastern section of the globe, who not only endured my tales, but were elated with my successes, and depressed by my misfortunes.

About ten I withdrew to my chamber and my books, where I found a sparkling fire of wood, and where I meditated, smoked segars, and was lost in my own musings. The silence of the night invited meditation; but often was I to be seen at three in the morning sitting before my chamber fire, surrounded like Magliabechi by my papers and my books. My study was Latin, and my recreation, the Confessions of the eloquent citizen of Geneva.

But I was not without company. A merry cricket in my chimney corner never failed to cheer me with his song.—A cricket is not to be contemned. It is related by Buffon that they are sold publicly in the Asiatic markets; and it is recorded of Scaliger, that he kept several in a box. I remember an ode which I consecrated to my midnight companion.

ODE TO A CRICKET.

LITTLE guest, with merry throat,
That chirpest by my taper's light,
Come, prolong thy blithsome note,
Welcome visitant of night.
Here enjoy a calm retreat,
In my chimney safely dwell,
No rude hand thy haunt shall beat,
Or chase thee from thy lonely cell.

Come, recount me all thy woes,
While around us sighs the gale;
Or, rejoic'd to find repose,
Charm me with thy merry tale.

Say, what passion moves thy breast:
Does some flame employ thy care?
Perhaps with love thou art oppress'd,
A mournful victim to despair.

Shelter'd from the wint'ry wind,
Live and sing, and banish care;
Here protection thou shalt find,
Sympathy has brought thee here.

The country in our neighbourhood consisted of lofty forests of pine, oak, and hickory. Well might I have exclaimed in the words of my poetical friend:

"Around an endless wild of forests lies,
And pines on pines for ever meet the eyes!"

The land, as I have before suggested, was perfectly level. Not the smallest acclivity was visible, and therefore no valley rejoiced the sight with its verdure.

The staple commodity of the state is rice, but cotton is now eagerly cultivated where the soil is adapted to the purpose. The culture of indigo is nearly relinquished. It attains more perfection in the East-Indies, which can amply supply the markets of Europe. It is to the crop of cotton that the planter looks for the augmentation of his wealth. Of cotton there are two kinds; the sea-island, and inland. The first is the most valuable. The ground is hoed for planting the latter part of March; but as frosts are not unfrequent the beginning of April, it is judicious not to plant before that time. Cotton is of a very tender nature. A frost, or even a chilling wind, has power to destroy the rising plant, and compel the planter to begin anew his toil.

The winds in autumn are so tempestuous, that they tear up the largest trees by the roots. Homer, some thousand years ago, witnessed a similar scene:

"Leaves, arms and trees aloft in air are blown,
The broad oaks crackle, and the sylvas groan;
This way and that, the rattling thicket bends,
And the whole forest in one crash descends."

Of the feathered race, the mocking-bird first claims my notice. It is perfectly domestic, and sings frequently for hours on the roof of a log-house. It is held sacred by the natives. Even children respect the bird whose imitative powers are so delightful.

I heard the mocking-bird for the first time on the first day of

March. It was warbling, close to my window, from a tree called by some the pride of India, and by others the poison-berry tree. Its song was faint, resembling that of birds hailing the rising-sun; but it became stronger as the spring advanced. The premises of this mocking songster could not but delight me; and I addressed the bird in an irregular ode, which Mrs. Drayton did me the honour to approve.

ODE TO THE MOCKING-BIRD.

SWEET bird, whose imitative strain,
Of all thy race can counterfeit the note,
And with a burthen'd heart complain,
Or to the song of joy attune the throat;
To thee I touch the string,
While at my casement, from the neighb'ring tree,
Thou hail'st the coming spring,
And plaintive pour'st thy voice, or mock'st with merry glee,
Thou bring'st to my mind,
The characters we find
Amid the motley scenes of human life;
How very few appear
The garb of truth to wear,
But with a borrow'd voice, conceal a heart of strife.
Sure then, with wisdom fraught,
Thou art by nature taught,
Dissembled joy in others to deride;
And when the mournful heart
Assumes a sprightly part,
To note the cheat, and with thy mocking chide.
But when, with midnight song,
Thou sing'st the woods among,
And softer feelings in the breast awake *;
Sure then thy rolling note
Does sympathy denote,
And shews thou can'st of others' grief partake.
Pour out thy lengthen'd strain,
With woe and grief complain,
And blend thy sorrows in the mournful lay;
Thy moving tale reveal,
Make me soft pity feel,
I love in silent woe to pass the day.

The humming-bird was often caught in the bells of flowers. It is remarkable for its variegated plumage of scarlet, green, and gold.

The whip-poor-will, is heard after the last frost, when, towards night, it fills the woods with its melancholy cry of "Whip poor

* Put for awak'st.

Will! Whip poor Will!" I remember to have seen mention made of this bird in a Latin poem, written by an early colonist.

*"Hic Avis repetens, Whip! Whip! Will, voce jocosa,
Quæ tota verno tempore nocte canit."*

The note of the red-bird is imitated with nice precision by the mocking-bird; but there is a bird called the loggerhead that will not bear passively its taunts. His cry resembles "Clink, clink, clank;" which, should the mocking-bird presume to imitate, he flies and attacks the mimic for his insolence. But this only incurs a repetition of the offence; so true is it, that among birds as well as men, anger serves only to sharpen the edge of ridicule. It is observable, that the loggerhead is known to suck the eggs of the mocking-bird, and devour the young ones in the nest.

Eagles were often seen on the plantation. The rencounter between one of them and a fish-hawk is curious. When the fish-hawk has seiz'd his prey, his object is to get above the eagle; but when unable to succeed, the king of birds darts on him fiercely, at whose approach the hawk, with a horrid cry, lets fall the fish, which the eagle catches in his beak before it descends to the ground.

The woods abound with deer, the hunting of which forms the chief diversion of the planters. I never failed to accompany my neighbours in their parties, but I cannot say that I derived much pleasure from standing several hours behind a tree.

This mode of hunting, is, perhaps, not generally known. On riding to a convenient spot in the woods, the hunters dismount, take their stands at certain distances, hitch their horses to a tree, and prepare their guns,—while a couple of negroes lead the beagles into the thickest of the forest. The barking of the dogs announces that the deer are dislodged, and on whatever side they run, the sportmen fire at them from their lurking-places. The first day two bucks passed near my tree. I had heard the cry of the dogs, and put my gun on a whole cock. The first buck glided by me with the rapidity of lightning; but the second I wounded with my fire, as was evident from his twitching his tail between his legs in the agony of pain. I heard Col. Pastell exclaim from the next tree, after discharging his piece, "By heaven, that fellow is wounded, let us mount and follow him; he cannot run far." I accompanied the venerable colonel through the woods, and in a few minutes, directed by the scent of a beagle, we reached the spot where the deer had fallen. It was a noble buck, and we dined on it like kings.

Fatal accidents sometimes attend the hunters in the woods. Two brothers a few years ago, having taken their respective

stands behind a tree, the elder fired at a deer which the dogs had started; but, his shot being diverted by a fence, it flew off and lodged in the body of his brother. The deer passing on, the wounded brother discharged his gun which had been prepared, killed the animal, and staggering a few paces, expired himself. This disaster was related to me by Colonel Pastell and his son, Major Warley, and Captain Pelotte, who lived on the neighbouring plantations, and composed our hunting party.

After killing half a dozen deer, we assembled by appointment at some planter's house, whither the mothers, and wives, and daughters of the hunters had got before us in their carriages. A dinner of venison, killed the preceding hunt, smoked before us, the richest Madeira sparkled in the glass, and we forgot, in our hilarity, there was any other habitation for man but that of the woods.

In this hunting-party was always to be found my pupil, William Henry, who galloped through the woods, however thick or intricate; summoned his beagles, after the toil of the chase, with his horn; caressed the dog that had been the most eager in pursuit of the deer, and expressed his hope there would be good weather to hunt again the following Saturday.

I did not repress this ardour in my pupil. I beheld it with satisfaction; for the man doomed to pass every winter in the woods, would find his life very irksome, could he not partake, with his neighbours, in the diversions they afford.

*"Ludere qui nescit, campestribus abstinet armis,
Indoctusque pilæ, discive, trochive quiescit,
Ne spissæ risum tollant impune coronæ."*

HOR.

Wolves were sometimes heard on the plantation in the night; and, when incited by hunger, would attack a calf and devour it. One night, however, some wolves endeavouring to sieze on a calf, the dam defended her offspring with such determined resolution, that the hungry assailants were compelled to retreat with the tail only of the calf, which one of them had bitten off.

Wild cats are very common and mischievous in the woods. When a sow is ready to litter, she is always enclosed with a fence or rails, for, otherwise, the wild cats would devour the pigs.

I generally accompanied my pupil into the woods in his shooting excursions, determined both to make havoc among birds and beasts of every description. Sometimes we fired in volleys at the flocks of doves that frequent the corn-fields; sometimes we discharged our pieces at the wild geese, whose empty cackling betrayed them; and once we brought down some paroquets, that were directing their course over our heads to Georgia. Nor was

it an undelightful task to fire at the squirrels on the tops of the highest trees, who, however artful, could seldom elude the shot of my eager companion.

The affability and tenderness of this charming family in the bosom of the woods, will be ever cherished in my breast, and long recorded, I hope, in this page. My wants were always anticipated. The family library was transported without entreaty into my chamber; paper, and the apparatus for writing, were placed on my table; and once having lamented that my stock of segars was nearly exhausted, a negro was dispatched seventy miles to Charleston, for a supply of the best Spanish.

I conclude my description of this elegant family, with an observation that will apply to every other that I have been domesticated in, on the western continent; that cheerfulness and quiet always predominated, and that I never saw a brow clouded, or a lip opened in anger.

One diminution to the happiness of an European in the woods of Carolina, is the reflection that every want is supplied him by slaves. The negroes on the plantation, including house-servants and children, amounted to a hundred; of whom the average price being respectively seventy pounds, made them aggregately worth seven thousand to their possessor.

Two families lived in one hut, and such was their unconquerable propensity to steal, that they pilfered from each other. I have heard masters lament this defect in their negroes. But what else can be expected from man in so degraded a condition, that among the ancients the same word implied both a slave and a thief.

Since the introduction of the culture of cotton in the state of South Carolina, the race of negroes has increased. Both men and women work in the field, and the labour of the rice plantation formerly prevented the pregnant negress from bringing forth a long-lived offspring. It may be established as a maxim, that, on a plantation where there are many children, the work has been moderate.

It may be incredible to some, that the children of the most distinguished families in Carolina, are suckled by negro-women. Each child has its mamma, whose gestures and accent it will necessarily copy, for children we all know are imitative beings. It is not unusual to hear an elegant lady say, "Richard always grieves when Quasheebaw is whipped, because she suckled him!" If Rousseau in his *Emile* could inveigh against the French mother, who consigned her child to a woman of her own colour to suckle, how would his indignation have been raised, to behold a

smiling babe tugging with its roseate lips at a dug of a size and colour to affright a satyr?

Before I quit the woods of Coosohatchie, it will be expected from me to fill the imagination of my reader with "the vengeful terrors of the rattle-snake," that meditates destruction to the unwary. Were I really pleased with such tales, I would not content myself with the story of the fascinating power of a rattle-snake over birds, but relate how a negro was once irresistibly charmed and devoured.

Vegetation is singularly quick in the woods of Carolina. Of flowers, the jessamine and woodbine grow wild; but the former differs widely from that known by the same name in England, being of a straw colour, and having large bells. Violets perfume the woods and roads with their fragrance.

In bogs, and marshy situations, is found the singular plant called the fly-catcher by the natives, and, I believe, *dionæ muscipula* by botanists. Its jointed leaves are furnished with two rows of strong prickles, of which the surfaces are covered with a quantity of minute glands that secrete a sweet liquor, which allures the flies. When these parts are touched by the legs of a fly, the two lobes of the leaf immediately rise; the rows of prickles compress themselves, and squeeze the unwary insect to death. But a straw or pin introduced between the lobes will excite the same motions.

The honey of the bees in Carolina is exquisitely delicious, and these insects are very sagacious in chusing their retreats. They seek lodgings in the upper part of the trunk of the loftiest tree; but here their nests cannot elude the searching eyes of the negroes and children. The tree is either scaled or cut down, the bees are tumbled from their honeyed domes, and their treasures rifled.

It appears to me that in Carolina, the simplicity of the first colonists is obliterated, and that the present inhabitants strive to exceed each other in the vanities of life. Slight circumstances often mark the manners of a people. In the opulent families, there is always a negro placed on the look-out, to announce the coming of any visitant; and the moment a carriage, or horseman, is descried, each negro changes his every day garb for a magnificent suit of livery. As the negroes wear no shirts, this is quickly effected; and in a few moments a ragged fellow is metamorphosed into a spruce footman. And woe to them should they neglect it; for their master would think himself disgraced, and Sambo and Cuffy incur a severe flogging.

In Carolina, the legislative and executive powers of the house

belong to the mistress, the master has little or nothing to do with the administration; he is a monument of uxoriousness and passive endurance. The negroes are not without the discernment to perceive this; and when the husband resolves to flog them, they often throw themselves at the feet of the wife, and supplicate her mediation. But the ladies of Carolina, and particularly those of Charleston, have little tenderness for their slaves; on the contrary, they send both their men-slaves and women-slaves, for the most venial trespass, to a hellish mansion, called the sugar-house: here a man employs inferior agents to scourge the poor negroes: a shilling for a dozen lashes is the charge: the man or woman, is stripped naked to the waist; a redoubtable whip at every lash flays the back of the culprit, who, agonized at every pore, rends the air with his cries.

Mrs. Drayton informed me, that a lady of Charleston once observed to her, that she thought it abominably dear to pay a shilling for a dozen lashes, and, that having many slaves, she would bargain with the man at the sugar-house to flog them by the year!

It has been observed by Mr. Jefferson, that negroes secreting little by the kidneys, but much by the pores, exhale a strong effluvia*. But great is the power of habit, and in the hottest day of summer, when the thermometer in the shade has risen to a hundred, I have visited a dinner-party of ladies and gentlemen, surrounded by a tribe of lusty negro-men and women. I leave my reader to draw the inference.

An Englishman cannot but draw a proud comparison between his own country and Carolina. He feels with a glow of enthusiasm the force of the poet's exclamation:

"Slaves cannot breathe in England!

They touch our country, and their shackles fall;

That's noble, and bespeaks a nation proud

And jealous of their rights."

It is, indeed, grating to an Englishman to mingle with society in Carolina; for the people, however well-bred in other respects, have no delicacy before a stranger in what relates to their slaves. These wretches are execrated for every involuntary offence; but negroes endure execrations without emotion, for they say, "when massa curse, he break no bone." But every master does not confine himself to oaths; and I have heard a man say, "By heaven, my negurs talk the worst English of any in Carolina: that boy just now called a bason a round-something: take him to the driver! let him have a dozen!"

* Vide, notes on Virginia.

Exposed to such wanton cruelty, the negroes frequently run away; they flee into the woods, where they are wet with the rains of heaven, and embrace the rock for want of a shelter. Life must be supported; hunger incites to depredation, and the poor wretches are often shot like the beasts of prey. When taken, the men are put in irons, and the boys have their necks encircled with a "pot-hook."

The Charleston papers abound with advertisements for fugitive slaves. I have a curious advertisement now before me. "Stop the runaway! Fifty dollars rewards! Whereas my waiting fellow, Will, having eloped from me last Saturday, without any provocation, (it being known that I am a humane master) the above reward will be paid to any one who will lodge the aforesaid slave in some jail, or deliver him to me on my plantation at Liberty Hall. Will may be known by the incisions of the whip on his back; and I suspect has taken the road to Coosohatchie, where he has a wife and five children, whom I sold last week to Mr. Gillespie.—A. LEVI."

No climate can be hotter than that of South Carolina and Georgia. In the piazza of a house at Charleston, when a breeze has prevailed, and there has been no other building near to reflect the heat of the sun, I have known the mercury in Fahrenheit's thermometer to stand at 101. In the night it did not sink below 89.

Animal heat I ascertained to be less than the heat of the weather. By confining the thermometer to the hottest part of my body, I found the mercury subside from 101 to 96. In fact, I never could raise the thermometer higher than 96 by animal heat*.

In a voyage to the East-Indies, I kept a regular account of the height of the thermometer, both in the sun and the shade. My journal is now before me. At eight in the morning, when our ship was on the equator, the thermometer in the shade was only 77 degrees; and the same day in the sun at noon it was 99†.

It may be advanced that the pavements of Charleston, and the situation of Savannah, which is built on a sandy eminence, may augment the heat of the weather; but be that as it may, it is, I think, incontrovertible, that no two places on the earth are hotter than Savannah and Charleston. I do not remember that the thermometer in the shade at Batavia exceeded 101.

* Boerhave fixed the vital heat at only 92 degrees; but both Sir Isaac Newton, and Fahrenheit have made it 96.

† I have found, since making these observations, that from nearly 4000 experiments, made at Madras, the medium height of the thermometer was 80, 9. The general greatest height, 87, 1; and the least, 75, 5. The extreme difference, 11, half.

But if the heat of the weather in the southernmost states be excessive, not less sudden are its changes. In fact, so variable is the weather, that one day not unfrequently exhibits the vicissitudes of the four seasons. The remark of an early colonist is more than poetically true.

*"Hic adeo inconstans est, et variabile cælum,
Una ut non raro est æstus hiemsque die."*

I have known one day the mercury to stand at 85 ; and the next, it has sunk to 39.

But it is from the middle of June to the middle of September, that the excessive heats prevail. It is then the debilitating quality of the weather consigns the languid lady to her sofa, who, if she lets fall her pocket-handkerchief, has not strength to pick it up, but calls to one of her black girls, who is all life and vigour. Hence there is a proportion of good and evil in every condition ; for a negro-girl is not more a slave to her mistress, than her mistress to a sofa ; and the one riots in health, while the other has every faculty enervated.

Negroes are remarkably tolerant of heat. A negro in the hottest month will court a fire.

From the black there is an easy transition to the white man. Society in Carolina exhibits not that unrestrained intercourse which characterises English manners. And this remark will apply throughout the States of the Union. The English have been called reserved ; and an American who forms his notions of their manners from Addison and Steele, entertains a contemptible opinion of the cheerfulness that prevails in the nook-shotten isle of Albion.

But let the cheerfulness of both countries be fairly weighed, and I believe the scale will preponderate in favour of the English. That quality termed humour, is not indigenous to America. The pleasantries of a droll would not relax the risible muscles of a party of Americans, however disposed to be merry ; the wag would feel no encouragement from the surrounding countenances, to exert his laughter-moving powers ; but like the tyrant in the tragedy, he would be compelled to swallow the poison that was prepared for another.

Cotton in Carolina, and horse-racing in Virginia, are the prevailing topics of conversation : these reduce every understanding to a level, and to these Americans return from the ebullitions of the humourist, as the eye weary of contemplating the sun, rejoices to behold the verdure.

Captain Pelotte, who, I have observed, composed one of our hunting-party, having invited me to the review of the militia of

Coosohatchie district, I rode with him to the muster-field, near Bee's-Creek, where his troop was assembled. It was a pleasant spot of thirty acres, belonging to a school-master, who educated the children of the families in the neighbourhood.

There is scarcely any contemplation more pleasing than the sight of a flock of boys and girls just let loose from school. Those whom nature designed for an active enterprising life, will contend for being foremost to cross the threshold of the school-door; while others of a more wary temper, keep remote from the strife.

A throng of boys and girls was just released from the confinement of the school, as I reached Bee's-Creek with Captain Pelotte. Our horses and they were mutually acquainted. The beasts pricked up their ears, and some of the children saluted them by name; while some, regardless of both the horses and their riders, were earnestly pursuing butterflies; some stooping to gather flowers; some chaunting songs, and all taking the road that led to the muster-field. If ever I felt the nature that breathes through Shenstone's School poem, it was on beholding this band of little men and little women.

" And now Dan Phœbus gains the middle sky,
And Liberty unbars her prison-door,
And like a rushing torrent, out they fly,
And now the grassy cirque is cover'd o'er
With boist'rous revel rout, and wild uproar;
A thousand ways in wanton rings they run,
Heav'n shield their short-liv'd pastimes, I implore!
For well may Freedom, erst so dearly won,
Be to Columbia's sons more gladsome than the sun!"

Captain Pelotte having reviewed his soldiers, marched them triumphantly, round a huge oak that grew in the centre of the parade, animated by the sound of the spirit-stirring drum; and afterwards laid siege to a dinner of venison in the open air, to which I gave my assistance. It was a republican meal. Captains, lieutenants, and privates, all sat down together at table, and mingled in familiar converse. But the troop devoured such an enormous quantity of rice, that I was more than once inclined to believe they had emigrated from China.

On the 7th of April, 1799, I accepted the invitation of a Mr. Wilson, who was visiting the family at Ocean, to accompany him to Savannah; glad with the opportunity to extend my travels into Georgia, and not less happy to cultivate his acquaintance.

We left Ocean plantation at eight in the morning. Mr. Wilson drove himself in a sulky, and I rode on horseback, followed by a servant on another.

Our journey offered nothing to the view but an uncultivated tract, or one continued pine-barren; for Priesburg is a village composed of only three houses, and Barnazoba can boast only the same number of plantations.

Having refreshed ourselves in the house of Mrs. Hayward's overseer (the lady was gone to Charleston), we waded from Barnazoba, through mud and mire, to the mouth of a creek, where we embarked with a couple of negroes in a canoe, and were paddled into a small river that empties itself into that of Savannah. Again we landed, and walked about a mile to another plantation, of which the white people were absent, but the negroes remained. Here we launched a large canoe, and were rowed to my companion's plantation; dining on the water in our passage thither. The negroes of the plantation beheld the coming of Mr. Wilson with joy; old and young of both sexes came to the landing-place to welcome his approach. The canoe was in a moment run high and dry upon the beach, and the air resounded with acclamations.

We left the plantation in a four-oared canoe, and were rowed with velocity up the beautiful river of Savannah. Quantities of alligators were basking in the sun on both shores. They brought to my recollection the happy description of Ariosto.

*"Vive sub lito è dentro a la Riviera,
Ei corpi umani son le sue vivande,
De le persone misere è incaute,
Di Viandanti è d' infelice naute."*

This animal (says the poet) lives on the river and its banks; preying on human flesh: the bodies of unwary travellers, of passengers, and of sailors.

We landed at Yamacraw, the name given by the Indians to the spot on which part of Savannah is built; and after ploughing through one or two streets of sand, we reached Dillon's boarding-house, where we were obligingly received, and comfortably accommodated. There was a large party at supper, composed principally of cotton manufacturers from Manchester, whose conversation operated on me like a dose of opium. Cotton! Cotton! Cotton! was their never-ceasing topic. Oh! how many travellers would have devoured up their discourse; for my part I fell asleep, and nodded till a negro offered to light me to my room.

Savannah is built on a sandy eminence. Let the English reader picture to himself a town erected on the cliffs of Dover, and he will behold Savannah. But the streets are so insupportably sandy, that every inhabitant wears goggles over his eyes, which

give the people an appearance of being in masquerade. When the wind is violent, Savannah is a desert scene.

Having purchased a little edition of Mrs. Smith's sonnets, my delight was to ascend the eminence which commands the view of the river, and read my book undisturbed. With my pencil I wrote on my tablets the following sonnet to the author.

SONNET TO CHARLOTTE SMITH.

BLEST Poetess! who tell'st so soft thy woe,
I love to ponder o'er thy mournful lay,
In climes remote, where wan, forlorn, and slow,
To the wash'd strand I bend my listless way.

Now, on Savannah's cliffs I wayward read,
In joy of grief, thy pity-moving strain,
While smiles afar the variegated mead,
And not a wave disturbs the tranquil main.

Like thee, the Muse has from my infant hours,
With smiles alluring won me to the grove;
Snatch'd, in a playful mood, some scatter'd flow'rs
To deck my head, gay emblems of her love:

But mine of light, deceitful hues are made,
While thine of bloom perennial ne'er will fade.

The 11th of April, I returned with Mr. Wilson to the woods of Coosohatchie, which I found Mr. Drayton and family about to leave to their original tenants of racoons, squirrels, and opossums.

My table was covered with letters from my friend. Mr. George had left the college of Charleston, for a seminary less famous, but more profitable, at George-town, at the confluence of the rivers Winyaw and Waccamaw. There, in concert with his uncle, an episcopal minister, he enjoyed society, and indulged in his favourite studies.

CHAP. IV.

Picture of a Family travelling through the Woods. Terror inspired by two Snakes, and the gallantry of an American Boy. Residence at Ashley River. Removal to Sullivan's Island. Literary Projects. Anecdotes of Goldsmith. A Journey on Foot from Charleston to George-town. Elegy over the Grave of a Stranger in the Woods of Owendaw. Reception at George-town. Death of General Washington.—Journey back to Charleston. Embark for New-York. Incidents of the Voyage.

IT was in the month of May, 1799, that Mr. Drayton and his family exchanged the savage woods of Coosohatchie, for the politer residence of their mansion on Ashley river. In our migration we formed quite a procession. Mr. Drayton occupied the coach with his lady and youngest daughter; and I advanced next with my fair pupil in a chair, followed by William Henry, on a prancing nag, and half a dozen negro fellows, indifferently mounted, but wearing the laced livery of an opulent master. Thus hemmed in by the coach before, a troop of horsemen behind, and impenetrable woods on both sides, I could not refrain from whispering in the ear of my companion, that her friends had put it out of my power to run away with her that day.

About three in the afternoon, our journey being suspended by the heat of the weather, we stopped to eat a cold dinner, in a kind of lodge that had been erected by some hunters on the roadside, and which now hospitably accommodated a family travelling through the woods.

Here we took possession of the benches round the table to enjoy our repast; turning the horses loose to seek the shade; and cooling our wine in a spring that murmured near the spot. William Henry, having snatched a morsel, got ready his fowling-piece, to penetrate the woods in search of wild turkies; and while we were rallying him on his passion for shooting, the cry from a negro of a rattle-snake! disturbed our tranquillity. The snake was soon visible to every eye, dragging its slow length along the root of a large tree, and directing its attention to a bird, which chattered and fluttered from above, and seemed irresistibly disposed to fall into his distended jaws. London, a negro servant, had snatched up a log, and was advancing to strike the monster a blow on the head, when a black snake, hastening fu-

riously to the spot, immediately gave battle to the rattle-snake, and suspended, by his unexpected appearance, the power of the negro's arm. We now thought we had got into a nest of snakes, and the girls were screaming with fright, when William Henry, taking an unerring aim with his gun, shot the rattle-snake, in the act of repulsing his enemy. The black snake, without a moment's procrastination, returned into the woods, and profiting by his example, we all pursued our journey, except William Henry, who stopped with a negro to take out the rattles of the monster he had killed. My pupil presented me with these rattles, which I carried for three years in my pocket, and finally gave them to the son of a Mr. Andrews, of Warminster, who had emigrated to Baltimore, and had been to me singularly obliging.

We stopped a few days at Stono, where we were kindly received by Mr. Wilson, my late travelling companion into Georgia. I expected that William Henry would receive the applauses of his friends for the presence of mind he had displayed in killing the rattle-snake; but when the youngest sister recited the story to the family, they heard her without emotion, and only smiled at it as a trifling incident.

In the venerable mansion at Ashley river, I again directed the intellectual progress of my interesting pupils, and, enlarged the imagination of William, by putting Pope's version of the *Odyssey* into his hands, which I found among other books that composed the family library. He had before read the *Iliad*; but neither Patroclus slain by Hector, nor Hector falling beneath the avenging arm of Achilles, imparted half the rapture which Ulysses inspired, with his companions in the cave of Polyphemos.

The garden of Mr. Drayton's mansion led to the bank of Ashley river, which, after a rapid course of twenty miles, discharged itself into the Atlantic. The river was not wanting in picturesqueness, and, once, while stretched at my ease on its banks, I meditated an ode.

ODE ON ASHLEY RIVER.

ON gentle Ashley's winding flood,
Enjoying philosophic rest;
I court the calm, umbrageous wood,
No more with baleful care oppress.

Or, on its banks supinely laid,
The distant mead and field survey,
Where branching laurels form a shade
To keep me from the solar ray.

While flows the limpid stream along,
With quick meanders through the grove,
And from each bird is heard the song
Of careless gaiety and love.

And when the moon, with lustre bright,
Around me throws her silver beam,
I catch new transport from the sight,
And view her shadow in the stream.

While Whip-poor-will repeats his tale,
That echoes from the boundless plain;
And blithsome to the passing gale,
The Mocking-bird pours out his strain.

Hence with a calm, contented mind
Sweet pleasure comes without alloy;
Our own felicity we find—
'Tis from the heart springs genuine joy.

An elder brother of Mr. Drayton was our neighbour on the river; he occupied, perhaps, the largest house and gardens in the United States of America. Indeed, I was now breathing the politest atmosphere in America; for our constant visitants were the highest people in the state, and possessed of more house servants, than there are inhabitants at Occoquan. These people never moved but in a carriage, lolled on sofas instead of sitting on chairs, and were always attended by their negroes to fan them with a peacock's feather. Such manners were ill-suited to an Englishman who loved his ease; and whenever their carriages were announced, I always took my gun, and went into the woods.

From Ashley river, after a short residence, we removed to Charleston, which was full of visitors from the woods, and exhibited a motley scene. Here was to be perceived a coach, without a glass to exclude the dust, driven by a black fellow, not less proud of the livery of luxury, than the people within the vehicle were of a suit made in the fashion. There was to be discovered a Carolinian buck, who had left off essences and powder, and, in what related to his hair, resembled an ancient Roman; but in the distribution of his dress, was just introducing that fashion in Charleston, which was giving way in succession to another in London. But he had an advantage over his transatlantic rival; he not only owned the horse he rode, but the servant who followed. To be brief, such is the pride of the people of Charleston, that no person is seen on foot unless it be a mechanic. He who is without horses and slaves, incurs always contempt.

I found my friend, Dr. De Bow, in high repute at Charleston, and not without the hope that he should soon keep his carriage.

He entreated I would lend him my assistance to write an essay on the croup. I begged to be excused, by professing my utter unacquaintance with the mode of treating the disease. The doctor was here interrupted by a negro-boy, who called him to attend his master in the last stage of the yellow-fever. The doctor immediately slipped on a black coat and snatching up his gold-headed-cane, followed the negro down stairs.

The doctor being gone, it was not possible to do justice to the treatise on the croup; but finding myself disposed to write something, I addressed my friend in an ode. The doctor was about to embark for the Havannah, as surgeon of a ship; and his approaching voyage furnished me with a hint.

ODE TO WILLIAM DE BOW, M. D.

SINCE on the ocean's boundless deep,
 Once more impell'd by fate you go,
 The Muse the trembling wire would sweep,
 And soft invoke each gale to blow.
 Long has it been our doom to roam,
 With hearts by friendship's cement bound,
 (The world at large our only home)
 O'er many a wide expanse of ground.
 At Philadelphia's sad confine,
 Where death stalk'd round with aspect wild,
 We saw the widow vainly pine,
 And heard the mother mourn her child:
 While desolation mark'd the scene
 And groans of dying fill'd each gale,
 Where dance no more rejoic'd the green,
 Nor song re-echo'd from the dale.
 May no such griefs again demand
 The sigh of pity from thy breast,
 But jocund pleasure's mirthful band,
 Sooth ev'ry baleful care to rest.
 Then festive let thy moments flow,
 While round thee roars the briny flood;
 May ev'ry breeze auspicious blow,
 And nought provoke the wat'ry god.

Having leisure for some literary undertaking, I issued a prospectus for the publication of two *Vogages* to the East-Indies. The work was to be comprised in an octavo volume, and delivered to subscribers for two dollars. Mr. Drayton, without hesitation, subscribed for ten copies; and in a few weeks, I could boast a long list of subscribers from the circles of fashion.

To avoid the fever, which every summer commits its ravages at Charleston, Mr. Drayton removed with his family in July, to a

convenient house on Sullivan's island. The front windows commanded a view of the Atlantic, whose waves broke with fury not a hundred yards from the door. It is almost superfluous to observe, that Sullivan's island lies opposite to Charleston, at the distance of eight miles.

In the garden on our premises, I took possession of a neat little box, which served me for a seminary, and house of repose.— Here I was gratified with the company of Mr. George, who came to visit me from George-town. Not more joyous was the meeting of Flaccus and Maro, at the Appian Way :

“ O! qui complexus, et gaudia quanta fuerunt! ”

He was received with every elegance of urbanity by Mr. and Mrs. Drayton; but he compared our situation to *Æneas* among the Greeks; “ *vadinus immixti Danais haud numine nostro.* ” So natural is it for a wit to ridicule his host.

Passage-boats are always to be procured from Sullivan's island to Charleston, and I was introduced by my friend to an Irish clergyman, of the name of Best, who was attached to Mr. George, partly from his being an Irishman, and partly from esteem for his attainments.

Mr. Best communicated to me a few anecdotes relative to Goldsmith, which I minuted down in his presence.

“ The Deserted Village,” said he, “ relates to scenes in which Goldsmith was an actor. Auburn is a poetical name for the village of Lissoy, in the county of Westmeath Barony, Kilkenny West. The name of the school-master was Paddy Burns. I remember him well. He was indeed a man severe to view. A woman called Walsey Cruse, kept the alehouse.

“ Imagination fondly stops to trace

The parlour-splendors of the festive place.”

“ I have been often in the house.

“ The hawthorn-bush was remarkably large, and stood opposite the alehouse. I was once riding with Brady, titular Bishop of Ardagh, when he observed to me, Ma foy, Best, this huge, overgrown bush, is mightily in the way; I will order it to be cut down. What, Sir, said I, cut down Goldsmith's hawthorn-bush, that supplies so beautiful an image in the Deserted Village! Ma foy! exclaimed the bishop, is that the hawthorn-bush! Then ever let it be sacred to the edge of the axe, and evil to him that would cut from it a branch.”

Mr. Best also related to me some anecdotes that would serve to illustrate the Traveller, which I regret are not preserved, for the Traveller is a poem that is ever read with new rapture. The

mind can scarcely refrain from picturing Goldsmith in the capacity of an adventurer; travelling with an expansion to his mental powers, and feeling the impulse of his poetical genius; observing with a philosophic eye the mingled scenes before him, and framing from their diversity the subject of his poem.

The stone of Sisyphus calling my friend back to George-town, I was once more left to the tuition of William Henry, and his sisters. My pupil was not, I believe, content with his insular situation, but sighed for the woods, his dogs, and his gun. Man laughs at the sports of children, but even their most trifling pastimes form his most serious occupations; and their drums, and rattles, and hobby-horses, are but the emblems and mockery of the business of mature age.

No families are more migratory than those of Carolina. From Sullivan's island we went again to the mansion on Ashley river, where I had invitations to hunt, to feast, and to dance. But nothing could soothe the despondency I felt on the approaching return of Mr. Drayton to the woods of Coosohatchie. He guessed the cause of my woe-begone looks, and, rather than be deprived of my services, politely offered to pass the winter on the banks of Ashley river: nay, he even proposed to send his son, when the war terminated, to make with me the tour of the continent of Europe. There are few men that in my situation would have resisted such allurements; but I dreaded the tainted atmosphere that had dispatched so many of my countrymen to the house appointed for all living; and, filled with apprehension, I left this charming family in whose bosom I had been so kindly cherished, to seek another climate, and brave again the rigours of adversity.

The 15th of December, 1799, I rode from Ashley river to Charleston, with the design of proceeding to George-town, and visiting the academic bowers of my friend. I had again determined to travel on foot, and enjoy the meditations produced from walking and smoking amidst the awful solitude of the woods. Having provided myself with a pouch of Havannah segars, and put a poem into my pocket, which Mr. George had composed over the grave of a stranger on the road, I crossed the ferry at Cooper's river, and began my journey from a spot that retains the aboriginal name of Hobcaw.

In travelling through an endless tract of pines, a man can find few objects to describe, but he may have some reflections to deliver. I was journeying through endless forests, that, once inhabited by numerous races of Indians, were now without any individual of their original possessors; for the diseases and luxuries introduced by the colonists, had exterminated the greater

number, and the few wretches that survived, had sought a new country beyond the rivers and mountains.

For the first fifteen miles of my journey, I encountered no human being but a way-faring German; and heard no sound but that of the wood-pecker, and the noise of the negroe's axe felling trees. There was no other object to employ the sight, and no other noise to disturb the repose of the desert.

I supped and slept at a solitary tavern, kept by young Mr. Dubusk, whose three sisters might have sat to a painter for the Graces. Finding my young landlord companionable, I asked him why he did not pull down the sign of General Washington, that was over his door, and put up the portrait of his youngest sister. That, said he, would be a want of modesty: and, besides, if Jemima is really handsome, she can want no effigy; for good wine, as we landlords say, requires no bush. We drew our chairs near the fire after supper, when Mr. Dubusk did his utmost to entertain me. He related, that only a few nights before, some sparks had put a link into his bed, which, by the moon-light through his window, his apprehension magnified into a black snake. And is a native of Carolina, afraid of a snake? said I.—Not, said he, if I meet him on the road, or in the woods. I wish I had as many acres of land as I have killed rattlesnakes in this country. My plantation would be a wide one.—Mr. Dubusk was somewhat a wag. Being called on after supper to sing the patriotic song of Hail Columbia; he parodied it with much drollery.

Hail Columbia! happy land!

Full of pines, and burning sand!

At this I was surprised: for Hail Columbia exacts not less reverence in America, than Rule Britannia in England.

The next morning, Mr. Dubusk walked with me a few miles on my road; but my companion having business at a plantation in the woods, I was soon left to pursue my journey alone through the sand. My sight was still bounded by the same prospect as ever. I could only distinguish before me a road that seemed endless, and mossy forests on each border of it. An European gazes with wonder at the long and beautiful moss, that, spreading itself from the branches of one tree to those of another, extends through whole forests*.

It was now eight in the morning; the weather was mild, and I walked vigorously forward, "chewing the cud of sweet and bitter fancy."

* This moss when it becomes dead serves many useful purposes. The negroes carry it to Charleston, where it is bought to stuff mattresses, and chair-bottoms. The hunters always use it for wadding to their guns.

At Darr's tavern I found nobody but a negro-woman, who was suckling her child, and quieting its clamours by appropriating, instead of a common rattle, the rattles of a snake.

As Mr. Darr was gone out, I was glad to obtain a plate of mush*, which having eaten, *sans* milk, *sans* sugar, and even *sans* molasses, I gave the good woman a piece of silver, and again pursued my journey.

A walk of eight more miles brought me to Owendaw bridge, and, taking a small path that led into the woods, I sought for the grave of a stranger, of whom tradition has preserved no remembrance; and whose narrow-house I at length discovered under a large and stately pine. I suppress the reflections which filled my breast on beholding it. Mr. George had anticipated me in a poem, which I meditated over the grave, in all the luxury of melancholy.

ELEGY OVER THE GRAVE OF AN UNKNOWN, IN THE WOODS OF
OWENDAW.

Now while the sun in ocean rolls the day,
Pensive I view where yonder trees display
The lonely heap of earth where here unmourn'd,
Beneath the pine the stranger lies inurn'd.
Near these green reeds that shade the passing wave,
The grass proclaims the long neglected grave,
Where dark and drear the mossy forests rise,
And nature hides her form from mortal eyes;
Where never print of human step is found,
Nor ever sun-beam cheers the gloomy ground,
But towering pines the light of heaven preclude,
And cedars wave in endless solitude;
Where stretch'd amid the leaves, the branching hind
Hears the tall cypress murmur to the wind.
All now unknown, if here this space of dust
Enclose the ashes of the base or just;
Nor wept by friendship, nor enroll'd by fame,
Without a tomb, and e'en without a name.
So rests amid these over-arching woods,
Some hapless corse, regardless of the floods,
Which oft around with angry deluge sweep,
And roll the wrecks of ages to the deep.
Those warring passions struggling to be free,
Those eyes that once the blaze of heaven could see;
That hand from which, perhaps, the brave retir'd;
That heart which once the breath of life inspir'd,
Now shut for ever from the face of day,
Claim but at last this narrow spot of clay.
Unhappy dust, no memory remains
Of what of thee once trod these gloomy plains,

* Indian meal boiled.

Whether some wish, that fires the human breast,
 Of glory, or of wealth, was here suppress;
 Or great, or humble, was thy former lot,
 To all unknown, by all the world forgot!
 But what is friendship, or exalted fame,
 Which time may wound, or Envy's eye may blame?
 Alike the lofty and the low must lie,
 Alike the hero and the slave must die;
 A few short years their names from earth shall sweep,
 Unfelt as drops when mingling with the deep.
 For thee no tomb arrests the passing eye,
 No muse implores the tributary sigh,
 Nor weeping sire shall hither press to mourn,
 Nor frantic spouse invoke thee from thine urn;
 But here unwept, beneath this gloomy pine,
 Eternal nights of solitude are thine.
 So when conflicting clouds, in thunder driven,
 Shake to its base the firmament of heaven,
 Prone on the earth the lofty cedar lies,
 Unseen, and in an unknown valley dies:
 So falls the towering pride of mortal states,
 So perish all the glories of the great.
 In vain with hope to distant realms we run,
 Some bliss to share, or misery to shun.
 In vain the man with narrow bosom flies,
 Where meanness triumphs, and where honour dies;
 And fills the sable bark with sordid ore,
 To swell the pomps that curse a guilty shore;
 Pursu'd by fate through every realm and sea,
 He falls at last unwept, unknown, like thee.

Pursuing my journey, in somewhat a dejected mood, I crossed over Owendaw-bridge, and walked forward at a moderate rate. In fact, I regulated my pace by the sun, which was descending behind me in the woods, and at which I occasionally looked back.

About night-fall I reached Mr. Mac Gregor's tavern, of which the proximity was announced by the axe of the negro chopping wood. No sound can be more delightful than this to the foot-traveller in America, when night has cast its shadows over the face of the country. It not only informs him that he is near some human habitation; but associates the welcome image of a warm fire-side, and an invigorating supper.

The house of Mr. Mac Gregor was agreeably situated on the river Santee. But it was filled with the planters and young women from the neighbouring woods, who had assembled to celebrate their Christmas festival; for it was, I discovered, the anniversary of the day that gave birth to our Redeemer. Strange!

that I should regard time so little, as not to know, that its inaudible and noiseless feet had stolen through another year.

The party was, however, taking time by the forelock. They had formed a dance, but could not begin it for want of their musician, whom they expected with impatience. Hang that Orpheus! exclaimed one of the young men, who held by the hand a little girl of true virginal beauty, with fair hair floating over her shoulders; curse that Orpheus! said he; he has got drunk again, and has lost himself in the woods! Mac Gregor, lend me your horn; I'll go a little way, and blow to him. He snatched up the horn, and slipping on his great coat, was about to sally into the woods to seek for the lost Orpheus, when the little girl whose hand he had let go, anticipating his design, clung fondly round him, and burst into a violent flood of tears.

Woman! all conquering woman! thou art every where the same; and thy empire over man is every where confest. Whether in the polished cities of Europe, or among the rude forests of America, thou canst practise the same arts, and inspire the same tenderness!

The ferocity of Jack was softened by the mournful distraction of Barbara. It was a ludicrous spectacle. Jack in the towering height and breadth of his body, could scarcely, I think, be inferior to Sampson; he would have slain with his nervous arm a whole host of enemies. Yet here he was killed himself by only one glance from a virgin eye, that was brimful of tears; for some minutes his speech was suspended, and the giant could only look and sigh unutterable things. Oh! for the chissel of a Praxiteles, to represent this tender damsel; the most seducing object that love could employ to extend the limits of his empire. Insensibility itself would have fallen at the feet of so sweet a creature.

At length Jack recovered the use of his faculties. He laid down the horn; and, catching Barbara in his arms, smacked her lips with such ardour, that he seemed to be tearing up kisses by the roots.

The girls in company blushed, or held down their heads, but the men fell into a roar of such loud and obstinate laughter, that, like the peal of Homer's gods, I thought it inextinguishable.

Mr. Mac Gregor now took the horn, and, going to the door, began to blow it with vehemence, and then to exclaim Orpheus! Yo ho! Orpheus! Must I come and look for my old snow-ball?

At length a voice was heard to reply, Who call Orpheus? That Mossa Mac Gregeè? Here Orpheus come! Here he come himself!

It was not long before Orpheus made his appearance, in the shape of an old Guinea negro, scraping discord on a fiddle, reeling about from side to side, and grinning in the pride of his heart.

Each man now seized his partner, Orpheus struck up a jig, and down the dance went Jack and Barbara, with light, though untutored steps. Not being for any of their ambling, and finding that amidst such riot no sleep was to be had, I summoned a negro, and was paddled in a canoe, through Push-and-go creek, to the opposite bank of Santee river. The whip-poor-will, on my landing, was heard from the woods; and, in prosecuting my walk, I meditated a sonnet to the bird.

SONNET TO THE WHIP-POOR-WILL.

Poon, plaintive bird! whose melancholy lay
Suits the despondence of my troubled breast,
I hail thy coming at the close of day,
When all thy tribe are hush'd in balmy rest.

Wisely thou shunn'st the gay, tumultuous throng
Whose mingled voices empty joys denote,
And for the sober night reserv'st thy song,
When echo from the woods repeats thy note.

Pensive, at silent night, I love to roam,
Where elves and fairies tread the dewy green,
While the clear moon, beneath the azure dome,
Sheds a soft lustre o'er the sylvan scene.

And hear thee tell thy moving tale of woe,
To the bright empress of the Silver Bow,

I had now not to walk through woods, but over ground that had been cleared by the industry of the husbandman. But I had scarce proceeded half a mile, when a party of horsemen, and girls double-mounted, came ambling over the plain; and all seemed to ask, with one voice, if the boat was at the ferry, I informed them, that I had crossed Santee river in a canoe, which, I believed, was at the ferry, but that, far from embarking their party, it would not hold a third of them.

Then you came, said one of the men, through Push-and-go creek?

I replied in the affirmative.

The devil take Mac Gregor, cried he. There are no snakes in South Carolina if I am not up to him for this. I hope Orpheus has not been able to find his way through the woods!

I told them, that if by Orpheus he meant a drunken negro, who scraped upon the fiddle,—he had not only reached the house, but put all the company in motion,

And now my friends, said I, let me ask you if there be any house on the road where I shall be likely to obtain a lodging?

Are you for George-town? said one of the men.—Yes!

Then, rejoined he, it is hard saying; for there is no house in the main-road between this and the Run*; and the run is so high, from the freshes, that you will not be able to ford it. We did not cross the run; we live this side of it—away there (pointing with his hand), among the back-woods.

Nothing can give more poignancy to the misfortunes of a traveller, than for him to repine at them. I therefore walked forward with a decisive step, and whistled a merry tune as I brushed the dew with my feet.

In about half an hour, I reached a solitary mud-hut, which stood adjoining to a wood. A little smoke rose from the chimney, but not a mouse was stirring near the dwelling. But from the woods was heard the cry of the whip-poor-will, and the croaking of the bull-frogs.

I peeped through a chink in the wall of this lonely hut. I could distinguish an old negro-man and negro-woman, huddled together, like Darby and Joan, before the embers of an expiring fire, and passing from one to another the stump of an old pipe. I tapped at the door. Please God Almighty! said the old woman; who knock at our door this time of night? Why I thought nobody was awake but whip-poor-will!

Open the door, said the old man, very calmly, 'tis mayhap some negur man that has run away, and is now come out of the woods to beg a hoe-cake, or a bit of hominy.

Lack-a-day! you don't say so, replied the old woman. Some poor runaway, without a bit of victuals to keep life and soul together. Well! there's a whole hoe-cake in the platter. That's lucky, for true!

The old woman came to the door, but, starting back on beholding me, exclaimed, Hie! this not negur! This one gentleman!

Let my page record the hospitality of this poor black woman and her husband. They proffered me their provisions, and helped me to the sweetest draught of water I ever remember to have drunk. They proposed to spread a blanket for me before the fire, and supply me out of their garments with a pillow for my head. In a word, though their faces were black, their hearts were not insensible.

I could not overcome my prejudices. I felt the fulness of their humanity; but, my heart harboured that pride, which courted

* A stream that crosses a road is called a Run in the southern States. After a heavy rain, the freshes (floods) render these runs for some time impassable.

the rigours of the night, rather than descend to become the guest of an African slave. I declined their offer with acknowledgments, and prosecuted my walk into the woods.

I had walked about three miles, lighted forward by the moon, and admonished of the lateness of the hour by the appearance of the morning star, when the barking of dogs, and the voices of men at a distance, filled me with the hope that I was approaching some village. My heart caught new pleasure, and I redoubled my pace; but in a few minutes, instead of entering a village, I found myself among a crowd of waggons and waggoners, who, having their journey suspended by a run of water which had overflowed its banks, were preparing to encamp on the side of the road. Of these some were backing their waggons, some unharnessing their cattle, and some kindling a fire.

On coming to the bank of the stream, I asked a man, who was splitting wood, whether there was any canoe to carry travellers across the run.

Indeed, I don't know, said he.

How is that? cried another waggoner, approaching the spot. If the stranger is willing to go to the expense of a canoe, I'll hew him one out of the stump of a tree in less than half an hour. I have tools in my waggon.

Sir, replied I, I think it will be more adviseable to tarry here till the floods are subsided. But, is there no tavern near here?

There is not a grog-shop, said the man, between this and George-town. But if you chuse to drink some whiskey, I have got a demi-john in my waggon. Come, don't make yourself strange because I drive a waggon.

Sir, said I, it was my anxiety to obtain a lodging that made me ask after a tavern; I did not want liquor. But as you are polite enough to welcome me to your jorum of whiskey, I shall be happy to pledge you.

The fellow now went to his waggon, and, taking out a small demi-john of whiskey, returned to the place where I stood, followed by the whole of his fraternity. Come, said he, here's a good market for our tobacco! And after taking a long draught, which called a profound sigh from his lungs, he handed me the demi-john, of which having drank, I passed it in succession to my neighbour.

No man is more tenacious of etiquette than I. For two persons to become acquainted, the laws of good-breeding exact the introduction of a third. This third person I had now found in the demi-john of whiskey, and so without any further ceremony,

I accompanied the gentlemen waggoners to their fire, and squatted myself before the blaze.

The man whom I had pledged, I very soon discovered to be the chief of the gang ; for his mien was more lofty, and his speech more imperious than that of the rest. Holla ! Ralph Noggin ! cried he—Turn the horses out loose with their bells on, that we may find them again in the woods. And do you hear, get the pig out of the big waggon, that we may barbecue him while there's a slow fire.

This motion of the waggoner was, I thought, not a bad one ; my hunger seconded it in secret ; and I began to entertain a higher opinion of the company I had got into.

Having barbecued the pig, each man drew forth his knife, and helped himself to a portion. I was invited to do the same, but, when I had laid hands on a savoury morsel, it was difficult to retain it, for a dog, that accompanied the waggons, placed himself before me in a menacing attitude, and every time I put a piece of meat into my mouth, the cur gnashed his teeth, and rebuked me with an angry bark. At length, I was relieved from the importunities of the dog, by the politeness of a waggoner, who, snatching up his whip, cracked it over the dog's back with such violence, that the animal slunk his tail between his hind legs, and ran howling into the woods with a most tragical tone ; a tone that suspended for some minutes the bellowing of the bullfrogs, and the cry of the whip-poor-will.

My companions having satisfied their hunger, they soon fell asleep ; and it was not very long before I followed the example. My bed was composed of leaves, and I had no other canopy but the skies ; but, in two watchful voyages to the East-Indies, I had often snored on the hard deck, and repose in the open air was a thing I had been used to.

About sun-rise I awoke, refreshed beyond measure with three hours sound sleep. Some of my companions were awake, but others were yet snoring. At length, they all rose and shook themselves, and the chief of the party had expressed it to be his opinion, that the run would not go down before noon.

About noon the water went down, and my companions, who had previously harnessed their cattle, crossed without any obstacle to the opposite bank. I followed on a led horse, which they did not judge prudent to fasten to a waggon, and which took me over in safety. I then dismounted, and, having shaken each of the party by the hand, pursued my journey on foot. The sun, which in the early part of the morning had been obscured, now

gladdened the plains; and, as I journeyed onward, I sent forth in concert with the creation a prayer to that Universal Lord, at whose altar of praise and thansgiving, all religions, though by different paths, assemble; and ultimately unite in one centre of adoration.

A walk of ten miles brought me within sight of George-town, which exhibited an agreeable *coup d'œil*, as I approached the bank of Sampit river. The opening of Waccamaw bay, at the confluence of Sampit, Black, and Pedee rivers, brought to my mind the happy description which my friend Mr. George had given the world of it; who is not less exact than felicitous in the combination of his images.

" Here as you enter from the winding wood,
The wand'ring eye beholds the confluent flood,
Where the wide waves of Waccamaw o'erflow,
And gloomy wōds an endless prospect shew:
Where roll the placid streams from Sampit's source,
And Winyaws waves with slow meanders course,
Through many a tainted marsh and gloomy wood,
The dark abodes of dreary solitude."

I felt no little exultation in reflecting that it was the author of this description, whom I was about to visit; that he expected with solicitude my coming, and that I should be received by him with transports. I crossed the river Sampit in the ferry-boat, and rejoiced to find myself in the company of my friend. But I did not find him at his studies. Mr. George was neither composing the Mœonian verse, the plaintive elegy, nor soothing sonnet. In profane prose, he was at dinner, and such was the unclassical condition of my appetite from a walk of fourteen miles, that a welcome to a turkey and chine was greater music to my ear, than the softest verses my friend could have produced from his invocations of the morning.

It is only those who know what friendship is, that can form a just estimate of the happiness I enjoyed in the company of Mr. George. In a public party he was somewhat reserved; but in the unrestrained interchange of his mind with a friend, no man could be more pleasant.

The old lady at the boarding-house informed me, that she hardly knew what to make of Mr. George; sometimes he would be sociable, and chat round the parlour fire with the rest of her boarders; but that oftener he shut himself up in his chamber, wandered alone in the woods, and was overheard talking to himself. Alas! for the simplicity of the woman! She little knew the enjoyments of a cultivated mind, or the delight a poet felt in

courting the silence of solitude, and muttering his wayward fancies, as he roved through the fields.

It, however, appeared to me, that Mr. George was not so enamoured of the muses, but that he had an eye for a fair creature, who lived within a few doors of his lodgings. He manifested, I thought, strong symptoms of being in love.

The academy at George-town, is under the direction of Mr. Spierin, an Irish clergyman of the episcopal persuasion; a man profoundly versed in the languages of Greece and Rome, not un-conversant with the delicacies of the English, and a powerful preacher.

During my visit to George-town, the melancholy tidings were brought of the death of General Washington. The inhabitants of the town were crowding to the ball-room at the moment the courier brought the dispatch. But the death of so great a man, converted their hilarity into sorrow; the eye of many a female, which, but a moment before had sparkled with pleasure, was now brimful of tears; and they all cast off their garments of gladness, and clothed themselves with sackcloth.

The following Sunday, the men, women, and children, testified their veneration for the father of their country, by walking in procession to the church, where Mr. Spierin delivered a funeral oration. Never was there a discourse more moving. Tears flowed from every eye; and lamentations burst from every lip.

I look back with pleasure and satisfaction on the time I passed with my friend, at the confluence of the rivers Waccamaw and Winyaw. Our conversation was commonly on the writers of the Augustan age, and I corrected many errors I had imbibed by solitary study. The taste of Mr. George had been formed on the polished models of antiquity; to these he always recurred as to the standards of elegant composition. It is recorded, I believe, of Euler, that he could repeat the whole of the *Æneid* by heart; but the memory of Mr. George had not only digested the *Æneid*, but also the *Georgics* and *Eclogues*.

But the moment was approaching that called me to another climate. I found a schooner lying at the wharfs of George-town, that was bound to New York, and thither I had formed the resolution of going. To this resolution I was particularly determined by the projects of Mr. George; who, disgusted with the society at George-town—the eternal discourse of the inhabitants about their negroes and cotton-fields; and the innovations of the trustees on his mode of tuition, had come to the determination of seeking another people, and opening a school of his own.

When I, therefore, waved my hand on board the vessel to my

friend, who stood on the wharf with the calm inhabitants of Wac-camaw, my heart was rather elated with joy at the expectation of soon meeting him at New York, than depressed with sorrowful emotions to separate from him at George-town.

Heaven prosper you, my dear fellow, said Mr. George. But your impending gales of wind, and rolling of the vessel, will excite little sympathy, because I shall reflect you are again in your own element. Yet shall I never cease exclaiming, "Sic te diva potens Cypri," &c. till you give me a missive that acquaints me with your safe landing. Adieu! I will soon shake you by the hand again in a region less unhealthy, less inhospitable, and less unclassical.

The sails of the vessel were now distended by a breeze that was both favourable and fresh. We shaped our course out of the harbour; the waves roared around the bark; and in half an hour, she appeared to the eye of the beholder from land, a white speck only on the ocean. The wind changed off cape Hatterass to the north-east, from which quarter it blew a tremendous gale. We lay-to in a most miserable condition, wet, sick, and unable to cook any food. I now sighed for Coosohatchie, the company of my pupils, and my walks in the woods; but my ambition of travel struggled over my weakness, and I sought refuge in jollity with my portly companion.

The next morning, the sun shone down the sky-light into the cabin. The gale having abated, we prosecuted our voyage, and on the morning of the 5th of February 1800, saw the high land of the Jerseys. As the day advanced, we could distinguish the light-house on Sandy-Hook, and with a pleasant breeze were wafted to the wharfs of New York.

CHAP. V.

Engagements at New York. An American Author. Mr. George arrives at New York. Epistolary Correspondence. A Visit to Long Island. Journey to the City of Washington.

MY first care on returning to New York, was to deliver a letter I had been favoured with from Mr. Spierin, to his friend bishop Moore. I waited on the bishop most opportunely, for the preceding day he had been applied to by an opulent merchant to procure a tutor for his children, and I was a tutor by trade.

The bishop introduced me to Mr. Ludlow and his lady, who

received me with some formality; but whose conversation I thought interesting, because they offered me a handsome salary to educate their children. In the woods of Carolina, I had received eighty guineas a year; but Mr. Ludlow proposed a hundred.

I therefore exchanged my lodgings with Major Howe, for an elegant structure in Broad Way, and took possession of a chamber that was worthy to lodge a prince. My pupils were few for the salary I enjoyed, being only three boys, Robert, Ferdinand, and Edward.

I pass over common occurrences to embrace again Mr. George, who had left the academy at George-town, and, like a true poet, was without a settled habitation. I procured him lodgings under the roof of Major Howe: and, the better to enjoy a freedom from interruption, I took my friend to King's little tavern, near the Presbyterian church, where we chatted and laughed till midnight.

I introduced Mr. George to Col. Burr, whom I had not neglected; and I also presented him to bishop Moore, who had procured me a salary of a hundred guineas. I have ever felt the highest veneration for the dignified office of prelate. There are many of different feelings. But as the English soldier detested a Frenchman because he wore wooden shoes; so many cannot endure a bishop, because he wears lawn sleeves.

It was the custom of Mr. Ludlow every summer to exchange the tumult of the city, for the quiet of his rural retreat; or, in other words, to remove his family from New York, to a place called West Chester. But knowing that Mr. George was in some solicitude for his future support, and being myself engaged by Caritat, on liberal terms, to compile a volume of modern poetry*, I presented my friend to the family, extolled the multiplicity of his attainments, and resigned to him my place. In truth I was weary of setting boys their copies, and I wanted some remission to my fatigue.

Mr. George a few days after followed the family into their retreat, which he has described, together with the state of his own feelings, in a familiar epistle.

“No prospect can be more enchanting than that from our

* This volume of modern poetry was to be a royal octavo, of one thousand pages. It was to contain all the poems of all the modern poets. Caritat made a voyage to England with no other purpose than to collect all their works. He bought up all the modern poetry that London could furnish; and when I say this, I need not observe, that the ship which contained his cargo drew a great depth of water. The punps were kept constantly going.

mansion. Two tufted islands at a distance, leave a vista between them, through which gleam the turrets of New York, rising like a new creation from the sea.

"But my time rolls heavily along. Let casuists reason as they will; a vigorous mind can derive no satisfaction from retirement. It is only on the great theatre of the world that we can be sensible of the pleasures of existence. The solitary mind is its own sepulchre; and where variety is unknown, or the passions are suppressed, the noblest energies are lost for want of objects.

"I have again read over your epistles from Coosohatchie, and am now travelling with you through the swamps of Pocotaligo, and the woods of Asheepoo. There is certainly a pleasure in retracing our former footsteps, and pursuing our adventures through the wilds of Carolina. I can now behold you sitting with the driver on the front seat, and smoking your segar, while the solitary vehicle rolls slowly through the forests.

"Women know not what to be at. This evening they were contending who should first take the telescope to look at the full moon, which arose from the distant hills with unusual beauty. The telescope was brought, and I shewed each lady in regular succession, the polar hemisphere, together with the constellations of Arcturus and Orion; repeating at the same time their description from the eighteenth Iliad.

"I went down to the Sound to swim awhile ago, and, during my stay in the water, some fellow threw in my shirt; so I came up like one of Falstaff's men. This lamentable accident brought the servants about me; and the gardener's wife made no scruple to lend me one of her husband's shirts.

"I knew not when I entered on the office of tutor in this family, that one part of my duty would be, to teach my pupils to swim. Is not this a work of supererogation? However, I never fail to duck most fervently, these enemies to silence and reflection."

Some symptoms of the yellow fever appearing in New York, spread universal consternation; and the subscribers to the volume of modern poetry not coming in crowds with their subscription-money, the compilation of it was postponed. Being now without any determined employment, I had nothing to detain me in the town; and transporting my books and baggage over to Long island, I was fortunate enough to procure lodgings at Newtown, under the roof of the episcopal minister, Mr. Vandyke. He was a garrulous valetudinary old creature, who would have been excellent company for the elders that viewed the Grecian forces from the battlements of Troy.

The parsonage-house was not unpleasantly situated. The porch was shaded by a couple of huge locust-trees, and accommodated with a long bench. Here I often sat with my host, who, like parson Adams, always wore his cassock; but he did not read *Æschylus*. Alas! the old gentleman was not descended from the family of the Medici; nor would learning have ever been indebted to him for its revival.

Mr. Vandyke was at least sixty; yet if a colt, a pig, or any other quadruped entered his paddock, he sprang from his seat with more than youthful agility, and vociferously chased the intruder from his domain. I could not but smile to behold him running after a pig, and mingling his cries with those of the animal!

It would be ungrateful were I not to enumerate the friends I found in Long island.—Mr. Titus, who lived on a creek that communicated with the Sound, both feasted and caressed me; he was a worthy old gentleman; and at his house, as in the days before the flood, they were eating and drinking, marrying and giving in marriage.

Farmer Moore, brother to bishop Moore, of New York, always entertained me with a hearty welcome. Every one acknowledged his daughter was charming:

“ A maiden never bold;
Of spirit so still and quiet, that her motion
Blush’d at itself.”

Indeed the manners of the whole family were worthy of the golden age.

Mr. Remsen, who lived with more magnificence on the river-side, opposite Flushing, gave me sumptuous dinners, and Madeira after each repast. His lady was not without elegance; but his two daughters were lovely.

Nor in enumerating the belles of Newtown, ought I to omit Mrs. Dungan, and Miss Townshend.

From Mr. Remsen’s dwelling on the water-side, the mansion of Mr. Ludlow could be clearly distinguished, lifting its proud turrets above the shore in West Chester. I had been invited, both by the family and my friend to visit the “ new house;” and having, on a serene day, dined with Mr. Remsen, I was paddled in a canoe from his landing-place to the opposite shore.

The little boys shouted with joy as the canoe approached their wharf, and George, abandoning a poem he was composing, flew to my embrace.

I was ushered into the parlour. Every thing breathed splendour. A turkey carpet covered the floor, and the richest sofas

invited repose. Negus was served up in a golden cup, by a servant clad in a magnificent livery; and every fruit of the season was placed on the side-board. The room was soon filled by the family, all eager to receive me and do the honours of the house.

I could not but be delighted with the joy expressed by the children; they either clung round my knees, or ran to bring the letters I had written them, that I might perceive with what care they had preserved my epistles.

After continuing three days with my friend, he accompanied me from West Chester, in a passage-boat to New York.

At New York, we experienced an oblivion of care at King's little tavern, next to the presbyterian church; which, from the jollity that resounded in every room on a Sunday, brought to recollection the proverb, that "the nearer to church the further from heaven." Here, however, we smoked segars, and forgot we were tutors.

The following day, I prevailed on Mr. George to visit Newtown, and I introduced him to my friends. We dined with Mr. Remsen, from whose house he departed for West Chester in a canoe. I awaited in the piazza the return of the canoe, chatting most delectably with Miss Eliza Remsen, over a cup of tea administered by her fair hands. The canoe returned, and brought me a note from my friend.

"I, thank God, found none of the family at home on my arrival; so I can walk about the house without feeling my dependence."

Mr. George only remained with Mr. Ludlow till his quarter expired, when it was concerted by every party, that I should resume the place. But he was not long unemployed; for the inhabitants of Newtown, being in want of a teacher, converted a spare dwelling into a school, and engaged my friend on liberal terms to educate their children.

Mr. George was now in Long Island, and I had received a very polite letter from Mrs. Ludlow, who entreated me to hasten my return to her family. I obeyed her orders with alacrity.

I therefore drove Mr. George in a chair to the water-side, and at the house of Mr. Berian, hired a canoe to cross the Sound. After an hour's rowing, the boatman reached West Chester, and landed me at Mr. Ludlow's. Of the family the children were only at home, who received me with every demonstration of joy; but not long after, Mrs. Ludlow returned in her chariot, whose elegant and conciliating manners soon reconciled me to my situation.

I sent my friend his trunks by the return of the canoe, and a

short note produced from the impulse of the moment. In a few days I was favoured with an epistle from Mr. George.

“ After your departure from Berian’s in the canoe, I resumed my station with the old fellow on the porch ; here I awaited with impatience the return of the boat with my trunk. Berian I found to be a plain, honest, sensible, old navigator, and I drank tea with him.

“ At night-fall the boat returned with my trunk and a letter from my beloved companion in adversity ; it is only by the absence of persons that are dear to us, that we can estimate truly their value ; and I now began sensibly to feel the privation of your company. I left Berian’s at seven ; the night was very dark, and the moon (though considerably above the horizon) was entirely obscured by clouds. I was in no small danger of breaking my neck over the rocks which obstructed my passage, but my horse not being of a disposition to run away with his burden, I escaped the danger of an overthrow. After opening and shutting several gates that impeded my journey, and passing over many rocky hills, I descended to the shore, of which the waves were covered by a thick mist, that obscured their agitation, and rendered their fury more awful ; the tide had usurped much of the road, and the left wheel of the chair rolled through the water. Hence, after travelling along “ the beached verge of the salt flood,” I ascended a high hill, and turning into a different road from that through which you were my companion, I drove into a thick spreading wood of oak : here I was fearful of entirely losing my way through the trees ; but the clouds dispersed, and the moon arose to light me on my journey. At nine I reached the parson’s, where I found the family peaceably occupied with their needles ; they received me with kindness, but the rustic silence which prevailed among them, and the tedious reverberations of the clock, compelled me to retire to my room, where I indulged myself in uninterrupted reflection, and in pondering over your curious epistle.”

A few days afterwards I received a second letter from Mr. George.

“ In this out-of-the-world village, I live neither pleasing, nor pleased ; for a rustic cannot receive much gratification from the society of a man of letters ; and surely the man of letters cannot derive any pleasure from the company of a rustic. It is only by a collision of minds of the same tendency, that inquietude can be soothed, and the intellect invigorated.”

“ My condition is, however, more tolerable than it was. Here I have no mincing imperatrix to say to me, ‘ Mr. George, my

children do nothing, I must insist, Sir, you will be more attentive to Bobby and Neddy.' Deo Gratias! O thou eater of broken meats! Thou lilly-livered, supper-serviceable rogue of a tutor! Avaunt!

"I was lately at New York. But I went not to pay my respects to members of congress, but with the hope of encountering the friend of my heart, and the companion of my adversity.

"I slept at Howe's, and during the night was perpetually annoyed with the cry of fire! fire! As the noise increased, I arose with not less trepidation than Æneas, when he ascended to the top of old Anchises' palace:

"Et jam proximus ardet
Ucalogou."

"But here, as in all modern conflagrations, (whether real or poetic), there was more smoke than fire, and more consternation than danger; so I slunk again to slumber, from which not even the ghost of Hector could have awakened me.

"Shall you exchange soon the dull walks of West Chester, for the animated streets of New York? Come over, I beseech you, and enable me once more to exclaim with rapture, Vixi."

With the first frost, the family of Mr. Ludlow removed from the solitude of West Chester, to the gaieties of New York; and I again took possession of a room boasting every convenience of accommodation, where I could prosecute, without disturbance, my lucubrations till a late hour. The library of Caritat supplied me with every book in the French and my own idiom; and before a cheerful fire, I could pass nights of rapture in the acquisition of elegant and useful knowledge. The emoluments I had derived from the publication of a little novel, induced me to undertake another, which I was resolved to make more voluminous; for Americans expect quantity in a book not less eagerly than in other bargains.

But the time was approaching, when I had every reason to flatter my expectation with exchanging the muses' bower for the garden of the Hesperides. Colonel Burr had been elected to the place of Vice-President of the United States, and Colonel Burr was my friend. He had just returned from the city of Washington, and with the most condescending urbanity, did me the honour to call on me at Mr. Ludlow's. Col. Burr observed, that "Mr. Gallatin having expressed a desire to procure a secretary who was skilled in composition, he had recommended me as a person qualified to undertake the office, and was happy to have it in his power to acknowledge by any service, the sensible pleasure he had received from my literary productions."

My pupils could be hardly persuaded I was about to leave them, till I bade them farewell; they shed many tears; but their grief, however violent, was of transient duration; for before I had walked half way down the street, I beheld them return to their ball-playing with more alacrity than ever.

I journeyed delightfully from New York to Philadelphia, and thence to Washington. My finances were good, and I was going to a place where I had only to extend my arms and catch the golden shower. Let the gloomy moralist insist on the position, that life is rather to be endured than enjoyed; but hope itself is happiness, and he who has the knack of practising it, cannot be long a victim to melancholy, though he find himself cheated daily by new disappointments.

I travelled in the coach, and was put down, with another passenger, to stop the night, at a tavern, built on a bank of the river Susquehannah. It was delightfully situated, commanding the prospect of Chesapeak bay, and the little town of Havre de Grace. The accommodations at the tavern were elegant, and a mulatto girl waited at supper, whose beauty entitled her to a better office than that of brushing away flies from the guests with a peacock's feather.

I repined at being waked before it was light by the horn of the driver; but I was repaid for the disturbance of my morning slumbers by the spectacle of the rising sun. His first rays gilded the herbage, yet humid with the dews of night; and the carol of the mocking-bird, though faint, saluted the return of day.

We prosecuted our journey to Baltimore in charming spirits; a happy constitution of temper made every place alike to my companion; and his advance in years seemed only to have brought with them a higher relish for life.

The next morning I resumed my journey for the city of Washington, passing in my way thither, through no place of any note, unless it be a little town called Bladensburgh, built on the water of the eastern branch of the Potomac.

I obtained accommodations at the Washington tavern, which stands opposite the treasury. At this tavern I took my meals at the public table, where there was every day to be found a number of clerks, employed at the different offices under Government; together with about half a dozen Virginians, and a few New England men.

Bear witness, ye powers, with what visions of greatness I feasted my imagination, as I walked from the tavern to the treasury.

Mr. Gallatin heard the object of my mission with patience; when he with the utmost composure observed, that "the orga-

nization of the offices in the treasury, under the preceding administration, had been too complicated, and that far from having any place to give away, the employments of inferior diplomatic agency were yet to be diminished. Yet he was sorry, very sorry, I should travel so far to encounter disappointment."

I replied; that I had not travelled to no purpose, for I had not only seen the city of Washington, but also Mr. Gallatin; and making him a very low bow, I again walked down the treasury stairs!

Finding a schooner at George-town ready to sail for Alexandria, I put my trunk on board of her, and left without regret the imperial city.

The wind being contrary, we had to work down the Potomac. The river here is very beautiful. Mason's island forms one continued garden; but what particularly catches the eye is the Capitol, rising with sacred majesty above the woods.

Our boat turned well to windward, and in an hour we landed at the widow Bull's house, which may be considered half-way to Alexandria. Here having quaffed and smoked together under the shade of a spreading locust tree, we once more committed ourselves to the waters of the Potomac.

In approaching Alexandria, we passed a house on our right, in which the Paphian goddess had erected an altar. Some damsels were bathing before the door, who practised every allure-ment to make us land; but we treated their invitations with the insolence of contempt. Oh! modesty! what charms does a woman lose when she renounces thee.

It was easier landing at Alexandria in America, than Alexandria in Egypt; and I found elegant accommodations at Gadesby's hotel. It is observable that Gadesby keeps the best house of entertainment in the United States.

It was the middle of July when I landed at Alexandria, and the heat was excessive. The acrimony of the bilious humours was consequently excited, and the diarrhœa and dysentery prevailed among the inhabitants; yet the taverns were frequented, for Americans, to preserve health, adopt the Brownonian system, of keeping up the excitement.

The splendour of Gadesby's hotel not suiting my finances, I removed to a public house kept by a Dutchman, whose Frow was a curious creature.

To what slight causes does a man owe some of the principal events of his life. I had been a fortnight at Alexandria, when, in consequence of a short advertisement I had put in the gazette, a gentleman was deputed to wait on me from a quaker, on the

banks of the Occoquan, who wanted a tutor for his children. He expressed the earnest desire Mr. Ellicott had to engage me in his family, and lavished his eloquence on the romantic beauties of the river Occoquan, and the stupendous mountains that nodded over its banks.

The following evening I left Alexandria on horseback, to visit the abode of Mr. Ellicott. But I had scarce ridden a couple of miles, when a violent storm of rain overtook me, and I sought shelter in a shop by the way-side.

It was six o'clock before the rain subsided, and I was in suspense whether to return to Alexandria, or prosecute my journey, when my host informed me, that only two miles further lived a very honest farmer, who accommodated travellers with a bed. His name was Violet.

I pursued my journey, but, after riding two miles, instead of reaching the farm of Mr. Violet, my horse stopped before the door of a log-house, built on the brow of a hill. The man of the house was sitting under an awning of dried boughs, smoking in silence his pipe; and his wife occupied a chair by his side, warbling her lyrics over the circling wheel.

The sky now indicated there was no time to be lost. I therefore put spurs to my nag, and departed at a gallop. It was not quite twilight, and my situation brought to my recollection a passage in the poet of nature.

"The west yet glimmers with some streaks of day:
Now spurs the lated traveller apace,
To gain the timely inn.

But I had scarce proceeded a mile when a storm of rain, lightning, and thunder, gave me some solicitude for my night's lodging; I could perceive no house; and the only alternative left, was to scour along the road, while the tempest howled wildly from the woods on both sides.

At length, I descried a light, which I flattered myself blazed from the window of Mr. Violet's house; but instead of dismounting at the portico of a mansion that vied in magnificence with Gadesby's hotel, I found myself before the door of a miserable log-house.

The log-house was not empty. A mulatto girl of seventeen, was sitting in one corner in dalliance with a white youth of about thirty-five, who discovered no confusion at my unexpected entrance. But the olive dulcinea was less confident in her aspect, and played the woman to perfection. One while she endeavoured to conceal her face from view, another, she repulsed the ca-

resses of her lover, and anon she clung to him as if seeking his protection.

After a short stay, I mounted my horse, and no longer interrupted their innocent amour. The tempest was over, a beautiful night succeeded; and the moon with unusual lustre lighted me on my way. As I looked towards the silver orb, I exclaimed in the words of the most pathetic of writers,

"For me! pale eye of evening! thy soft light
Leads to no happy home!"

But I was waked from my musing by the barking of the dogs at Colchester, and having crossed the bridge which is built over the Occoquan, I alighted at the door of Mr. Gordon's tavern.

Having ordered supper, I gazed with rapture on the Occoquan river, which ran close to the house, and, gradually enlarging, emptied itself into the capacious bosom of the Potomac. The fishermen on the shore were hauling their seine, and the sails of a little bark, stemming the waves, were distended by the breeze of night. The sea-boy was lolling over the bow, and the helmsman was warbling a song to his absent fair.

The next day I proceeded to Occoquan; but so steep and craggy was the road, that I found it almost inaccessible. On descending the last hill, I was nearly stunned by the noise of two huge mills, whose roar, without any hyperbolical aggravation, is scarcely inferior to that of the great falls of the Potomac, or the cataract of Niagara. My horse would not advance, and I was myself lost in astonishment.

On crossing a little bridge, I came within view of the settlement, which is romantic beyond conception. A beautiful river rolls its stream along mountains that rise abruptly from its bank, while on the opposite rocky shore, which appears to have been formed by a volcano, are seen two mills enveloped in foam, and here and there a dwelling which has vast masses of stone for its foundation. The eye for some time is arrested by the uncommon scene; but it is soon relieved by a beautiful landscape that bounds the horizon. In a word, all the riches of nature are brought together in this spot, but without confusion.

Mr. Ellicott and his wife received me with an unaffected simplicity of manners, whom I was happy to catch just as they were going to dinner. An exquisite Virginia ham smoked on the board, and two damsels supplied the guests with boiled Indian corn, which they had gathered with their own hands.—Friend Ellicott, uncorrupted by the refinement of modern manners, had put his hat to its right use, for it covered his head. It was to no purpose that I bent my body, and made a hundred grimaces. Mor-

decai would not bow to Hamen, nor would friend Ellicott uncover his head to the Cham of Tartary.

Our agreement was soon made. Quakers are men of few words. Friend Ellicott engaged me to educate his children for a quarter of a year. He wanted them taught reading, writing, and arithmetic. Delightful task! As to Latin, or French, he considered the study of either language an abuse of time; and very calmly desired me not to say another word about it.

CHAP. VI.

Memoir of my Life on the banks of the Occoquan. Description of Occoquan Settlement. Evening at Occoquan, an Ode. Morning at Occoquan, an Ode. A Party of Indians visit Occoquan. Speech of a Warrior. A War-dance, and scene of riotous Intoxication. A Disquisition of the Moral Character of the Indians. Story of Captain Smith and Pocahontas. The Dispute between Buffon and Jefferson on the subject of Beards satisfactorily decided. The Midnight Orgies of the White Man of America dramatized, &c.

Lo! the moon its lustre lends,
Gilding ev'ry wood and lawn;
And the miller's heart distends
On the banks of Occoquan!

IN the Bull-Run Mountains rises a river, which retains the Indian name of Occoquan, and after a course of sixty miles, falls into the Potomac, near the little town of Colchester. In America, there are few or no rivers without falls; and at those of Occoquan, are erected a couple of mills, which by the easy and safe navigation of the Potomac, the richness of the adjacent country, and the healthfulness of the climate, induced the proprietor to project the plan of a city, and invite strangers to build on it; but his visions were never realized, and Occoquan consists only of a house built on a rock, three others on the river-side, and half a dozen log-huts scattered at some distance.

Yet no place can be more romantic than the view of Occoquan to a stranger, after crossing the rustic bridge, which has been constructed by the inhabitants across its stream. He contemplates a river urging its course along mountains that lose themselves among the clouds; he beholds vessels taking on board flour under the foam of the mills, and others deeply laden expand-

ing their sails to the breeze ; while every face wears contentment, every gale wafts health, and echo from the rocks multiplies the voices of the waggoners calling to their teams.

It is pleasant, says Juvenal, to be master of a house, though it stand not on more ground than a lizard would occupy. The school-house at Occoquan was entirely my own. It was a little brick structure, situated about three hundred yards from the house on the rock. The front casements looked upon the Occoquan river, and commanded the variegated prospect of hill and dale.

It is so seldom an author gets a house, that it should excite no wonder if he loves to describe it. Pliny has described his house so minutely in one of his elaborate epistles, that he appears to be putting it up for sale ; and Pope luxuriates in the strain that treats of his thickets being pierced, his grotto entered, his chariot stopped, and his barge boarded ; that posterity may not be ignorant of the extent of his possessions.

I mingled seldom with the people of Occoquan, but, shut up in my profound habitation, sought an oblivion of care in writing, reading, and tobacco. Often when the moonlight slept upon the mountain near my dwelling, have I walked before my door, and gazed in silent rapture on the orb of night, whose beams trembled on the stream that gave motion to the mill ; while the tall bark was seen dancing on the waves at a distance, and the mocking-bird in a saddened strain was heard from the woods. It was during one of these nights, that, recalling the images of the evening, I combined them in an ode :

EVENING AT OCCOQUAN.—AN ODE.

Slow the solemn sun descends,
Ev'ning's eye comes rolling on ;
Glad the weary stranger bends
To the banks of Occoquan !

Now the cricket on the hearth,
Chirping, tells his merry tale ;
Now the owlet ventures forth,
Moping to the sighing gale.

Still the busy mill goes round,
While the miller plies his care ;
And the rocks send back the sound,
Wafted by the balmy air.

Lo ! the moon with lustre bright,
In the stream beholds her face ;
Shedding glory o'er the night,
As she runs her lofty race.

See! the bark along the shore,
Larger to the prospect grow;
While the sea-boy bending o'er,
Chides the talking waves below,

Now the mocking songster's strain
Fills the pauses of her brood;
And her plaints the ear detain,
Echoing from the distant wood.

Hanging o'er the mountain's brow,
Lo! the cattle herbage find;
While in slumber sweet below,
Peaceful rests the village hind.

Now the student seeks his cell,
Nor regrets the day is gone;
But with silence loves to dwell,
On the banks of Occoquan!

I was never one of those who sleep well at night. All hours are of equal value, and the tranquillity of the night invites to study. Hence, I have been frequently compelled to change my lodgings where the good woman of the house was in fear that her curtains might catch fire, and set the dwelling in a blaze.

But the houses in Virginia are not very superb. The people were never under any solicitude for the habitation I occupied; and had it been burnt to the ground, a few boards and a proportionate number of shingles would soon have constructed another. I never yet occupied a house that was not exempt from taxes; it was always valued by the tax-gatherers below a hundred dollars (about 20*l* sterling), and, by an act of Assembly, for a house not worth a hundred dollars there is no tax to pay.

From the platform of my house at Occoquan, there was a subterraneous passage which led to a kind of kitchen. In this underground apartment dwelt Rachel, a negro-woman, who was left a widow with eleven children; but her numerous offspring were all provided for. Mr. Carter, to whom the whole family belonged, had taken upon him this benevolent office; for he had sold one to Mr. A, another to Mr. B, a third to Mr. C, a fourth to Mr. D, and so on, nearly half round the alphabet.

The student who values his health will practise study and exercise alternately. After reading a scene in Hamlet, I took a few strides across the room, and amused myself by repeating a part of his soliloquies. Such, for example, as

"How weary, flat, stale, and unprofitable
Seem to me all the uses of this world!"

Rachel, who dwelt underneath, marvelled greatly at the noise. Her penetration made her immediately conclude, that I was bu-

sied in praying; and in the morning my character was established for religion. "Ah!" said the old woman to her gaping auditors; "they may talk of this parson, or that parson, or the other parson, but our new coolmossa beats them all by a heap. Why 'tis as true as the mill is now going round, that he walks up and down, and prays the whole night long!"

Rachel, without carrying about her the mockery of woe, mourned very sensibly her husband. Let my page record the words of her affliction.

"I was reared at Port Tobacco. A heap of likely young fellows courted me, but I refused them all for the head coachman of counsellor Carter. He was a good husband; he made me the mother of eleven children. Woe to Rachel when he died. Oh! how I clap my hands and cry! but he's gone to the great Jehovah. I shall never forget it; 'twas at the pulling of corn-time. The poor creature was a little out of his head. He asked me if the corn was in tassel. In tassel, says I! God help you, you had some yesterday for dinner. But he changed the discourse, and he talked of the hymn-book, and parson Wems, and Powheek church. It was as good as any sarment! Dear sweet honey! He was a friend to the gospel; he loved the Church of England, and nobody can say they ever saw him go to the Quaker-meeting. Alack! Alack! My poor husband died the next morning; I knew his time was come; the whip-poor-will cried all night by the house, and I could not drive him away. God help us! Die come in every part of the world; Virginia, Maryland: black man! white man! all one day or another get their mouth full of yellow clay!"

Occoquan scarcely supplied more literature than Ovid's place of banishment on the black sea. But at Clearmount, near Fauquier court-house, lived a French gentleman of the name of Gerardine, whose reputation for the belles lettres, induced me to write to him from my solitude. I chose the French language for the vehicle of my thoughts, and enclosed in the letter the little book of poems I had published at New-York. The answer of Mr. Gerardine discovers an elegant mind.

"Monsieur,

"Dans cette solitude ou les muses se font si rarement entendre, vous concevrez aisément que l'envoi de vos jolis poemes a du exciter à la fois la surprize et le plaisir. Je compare votre present inattendu à un joli parterre dans un desert inculte et sauvage, dont l'email se seroit offert continuellement à ma vue.

"Continuez, Monsieur, à caresser les muses avec Horace et Anacreon; le tems reprendra ses ailes, vos heures en couleront

plus doucement, et vous ajouterez de nouvelles fleurs à la guirlande poétique dont vous êtes déjà couronnée. Ovide chantoit encore sur les bords lointains où la tyrannie d'Auguste l'avoit enchainée, et vous avez célébré Coosohatchie.

“ Je me suis fait un devoir de répondre à votre lettre obligeante dans une langue que vous écrivez si bien, et que sans l'envoi de ce que vous appelez trop modestement vos bagatelles, je vous eusse assurément pris pour un de mes compatriotes.

“ J' ai l'honneur d'être, Monsieur,

“ Votre très obeissant, très humble Serviteur,

“ C. GERARDINE.”

It was now I felt the bliss of having an enlightened friend to whom I could pour out my soul on paper, and enjoy the intercourse of spirit without the mediation of an earthly frame. My friendship with Mr. George was still unimpaired, and I consider it no small felicity that I have been able to preserve so many of his letters amidst the casualties to which the life of a wanderer is subject. The gloom of my solitude at Occoquan, was cheered by the sincerity of his friendship.

“ An epistle from Ovid among the Getæ to his friend at Rome, could not have imparted half the delight that your letter from Occoquan has given the companion of your adversity at New York. I had long expected a missive from ‘ the city in the woods*,’ and could only ascribe your silence to the distraction of business in your new office of secretary’s secretary; when suddenly is brought me a letter, dated at a place, which, however acute my researches into the geography of America, I never heard mentioned before. I thank you for the ode you did me the favour to enclose, it is an happy imitation of Cunningham’s manner; but the images are more pleasing, from having the grace of novelty to recommend them. Nor should I neglect to observe how much you have shewn your skill in making the word Occoquan the burden of your exordial and concluding stanzas; a practice never to be dispensed with in local poetry, as, without it, the poem would have no particular application, were the title to be lost.

“ Occoquan, from your description of it, must be a delightful spot, and in prophetic language I would declare, that your abode on the banks of that river will make the stream classical in the annals of literary history.

“ Let us continue, without failure, to write to each other. It will give life to our friendship, and soften the rigours of existence. Whatever we write, must partake much of the spirit of the places in which we live; but sentiments may arise from solitary reflec-

* Washington.

tion, which the multitudinous (a word you taught me) uproar of a city would rather suppress than excite."

They who delight in walking, must, during the summer in Virginia, embrace the night. The fierceness of the sun would suspend the steps of the hardest traveller; but amidst the freshness of the night, he breathes only odours in journeying through the woods.

No walk could be more delightful than that from Occoquan to Colchester, when the moon was above the mountains. You traverse the bank of a placid stream over which impend rocks, in some places bare, but more frequently covered with an odoriferous plant that regales the traveller with its fragrance.

So serpentine is the course of the river, that the mountains, which rise from its bank, may be said to form an amphitheatre; and nature seems to have designed the spot for the haunt only of fairies: for here grow flowers of purple dye, and here the snake throws her enamelled skin. But into what regions, however apparently inaccessible, has not adventurous man penetrated? The awful repose of the night is disturbed by the clack of two huge mills, which drown the song and echoes of the mocking-bird, who nightly tells his sorrows to the listening moon.

After clambering over mountains almost inaccessible to human toil, you come to the junction of the Occoquan with the noble river of the Potomac. Having slept one night at a house on its banks, I rose with the sun, and journeyed leisurely to the mills, catching refreshment from a light air that stirred the leaves of the trees. The morning was beautiful, and my walk produced a little ode, which will serve as a counterpart to that I have already inserted.

MORNING AT OCCOQUAN.—AN ODE.

IN the barn the cock proclaims
That the East is streak'd with gold;
Strutting round the feather'd dames,
Who the light with joy behold.

Sweet! Oh! sweet the breath of morn!
Sweet the mocking-songster's strain;
Where the waving stalks of corn
Bend beneath the ripen'd grain.

Lo! the martins now forsake,
For awhile their tender brood;
And the swallow skims the lake,
Each in search of winged food.

See the cottage chimneys smoke,
See the distant turrets gleam;
Lo! the farmer to the yoke,
Pairs his meek submissive team.

Here no negro tills the ground,
Trembling, weeping, woeful-wan;
Liberty is ever found,
On the banks of Occoquan!

On the north bank of the Occoquan is a pile of stones, which indicates that an Indian warrior is interred underneath. The Indians from the back settlements, in travelling to the northward, never fail to leave the main road, and visit the grave of their departed hero. If a stone be thrown down, they religiously restore it to the pile; and, sitting round the rude monument, they meditate profoundly; catching, perhaps, a local emotion from the place.

A party of Indians, while I was at Occoquan, turned from the common road into the woods, to visit this grave on the bank of the river.

The party was composed of an elderly chief, twelve young war captains, and a couple of squaws. Of the women, the youngest was an interesting girl of seventeen; remarkably well shaped, and possessed of a profusion of hair, which in colour was raven black. She appeared such another object as the mind images Pocahontas to have been. The people of Occoquan, with more curiosity than breeding, assembled round the party; but they appeared to be wholly indifferent to their gaze; the men amused themselves by chopping the ground with their tomahawks, and the women were busied in making a garment for the chief.

Among the whites was a young man of gigantic stature; he was, perhaps, a head taller than any of the rest of the company. The old Indian could not but remark the lofty stature of the man; he seemed to eye him involuntarily; and, at length, rising from the ground, he went up to the giant stranger, and shook him by the hand. This raised a loud laugh from all the lookers-on; but the Indians still maintained an inflexible gravity.

When I saw the squaws a second time, they were just come from their toilet. Woman throughout the world delights ever in finery; the great art is to suit the colours to the complexion.

The youngest girl would have attracted notice in any circle of Europe. She had fastened to her long dark hair a profusion of ribbons, which the bounty of the people of Occoquan had heaped upon her; and, the tresses of this Indian beauty, which before

had been confined round her head, now rioted luxuriantly down her shoulders and back. The adjustment of her dress one would have thought she had learned from some English female of fashion; for she had left it so open before, that the most inattentive eye could not but discover the rise and fall of a bosom just beginning to fill.

The covering of this young woman's feet rivetted the eye of the stranger with its novelty and splendour. Nothing could be more delicate than her mocassins. They were each of them formed of a single piece of leather, having the seams ornamented with beads and porcupine quills; while a string of scarlet ribbon confined the mocassin round the instep, and made every other part of it sit close to the foot. The mocassin was of a bright yellow, and made from the skin of a deer, which had been killed by the arrow of one of the Indian youths.

About eight miles from the Occoquan mills is a house of worship, called Powheek church; a name it derives from a run* that flows near its walls. Hither I rode on Sundays and joined the congregation of parson Wems, a minister of the episcopal persuasion, who was cheerful in his mien, that he might win men to religion.

A Virginian church-yard on a Sunday, resembles rather a race ground than a sepulchral ground; the ladies come to it in carriages, and the men, after dismounting from their horses, make them fast to the trees. But the steeples to the Virginian churches were designed not for utility, but ornament; for the bell is always suspended to a tree a few yards from the church. It is also observable, that the gate to the church-yard is ever carefully locked by the sexton, who retires last; so that had Hervey and Gray been born in America, the preacher of peace could not have indulged in his meditations among the tombs; nor the poet produced the elegy that has secured him immortality.

Wonder and ignorance are ever reciprocal. I was confounded on first entering the church-yard at Powheek to hear

"Steed threaten steed with high and boastful neigh."

Nor was I less stunned with the rattling of carriage-wheels, the cracking of whips, and the vociferations of the gentlemen to the negroes who accompanied them. But the discourse of parson Wems calmed every perturbation; for he preached the great doctrines of salvation, as one who had experienced their power. It was easy to discover that he felt what he said; and indeed so uniform was his piety, that he might have applied to himself the

* A Run is the American for a rivulet.

words of the prophet: "My mouth shall be telling of the righteousness and salvation of Christ all the day long; for I know no end thereof."

Of the congregation at Powheek church, about one half was composed of white people, and the other of negroes. Among many of the negroes were to be discovered the most satisfying evidences of sincere piety; an artless simplicity; and an earnest endeavour to know and to do the will of God. After church I made my salutations to parson Wems, and having turned the discourse to divine worship, I asked him his opinion of the piety of the blacks. "Sir," said he, "no people in this country prize the sabbath more seriously than the trampled-upon negroes. They are swift to hear; they seem to hear as for their lives. They are wakeful, serious, reverent, and attentive; and gladly embrace opportunities of hearing the Scriptures.

I had been three months at Occoquan, when I so often caught myself stretching, yawning, and exhibiting other symptoms of ennui, in my chair, that I began to be of opinion it was time to change my residence. My condition was growing irksome. There was no light airy vision of a female disciple with expressive dark eyes to consider my instructions oracular; but I was surrounded by a throng of oafs, who read their lessons with the same tone that Punch makes when he squeaks through a comb.

I therefore resigned my place to an old drunken Irishman of the name of Burbridge, who was travelling the country on foot in search of an academy; and whom friend Ellicott made no scruple to engage, though, when the fellow addressed him, he was so drunk that he could with difficulty stand on his legs.

I remonstrated with friend Ellicott on the impropriety of employing a sot to educate his children. "Friend," said he, "of all the school-masters I ever employed, none taught my children to write so good a hand as a man who was constantly in a state that bordered on intoxication. They learned more of him in one month, than of any other in a quarter. I will make trial of Burbridge."

CHAP. IX.

Return from Occoquan to New-York. Visit to Mr. George on Long Island. Meditations among the Tombs. I go to Baltimore. An exchange of Letters with the Vice-President. A Walk to Washington. Congress assembled. Debates. Politeness of the Vice-President. A Journey on Foot into Virginia by the Great Falls of the Potomac. Get benighted. A hospitable Reception at a Log-house in the Woods. A Cast-away Sailor restored to the bosom of his Family. The Story of Jack Strangeways.

IT was not without emotion that I quitted the banks of the Occoquan; those banks on which I had passed so many tranquil hours in study and meditation. I was about to exchange the quiet of solitude for the tumult of the world; and was posting I knew not whither, without any object to my journeying.

I pass over the common occurrences of the road to Washington; the contributions levied on my purse by the landlords of Alexandria, and those of the imperial city; but at Baltimore an accident happened, which I have still, under every combination of circumstance, in my memory's eye.

I had left Peck's tavern in the stage-coach at a very early hour of the morning, when before we had proceeded half way down Market-street, one of the fore-wheels came off. The driver, on whose presence of mind the safety of the passengers depended, deserted his post in the moment of danger, and leaped from his seat. The horses being without any check, accelerated their pace, and I can only compare their speed to the rapidity of lightning. This was an awful moment. I expected every moment to be dashed in pieces; and determined to make one effort for my life, I leaped from the carriage into the street; an example that was soon followed by two other passengers. In my eagerness to clear the wheels, I leaped further than was necessary, and received a bruise in my forehead: but one of the other passengers was mangled by the flints in the road.

On looking up I could perceive nothing but a flame before me, produced by the horses whose shoes struck fire as they flew; I followed the carriage with the third passenger, who had escaped unhurt, solicitous to know the fate of a sailor and a boy whom we had left in the coach. We overtook it at Chinquopin-hill, where the horses in their ascent had slackened their pace; and

found the sailor and the boy holding the panting cattle by the reins. I congratulated them on their escape, but when I asked the sailor, Why he had not jumped from the carriage? "Avast there," said the tar, "more people are lost by taking to the boat, than sticking by the wreck; I always stick to the wreck!"

A fresh coach and horses conveyed us to Chester, where I supped with Monsieur Pichon, ambassador from France to America; and the next morning arrived at Philadelphia to breakfast.

I sojourned a week at Philadelphia, collecting what money was due to me for the sale of my novel.

From Philadelphia I travelled to New-York, partly by water, and partly by land. In the passage-boat to Burlington was a sweet girl of seventeen, whose voice was music; and who observed that the Pennsylvania shore of the Delaware, was much more pleasant than the Jersey side.

We got to Burlington a little before the going down of the sun. It is built on the Delaware. A fellow-passenger was going to Canada, and was accompanied on the road with two waggons loaded with bale goods.

From Amboy, which terminated our land travelling, we embarked for New York, where I found a kind reception at the house of Major Howe. The next day I hastened on the wings of friendship to Mr. George, who was still employed on Long Island in his sublime academy.

I found him walking and meditating near the Dutch church. He received me with transports. We repaired to his house, where I recounted to him my adventures; but he was impatient of my recital, and eagerly changed the subject to Homer, whose Iliad he made his manual. Nor did he forget to inquire if I had multiplied my wealth by school-keeping at Occoquan; rightly reflecting, that the man who wants money, wants every thing.

My friend did not hear a word that I answered. He sat studious and abstracted. You have approved, said he, my elegy over the grave of a stranger in the woods of Owendaw. I have made an epitaph on a similar subject.

" Like a tree in a valley unknown,
In a region of strangers I fell;
No bosom my fate to bemoan,
Nor friend my sad story to tell,"

I did not fail to visit my old friends on Long Island. Parson Vandyke was afflicted with the jaundice, but his wife was still as notable and narrative as ever. Farmer Titus had lost none of his accustomed hospitality; nor was farmer Moore less kind to the stranger within his gates. Mr. Remsen continued to regale

his guests with Madeira, and his sons were increasing their ideas under the tuition of my literary friend. Nor were the daughters of these worthy people less lovely, or less amiable. Joy be to Newtown; joy to its rosy damsels; and may heaven preserve their charms from decay!

I remained a week on Long Island, enjoying a renovation of intellectual felicity with Mr. George, when impatient of being without any determined pursuit, I again departed for the southward. It was Sept. 21, 1801; a day I shall ever remember in the annals of my life, as it was a day of separation from a more than fraternal friend, whom I have never since seen.

I embarked in the passage-boat for Amböy, from whence I travelled in the stage-coach to Burlington, with a sea-faring man, and an Indian trader.

Resuming our journey, a few miles brought us to Penhausen-creek, remarkable for its circular form, and transparent stream; and a little beyond it we stopped at a public-house, where a very pretty lively young woman was rocking her babe to sleep. Our journey was now soon terminated, for in another hour we reached the Jersey bank of the Delaware, and were conducted in a large boat across the river to Philadelphia, where I separated without regret from my ruffian companions. I was received into the house of Madame de Florian, in whose company I wanted no domestic entertainment.

The name of Madame de Florian announces her to be a French woman. She lived in North third-street, with her two daughters, of whom one was between seventeen and eighteen, the other, three years younger, and a son of five. My introduction to this family was curious.

At Fouquet's gardens, rambling one afternoon in the shade, puffing volcanoes of smoke from my segar, and indulging the most splendid reveries; I suddenly came upon Madame de Florian and her two daughters, who were drinking peaceably their coffee in one of the alcoves, while the little boy was fondling a lap-dog on the grass.

The spectacle of this interesting groupe suspended my steps, which being observed by the child, the little rogue danced towards me, and insisted upon having my segar.

The mother and sisters rebuked the child, but I instantly delivered my segar to him, and bowing, was about to pursue my ramble round the gardens, when Madame de Florian, with that grace of manner so peculiar to a French woman, accosted me with "*Peut etre, Monsieur nous fera l'honneur de prendre une tasse de caffe?*"

I bowed my acquiescence, and seated myself next the eldest daughter, who welcomed my approach with a smile of enchantment. And now all that I had read of a Mahometan paradise rushed into my mind. The garden of Monsieur Fouquet was the blissful region, and Mademoiselle de Florian the *houri*.

It is to Mademoiselle de Florian and a few other of her countrywomen, that the young ladies of Philadelphia owe their present graceful mien. The revolution in France produced a revolution in the walk of the Philadelphia damsels. Formerly the American ladies did not sacrifice to elegance in their walk; or, more properly speaking, they were without a model to form themselves upon. But when the revolution drove so many of the Gallic damsels to the banks of the Delaware, the American girls blushed at their own awkwardness; and each strove to copy that swimming air, that nonchalance, that ease and apparent unconsciousness of being observed, which characterized the French young ladies as they passed through the streets. Men and women ran to their windows and involuntarily exclaimed—Look at that girl! How beautifully she walks! An American girl commonly throws me into a fit of profound thought, a French girl, on the contrary, banishes all abstraction from my thoughts.

I accompanied Madame de Florian and her family home; nor did I discover without secret rapture, that this lady took boarders. She confined her number to two; there was nobody now in the house but one old gentleman, for a young officer who had lately occupied *une chambre garnie*, was gone to Saint Domingo. There was consequently space left for another, but how to get possession of this enviable spot without an introduction was the rub. At length, the present lodger made his appearance in the shape of Monsieur Lartigue,—whom I had accompanied once from Philadelphia to Charleston in the packet.

I desired Mons. Lartigue to introduce me to Madame de Florian and her daughters; their countenances brightened, my proposal of becoming a lodger was accepted with, “You do us honour!” and when the porter brought my trunks, I heard Adelaide direct him what room to carry them into, with a kind of Saint-Preuxish emotion.

Month of happiness that I passed under the same roof with Adelaide de Florian! Happiness never to return beneath the cloudy sky that now frowns on me as I look towards it.

At the Indian Queen in Fifth street, (every sign in the United States, is either an Indian queen, or a spread eagle), I sometimes lounged away an hour with some young men from Charleston, “Where do you board,” they all asked me,—With a French

lady.—“Some Creole, I suppose.—Why not take your quarters up here? I hate French customs. They never drink tea unless they are sick.”

And what were the customs of these young gentlemen who plumed themselves upon their knowledge of mankind, and their travelled air? When not engaged with eating, they were sitting in the street before the door of the Indian queen, drinking punch cooled with ice, and obscured in volumes of tobacco-smoke. It is true, their discourse did not turn on bullocks. But they were either laughing over their nocturnal adventures in Mulatto-alley, at Charleston; or recommending to each other the different brothels at Philadelphia. Nor was the stream of their conversation ever diverted, unless some young lady (who, finding the pavement blockaded by their chairs, was compelled to walk in the carriage-road), called forth the exclamation of “That’s a fine girl! So is that coming up the street now. There are no snakes if Philadelphia does not beat Charleston hollow! See there again, at the tailor’s window. Harry! I’ll go over and get measured for a coat to-morrow.”

Not being able to obtain any employment at Philadelphia, I thought it best to embark for Baltimore, and I took my passage in the Newcastle packet. The wind was fair, the sky serene, the water smooth, and we passed Chester and Wilmington with great rapidity.

A good dinner on board the packet, and the conversation of a motley groupe, enlivened my spirits; and I provoked the laughter of the master of a ship lying at Newcastle, whose fore-top sail was loose, and whose destination was London. How my heart danced at the sound of that name! How my fancy conjured up the Thames, and the spires of the city to my view! How delectably did I behold myself seated in the bosom of my friends, and how appalled was I when these illusions vanished, and I perceived before me the shores of Pennsylvania and New-Jersey!

We landed at Newcastle, and were bounded in two coaches to French-town, which is a journey of sixteen miles. We stopped to bait our cattle at Glasgow, and at French-town found a surly landlord, and sorry accommodations. Our number was sixteen; and for sixteen passengers there were only six beds; hence the large beds lodged three, and the small beds two passengers. For my part, there being a good fire, I proposed to sit up all night and make an Indian file with our feet to the fender; but sleep overcame me, and I retired to bed. It is not unworthy of remark, that the landlord would not suffer cards to be played in his house; and that the negro-girl, who waited at supper, wear-

ing a man's hat; a Quaker in company aspired to be witty by calling her Cæsar.

The following morning we all embarked again for Baltimore; and on the passage an American diverted the company by producing a favourite cat that he had taken from the landlord, (who had refused him a pack of cards) and making the poor animal eat a yard or more of tobacco. His method was ingenious. He placed the cat over a chair, and confining forcibly her feet, untwisted a roll of tobacco; the cat in the agony of pain snapped at any thing that was offered her, and the mountebank traveller ministered his tobacco.

We dined again on the water. Among the passengers was a pretty, modest, blushing maiden of fifteen, whose manners were not inelegant; but it is somewhat curious that whenever she wanted the salt, or mustard, she begged some one to shove it to her.

Pool's Island is half-way to Baltimore, which we passed about noon: but in the evening we got round Fell's Point, and at eight secured our vessel at Bowly's wharf; having Federal-hill on our opposite side.

The true use of speech, is not to express our wants, but to conceal them; and in conformity with this maxim, I kept it a profound secret on my landing at Baltimore, that I had very little money left in my pocket. I accompanied with affected gaiety a young fellow to the city of Strasburgh, who told me he always lodged there, and extolled the house for its convenience, and the landlord for his civility.

Mr. Wyant received us with a smile of welcome, and supper being ready, ushered us into a room, where twenty guests were sitting at table, who appeared to be mutes; for no man uttered a syllable, but each seemed by his looks to have just come out from the cave of Trophonius.

I had advertised in the Baltimore paper for the place of domestic tutor, and one morning, while I was standing before the door of the City of Strasburgh, the bar-keeper brought me a note very carefully sealed. I eagerly took it from his hand impressed with an idea that it was sent me by some opulent merchant who wanted an instructor for his children; when on opening the note, it produced what Rabelais calls the most gloomy of all moments, the payment of a landlord's reckoning.

"Sir,—According to the custom of the house, Mr. Wyant has requested me to send in your bill.—To eight days board, at 9s. 4d.——3l. 14s. 8d.

"I am, for Mr. Wyant, John Kellen."

I had been informed that Mr. Burr was at the Federal city, forty-three miles from Baltimore. I wrote to him by the post, and the next mail brought me an answer. Mr. Burr required of me an estimate of the expenses of my late travels, which he proposed immediately to reimburse.

I retired to my room, and computed my unavoidable expenses on the road, from the day I crossed the Hudson, till I descended the treasury stairs at the imperial city. The answer of the vice-president will show, that he did not think himself overcharged.

Dear Sir,—You men of letters are the worst calculators in the world. I am persuaded I only discharge a just debt, when I enclose double your amount.

Accept the assurances of my regard,

AARON BURR.

At this letter my pride took alarm. It produced from me an answer, and a restitution of half the bills.

Being proffered a situation in a part of Virginia I had not visited, and having it in my power to journey at my leisure by the friendship of the vice-president, I departed without regret from Baltimore, on foot and alone.

It was the latter part of March when I left the once flourishing town of Baltimore, and again directed my steps towards the imperial city.

I arrived at Elk-Ridge landing, where I supped at a genteel tavern with the hostess and her sister, who are remarkable for the elegance of their manners. I found the "Old Manor-house" of Charlotte Smith lying on the table, of which the concluding part seemed to have been well read.

The next day I resumed my walk; refreshing myself at Spurrier's, dining at Dent's, and sleeping at Drummond's, three public-houses on the road which the traveller passes in succession.

The next morning proceeding forward, I reached Bladensburg before the going down of the sun; and at night-fall to my great satisfaction I entered the imperial city.

Congress was assembled at Washington, and I was constant in my attendance on the Senate and the House of Representatives. The senate chamber is by far the most superb room in the capitol, but the house of representatives is a detached and temporary building. Yet, I loved best to visit the house of representatives; there seemed to be so much energy and freedom of debate. It is unknown I presume to few of my readers that the Vice-president of the United States is President of the senate. Mr. Burr was presiding in the chair, and no man knew better the routine of the house, or how to acquit himself with more dignity than he.

I watched an opportunity to make the vice-president my salutations as he came out of the Capitol. I remembered the advice which old Polonius gave his son when he was about to travel, and I was then travelling myself.—

“The friends thou hast, and their adoption try’d,
Grapple them to thy soul with hooks of steel.”

The vice-president demonstrated no little pleasure to see me, and his chariot being at the steps of the Capitol, he took me home with him to dine. I forget how many members of congress were present at the dinner; but, though republicans, I did not think they had all an equal voice, for some spoke much louder than others.

The most eloquent in debate was Mr. Randolph. He spoke full an hour for the repeal of the tax on domestic distilled liquors; that is, whiskey, and peach and apple brandy. At the conclusion of the debate the speaker very solemnly exclaimed—“They who are for the repeal are to say aye! and they who are against it are to say no.” The affirmative monosyllable immediately resounded from every quarter of the building. Aye! Aye! Aye! followed in rapid succession; upon which the speaker with much gravity proclaimed, “The ayes have it! The bill has passed!”

Having amused myself a few days at the imperial city, I rose with the sun, and pursued my journey along the banks of the Potomac. About nine in the morning I reached the bridge at the Little Falls.

Near the bridge at the Little Falls my journey was suspended by the rain, and I found a reception in the tavern of Mr. Slimner, a German, who at the age of threescore was smitten by a young English woman, whom he had taken for his wife, and who had brought him a child.

The rain not remitting its violence, I was obliged to pass the night under the roof of this fond couple, whom I, however, left at an early hour the next morning to prosecute my journey; purposing to take the more circuitous road of the Great Falls of the Potomac.

About noon I reached the cross roads, and taking to the right, I could every minute hear more distinctly the roar of the Great Falls. At length I came to a spacious stream called “Difficult Run;” an appellation derived from the difficulty in crossing it. But no place could be more romantic.

I was in suspense whether to ford this run, or wait for a guide on its bank, when I descried two boys on the opposite shore who obeyed my call with alacrity; leaping from rock to rock, till they reached the spot where I stood. With the assistance of a

pole they conducted me to the opposite bank, where I learned that one of my young guides was called Basil Hurdle, and the other Jack Miller.

I beheld the course of a large river abruptly obstructed by rocks, over which it was breaking with a tremendous roar; while the foam of the water seemed ascending to the clouds, and the shores that confined it to tremble at the convulsion. I gazed for some time in silent awe at this war of elements, when having recovered from my admiration, I could not help exclaiming to the Great Maker of heaven and of earth, "Lord! What is man that thou art mindful of him, or the son of man, that thou regardest him!"

A little below the Falls, on the bank of the Potomac, stand a few scattered buildings, which form a kind of hamlet called Charlotteville. The first settler in this savage wilderness was the lady of General Lee, from whose Christian name the place takes its appellation.

At a house of entertainment kept by widow Myers, I was accommodated with a supper and a bed. This buxom widow was by persuasion a methodist, and possessed of considerable property.

On leaving the Great Falls of the Potomac, I was followed by a dog, whose attendance I rather encouraged than repulsed. I was tired of travelling alone, and I wanted a companion. An European who has confined his travels to his own country, can have but a very imperfect idea of the forest scenery of America. I never remember to have felt a more perfect exemption from care than in my journey from the Potomac Falls. I rioted in health, and I walked forward "*oblitus meorum et obliviscendus ab illis.*" I embraced the universe as my country, and it was wholly indifferent to me where I terminated my pilgrimage; for whether I ended my days in the wilds of the Potomac, or the close of Salisbury, "the earth and its bands would have been about me for ever."

I ate my dinner in a log-house on the road. It was kept by a small planter of the name of Homer. Such a tavern would have raised the thunder and lightning of anger in some of my brother-travellers. But in a country where every private-house is a temple of hospitality, and open alike to travellers of every description, ought it to excite surprise that so few good taverns are to be found.

Leaving the hut of Mr. Homer, I walked vigorously forwards indulging the hope I should get to Frying-Pan before night. But before dusk, I found myself bewildered in the woods, whose so-

litude was rendered more melancholy from the cry of the owl. I had given myself up for lost, and was taking a flint from my pocket to kindle a fire, and pass the night under a tree, when the sound of the axe chopping wood rejoiced my hearing. Not more delightful was sleep ever to the weary, or water to the thirsty, than the sound to my ear.

Guided by the noise of the axe, I got to a tobacco plantation; but I had scarce leaped the fence when a couple of huge dogs assailed me, barking, advancing and retreating, all in a breath. Now, thought I, if these curs were to devour me, what an ignominious death would terminate my pilgrimage on earth. Fear is not only an ignoble, but dangerous passion; and had I turned and endeavoured to escape from these blood-hounds, it is a hundred to one but I had been seized in that part where honour is said to be lodged.

I, therefore, stood my ground, and called lustily to the house. My cry was not unheard; the door was opened, and a lad advanced with a light, which he had fixed in a calabash.

The way, my friend, if you please, to Frying-Pan.

"Frying-Pan! 'Tis a difficult road, Sir, in the dark. You must keep along the worm-fence, (i. e. crooked), till you come to a barn. You must then take the path that leads into the woods, till you come to the track of the wheel; then cross right over into the next wood."

My friend, will you favour me with a glass of water. This was answered by a hearty invitation into the house.

On entering the log-house, I found a man sitting with his wife and five children, before a blazing fire of wood. Hospitality is the prominent feature in the character of a Virginian; and I had a presentiment that I was housed for the night. When I had drunk my water, which tasted the more delicious, from being administered to me by a fine girl of seventeen, I rose to depart; but the man of the house accosted me, saying, "Be content, I pray you, and tarry here all night; the day is grown to an end: to-morrow I will send my son to put you in the way."

The children now considered me as one of the family, and, moving their chairs, made room for me to come within their circle.

Supper (that is tea) was now got ready; nor was it without a grateful emotion that I beheld the mother of this worthy family unlock her Sunday cupboard, and hand her eldest daughter part of a loaf of sugar to break for the repast.

Wilmot, the eldest son, now departed. I discovered afterwards, that he was courting the daughter of Mr. Strangeways' neighbour,

whom he never failed to visit after the labour of the day. It was plain he was a lover, by the care he took in adorning his person.

After supper we again drew round the fire.—I had for some time perceived an unusual blaze in the chimney; but supposing it to come from an oven, I said not a word. At length the good woman exclaimed, The plague! there's our chimney on fire again. We must pull down the rubbish, or we shall get no peace.

Mr. Strangeways now rose with great composure, and seizing a large staff, went out to the back of the chimney, where he raked away the rubbish; while Mary, catching up a gourd, filled it thrice with water, and helped to extinguish the conflagration.

As the night advanced, I could not but meditate upon the place my worthy host designed for my repose. I formed a hundred conjectures, he surely would not cherish me in the bosom of his numerous family? And yet I could perceive only one room in the house.

There were three beds in the room. Of these I discovered that the back one belonged to the two eldest girls; for while Mr. Strangeways, his wife, and I were yawning in concert over the fire, I perceived Mary, from the corner of my eye, steal softly to her nest, and slip in under the clothes; an example that was quickly followed by Eliza, who, with equal archness, crept in by her side.

At length Mr. Strangeways asked me if I was willing to go to bed, and, upon my replying in the affirmative, he fetched a ladder from an out-house into the room, and having placed it against the wall, he ascended a few steps, and opened a trap-door in the rafters, which I had not perceived led to a cock-loft.

Did you ever mount a ship's ladder, said Mr. Strangeways?

I replied, that I had a thousand.

Then, said he, be kind enough to follow me.

I followed, without betraying the least emotion of surprise; none but a rustic would have uttered an exclamation at the novelty of the stair-case. I found a decent bed in the room appropriated to my reception; and when Mr. Strangeways had opened and closed the shutter of the window; the worthy man bade me a good night, and left me to my repose. I soon fell asleep.

I rose the next morning with the sun, and descended my ladder. The family were all stirring. The father and sons were at the plough, the mother was getting ready breakfast, and the two girls were at their spinning-wheels. The sound of these instruments was not quite so harmonious as that of a piano; but I know not whether a woodland nymph giving rapid motion to her spinning-wheel, be not a more captivating object than a haughty

town-dame running her fingers disdainfully over the keys of a harpsichord.

The morning was ushered in with rain, which continued throughout the day. I therefore continued housed, and opposed but feebly Mr. Strangeways' invitation to tarry another night under his roof. I passed the day in talking with Mary.

We had breakfasted next morning, and the old man had gone to cultivate his tobacco, when I rose to go. The mother and Mary were the only tenants of the log-house. I wish, said the worthy woman, that my son was here. The gentleman will never find his way out of the woods. My daughter, put on your bonnet, and shew the gentleman the way to the main-road. Mary rose with alacrity, she slipped on her bonnet; and, having taken a parting look at the glass, conducted me through the plantation. I gave the little wood-nymph my arm, and we walked forward together. The mocking-bird was singing; his song never appeared to me so sweet before.

At length, after walking half a mile, we emerged from the wood, and reached the track of the wheel. And now Mary, said I, farewell. And let my advice go with you. Confide not for ornament in the rings that hang to thy ears, but in the virtue that dwells in thy bosom. For when thou art deceived, though thou clothest thyself in crimson, though thou deckest thee with the ornaments of gold, though thou rentest thy face with painting, in vain shalt thou be fair.

After walking a mile and a half, I met a boy sauntering along, and whistling, probably, for want of thought. How far, my boy, said I, is it to Frying-Pan? You be in the Pan now, replied the oaf. I be, be I, said I. Very well.

Frying-Pan is composed of four log-huts and a meeting-house. It took its name from a curious circumstance. Some Indians having encamped on the run, missed their frying-pan in the morning, and hence the name was conferred on the place.

I did not deign to stop at Frying-Pan, but prosecuted my walk to the next hamlet; where in the piazza of Mr. Thornton's tavern, I found a party of gentlemen from the neighbouring plantations carousing over a bowl of toddy, and smoking segars. No people could exceed these men in politeness. On my ascending the steps to the piazza every countenance seemed to say, This man has a double claim to our attention; for he is a stranger in the place. A gentleman is in every country the same.

My pilgrimage was now nearly at an end; for Mr. Ball's plantation was only distant eight miles.

CHAP. X.

Memoir of my Life in the Woods of Virginia. Reception at Pohoke. An old Field-School. A Fair Disciple. Evening Scene on a Plantation. Story of Dick the Negro, &c. &c.

THE rugged and dreary road from the last hamlet to Newmarket in Prince William county, is bordered by gloomy woods, where the natives of the State cultivate on their plantations Indian corn, wheat, tobacco, and rye.

Having come to Bull-Run, I stopped at a kind of waggoner's tavern on its border, to inquire the way to the plantation. Old Flowers, the landlord, reeled out of his log-hut, but was too much intoxicated to make a coherent reply; so, giving my steed his head, I was all passive to his motions, till overtaking an old negro-man, I demanded the road to Mr. Ball's. The old negro was clad in rags, if rags can be called clothing; he was a squalid figure of sixty, and halted as he walked; he was grunting somewhat in the manner of an old hog at an approaching shower of rain; and he carried a hickory stick in his right hand, with which he was driving the cattle home from pasture.

The conversation of the negro held me engaged till we got to the plantation; I then gave him my horse, and walked through the garden to the house.

Mr. Ball received me with undissembled accents of joy; he said he had long expected my coming, and was gratified at last. A nod to a mulatto boy placed refreshments on the side-board, and in a few minutes the family assembled to take a peep at the schoolmaster.

The first impression made by Mr. Ball, decided that he was a gentleman; and I was not a little delighted with the suavity of his manners, and elegance of his conversation.

When the children withdrew, I entered on the terms of my proposed engagement, and presented to him a letter which I had been honoured with from Mr. Jefferson. I knew my host to be a Virginian who favoured the administration, and thought a letter from the President would operate upon him like witchcraft. But I was unacquainted with my man. Mr. Ball was not to be biassed by the whistling of a name; he read my letter more from complaisance than any motive of curiosity; observed, that a man's conduct could alone decide his character; congratulated himself upon the acquisition of a man of letters in his family; and offered to engage me for a twelvemonth, at a salary of a hun-

dred guineas. I acknowledged the honour he did me, and engaged with him for a quarter of a year.

The following day every farmer came from the neighbourhood to the house, who had any children to send to my academy, for such they did me the honour to term the log-but in which I was to teach. Each man brought his son or his daughter, and no price was too great for the services I was to render their children.

I now opened what some called an academy*, and others an Old Field school; and, however it may be thought that content was never felt within the walls of a seminary, I, for my part, experienced an exemption from care, and was not such a fool as to measure the happiness of my condition by what others thought of it.

It was pleasurable to behold my pupils enter the school over which I presided; for they were not composed only of truant boys, but some of the fairest damsels in the country. Two sisters generally rode on one horse to the school-door, and I was not so great a pedagogue as to refuse them my assistance to dismount from their steeds. A running-footman of the negro-tribe, who followed with their food in a basket, took care of the beast; and after being saluted by the young ladies with the curtsies of the morning, I proceeded to instruct them, with gentle exhortations to diligence of study.

Of the boys I cannot speak in very encomiastic terms; but they were, perhaps like all other school-boys, that is, more disposed to play truant, than enlighten their minds. The most important knowledge to an American, after that of himself, is the geography of his country. I, therefore, put into the hands of my boys a proper book.

Among my male students was a New Jersey gentleman of thirty, whose object was to be initiated in the language of Cicero

* It is worth the while to describe the academy I occupied on Mr. Ball's plantation. It had one room and a half. It stood on blocks about two feet and a half above the ground, where was free access to the hogs, the dogs, and the poultry. It had no ceiling; nor was the roof lathed or plastered; but covered with shingles. Hence, when it rained, like the nephew of old Elwes, I moved my bed (for I slept in my academy) to the most comfortable corner. It had one window, but no glass or shutter. In the night to remedy this, the mulatto wench who waited on me, contrived very ingeniously to place a square board against the window with one hand, and fix the rail of a broken down fence against it with the other. In the morning, when I returned from breakfasting in the "great house," (my scholars being collected), I gave the rail a forcible kick with my foot, and down tumbled the board with an awful roar. "Is not my window," said I to Virginia, "of a very curious construction?" "Indeed, indeed, Sir," replied my fair disciple, "I think it is a mighty noisy one."

and Virgil. Such was the affectation or simplicity of this man, that he expressed his fears the English students would interrupt his acquirement of Latin. Not knowing whether to storm or laugh, I advised him to retire with his books into Maddison's cave.

I never saw slavery wear so contented an aspect as on Pohoke plantation. The work of the slaves was light, and punishment never inflicted. A negro, who had run away, being brought back by a person who recognized him, he was asked by Mr. Ball the reason of his elopement. Because, said the fellow, I was born to travel. This man I presume was a predestinarian. On the Sabbath the negroes were at liberty to visit their neighbours.

Of my female students there was none equal in capacity to Virginia. The mind of this fair creature was susceptible of every culture; but it had been neglected, and I opened to her worlds of sentiment and knowledge.

Geography was one of our favourite studies. The greatest trifler can scarce inspect a map without learning something; but my lovely pupil always rose from it with a considerable accession of knowledge. Imparting such new ideas was no undelightful employment, and I often addressed my rose of May in an appropriate ode.

ODE TO VIRGINIA, LOOKING OVER A MAP.

POWERFUL as the magic wand,
 Displaying far each distant land,
 Is that angel-hand to me,
 When it points each realm and sea.
 Plac'd in geographic mood,
 Smiling, shew the pictur'd flood,
 Where along the Red Sea sea-coast,
 Waves o'erwhelm'd the Egyptian host.
 Again the imag'd scene survey,
 The rolling Hellespontic Sea;
 Whence the Persian from the shore,
 Proudly pass'd his millions o'er.
 See! that little isle afar
 Of Salamis renown'd in war;
 Swelling high the trump of fame
 With glory and eternal shame.
 And behold to nearer view,
 Here thy own lov'd country too;
 Virginia! which produc'd to me,
 A pupil fair and bright like thee!

I frequently protracted the studies of the children till one, or

half past one o'clock; a practice that did not fail to call forth the exclamations both of the white and the black people. Upon my word, Mr. Ball would say, this gentleman is diligent; and aunt Patty the negro cook would remark, "He good cool-mossa that; he not like old Hodgkinson and old Harris, who let the boys out before twelve. He deserve good wages!"

My recreation after school in the evening was to sit and meditate before my door, in the open air, while the vapours of a friendly pipe administered to my philosophy. In silent gravity I listened to the negro calling to his steers returning from labour, or contemplated the family groupe on the grass-plot before the dwelling-house, of whom the father was tuning his violin, the mother and daughters at their needles, and the boys running and tumbling in harmless mirth upon the green. Before me was an immense forest of stately trees; the cat was sitting on the barn-door; the fire-fly was on the wing, and the whip-poor-will in lengthened cries was hailing the return of night.

I was now, perhaps, called to supper, and enjoyed the society of Mr. Ball and his family till the hour of their repose, when I returned to my log-hut, and resumed my pipe before the door.

A skilful chymist will endeavour to extract good from every substance, and I declined not the conversation of a man because his face differed in colour from my own. Old Dick, the negro, whom I had met on the road, never failed to visit my cell in the evening, and the purpose of his visit was to obtain a dram of whiskey. Dick said that it comforted him, and I never withheld my comfort from him.

As I considered old Dick a much greater philosopher than many of his white brethren who have written volumes on resignation under misfortunes, but could never bear the tooth-ache patiently; I always put him upon talking about himself, and one evening when he came to see me, I desired he would relate to me the story of his life.

STORY OF DICK THE NEGRO.

"I was born at a plantation on the Rappahannoc river. It was the pulling of corn time, when 'squire Musgrove was governor of Virginia. I have no mixed blood in my veins; I am no half and half breed; no chesnut sorrel of a mulatto; but my father and mother both came over from Guinea.

"When I was old enough to work, I was put to look after the horses. 'Squire Sutherland had a son who rode every fall to look at a plantation on James river, which was under the care of an overseer. Young master could not go without somebody on

another horse to carry his saddle-bags, and I was made his groom.

“ This young chap, Sir, (here Dick winked his left eye), was a trimmer. The first thing he did on getting out of bed was to call for a julep*; and I honestly date my own love of whiskey from mixing and tasting my young master’s juleps. But this was not all. He was always upon the scent after game, and mighty *ficious* when he got among the negur wenches. He used to say, that a likely negur wench was fit to be a queen; and I forget how many queens he had among the girls on the two plantations.

“ The young ’squire did not live long. He was for a short life and a merry one. He was killed by a drunken negur man, who found him over *ficious* with his wife. The negur man was hanged alive upon a gibbet. It was the middle of summer; the sun was full upon him; the negur lolled out his tongue, his eyes seemed starting from their sockets, and for three long days his only cry was water! water! water!

“ The old gentleman took on to grieve mightily at the death of his son; he wished that he had sent him to Britain for his education; but after-wit is of no use; and he followed his son to that place where master and man, planter and slave, must all at last lie down together.

“ The plantation and negurs now fell to the lot of a second son, who had gone to Edinburgh to learn the trade of a doctor. He was not like ’squire Tommy, he seemed to be carved out of different wood. The first thing he did on his return from Britain, was to free all the old negur people on the plantation, and settle each on a patch of land. He tended the sick himself, gave them medicine, healed their wounds, and encouraged every man, woman, and child, to go to a meeting-house, that every Sunday was opened between our plantation and Fredericksburgh. Every thing took a change. The young wenches, who, in master Tommy’s time, used to put on their drops, and their bracelets, and ogle their eyes, now looked down like modest young women, and carried their gewgaws in their pockets till they got clear out of the woods. He encouraged matrimony on the plantation, by settling each couple in a log-house, on a wholesome patch of land; hired a schoolmaster to teach the children, and to every one that could say his letters, gave a Testament with cuts. This made me bold to marry, and I looked out sharp for a wife. I had before quenched my thirst at any dirty puddle; but a stream

* A dram of spirituous liquor that has mint steeped in it, taken by Virginians of a morning.

that I was to drink at constant I thought should be pure,—and I made my court to a wholesome girl, who had never bored her ears, and went constantly to meeting.

“She was daughter to old Solomon the carter, and by moonlight I used to play my banger under her window, and sing a Guinea love-song that my mother had taught me. But I found that there was another besides myself whose mouth watered after the fruit. Cuffey, one of the crop hands, came one night upon the same errand. I am but a little man, and Cuffey was above my pitch; for he was six foot two inches high, with a chew of tobacco clapped above that. But I was not to be scared because he was a big man, and I was a little one; I carried a good heart, and a good heart is every thing in love.

“Cuffey, says I, what part of the play is you acting? Does you come after Sal? May be, says he, I does. Then, says I, here’s have at you boy; and I reckoned to fix him by getting the finger of one hand into his ear, and the knuckles of the other into his eye*. But the whore-son was too strong for me, and after knocking me down upon the grass, he began to stamp upon me, and ax me if I had yet got enough. But Dick was not to be scared; and getting his great toe into my mouth, I bit it off and swallowed it. Cuffey now let go his hold, and it was my turn to ax Cuffey if he had got enough. Cuffey told me he had, and I walked away to the quarter†.

“My master the next day heard of my battle with Cuffey. He said that I ought to live among painters and wolves, and sold me to a Georgia man for two hundred dollars. My new master was the devil. He made me travel with him hand-cuffed to Savannah; where he disposed of me to a tavern-keeper for three hundred dollars.

“I was the only man-servant in the tavern, and I did the work of half a dozen. I went to bed at midnight, and was up an hour before sun. I looked after the horses, waited at table, and worked like a new negur. But I got plenty of spirits, and that I believe helped me.

“The war now broke out, and in one single year I changed masters a dozen times. But I knowed I had to work, and one master to me was just as good as another. When the war ended, I was slave to ’squire Fielding, at Annapolis, in Maryland. I was grown quite steady, and I married a house-servant, who brought me a child every year. I have altogether had three wives, and am the father of twelve children; begot in lawful wedlock: but this you shall hear.

* This is what is called gouging.

† The place of abode for the negroes.

"My wife dying of a flux, I was left to the management of my children; but my master soon saved me that trouble, for directly they were strong enough to handle a hoe, he sold the boys to Mr. Randolph of Fairfax, and the girls to 'squire Barclay of Port Tobacco. It was a hard trial to part with my little ones, for I loved them like a father; but there was no help for it, and it was the case of thousands besides myself.

"When a man has been used to a wife, he finds it mighty lonesome to be without one; so I married a young girl who lived house-servant to a tavern-keeper at Elk Ridge landing. It is a good twenty-five miles from Annapolis to the landing place; but a negur never tire when he go to see his sweetheart, and after work on Saturday night, I would start for Elk Ridge, and get to my wife before the supper was put away.

"I was not perfectly satisfied with my new wife; I had some suspicion that she gave her company, when I was away, to a young mulatto fellow. If her children had not been right black and ugly like myself, I should have suspected her virtue long before I had a real cause. It troubled me to be tricked by a young girl, but I stripped her of all her clothing. Fine feathers make fine birds; and I laughed to think how she would look the next Sunday.

"I now said to myself that it was right foolish for an old man to expect constancy from a young girl, and I wished that my first wife had not got her mouth full of yellow clay.

"My master at Annapolis being made a bankrupt, there was an execution lodged against his negurs. I was sent to Alexander*, and knocked down at vendue to old 'squire Kegworth. I was put to work at the hoe, I was up an hour before sun, and worked naked till after dark. I had no food but homony, and for fifteen months, did not put a morsel of any meat in my mouth, but the flesh of a possum or a racoon that I killed in the woods. This was rather hard for an old man, but I knowed there was no help for it.

"'Squire Kegworth was a wicked one; he beat master Tommy. He would talk of setting us free; you are not, he would say, slaves for life, but only for ninety-nine years. The 'squire was never married; but an old negur woman kept house, who governed both him and the plantation.

"Hard work would not have hurt me, but I never could get any liquor. This was desperate, and my only comfort was the stump of an old pipe that belonged to my first wife. This was a poor comfort without a little drap of whiskey now and dan; and

* Alexandria.

I was laying a plan to run away, and travel through the wilderness of Kentucky, when the old 'squire died.

"I was now once more put up at vendue, and as good luck would have it, I was bid for by 'squire Ball. Nobody would bid against him, because my head was grey, my back covered with stripes, and I was lame of the left leg by the malice of an overseer who stuck a pitch-fork into my ham. But 'squire Ball knew I was trusty; and though self-praise is no praise, he has not a negur on the plantation that wishes him better than I; or a young man that would work for him with a more willing heart."

Such is the history of the life and slavery of Dick the negro, as he delivered it to me word for word. It will, perhaps, exhibit a better picture of the condition of negroes in America, than any elaborate dissertation on the subject. But it aspires to more credit than the mere gratification of curiosity. It will enable the reader to form a comparison of his own state with that of another, and teach him the unmanly grief of repining at the common casualties of life, when so many thousands of his fellow-creatures toil out with cheerfulness a wretched life under the imprecations and scourgings of an imperious task-master.

Mr. Ball was son-in-law to counsellor Carter, of Baltimore, who had formerly resided in the woods of Virginia, and emancipated the whole of his negroes, except those whom he had given with the marriage-portion of his daughter. Of this he afterwards repented, and in a fit of religious enthusiasm, wrote a serious letter to Mr. Ball, exhorting him to free his negroes, or he would assuredly go to hell. Mr. Ball, whose property consisted in his slaves, and whose family was annually augmenting, entertained different notions; and with much brevity returned answer to the old gentleman's letter, "Sir, I will run the chance."

Had I known my own happiness I should have remained in this situation, but I again became restless. I took a respectful leave of Mr. Ball, and once more seized my staff, and walked to Baltimore. It was a killing circumstance to separate from Virginia; but who shall presume to contend against fate.

I still, and shall ever, behold Virginia in my fancy's eye. I behold her fair form among the trees. I contemplate her holding her handkerchief to her eyes. I still hear a tender adieu! faltering on her lips; and the sob that choked her utterance still knocks against my heart.

"Phyllida amo ante alias; nam me discedere flevit."

CHAP. XI.

Voyage from Baltimore in Maryland, to Cowes in the Isle of Wight.

I EMBARKED August 3, 1802, in the good ship Olive, Captain Norman, lying at Baltimore, for Cowes in the Isle of Wight. It was by the merest fortune that I now returned to England; and that I did not travel four years and a half more in the United States of America. But Captain Norman politely accepted a draft for my passage across the Atlantic; or more properly speaking, took my word for the payment of twenty guineas.

Proceeding down the Chesapeake, we passed the Potomac, the Rappahannock, York, and James rivers, and shaped our course through the promontories of the bay.

Having taken our departure from Cape Henry, we kept in a direction to catch the Gulph stream. It is of great importance in a navigation across the Atlantic, to be acquainted with the Florida current; for by keeping in it when bound eastward, the voyage is shortened; and by avoiding it when returning to the westward is it equally facilitated. A thermometer would ascertain whether a vessel is in the gulph stream better than any other means that can be devised; for the water in the stream is always warmer than the air. By a comparison, therefore, with a thermometer between the temperature of the water and that of the air, it would be determined, beyond all doubt, whether a ship was in the Gulph.

I was now upon the wide ocean again; than whose unstable waters, there cannot be a more perfect emblem of the unsettled condition of human life. Trouble follows trouble, like wave rolling after wave.

My spirit was not, however, much troubled during the voyage. Indeed, for the first week, the beautiful vision of Virginia lived unimpaired in my thoughts. I, therefore, suspect that my gaiety was at first somewhat forced.

They on board the good ship Olive who were fond of fish, indulged the hope, that on the banks of Newfoundland they would only have to let down their hooks and lines into the sea, and pull up a multitude of fishes. They, however, toiled all night, and caught no fish. In fact, I believe they swore too much to catch any.

A favourable gale wafted us over the banks; a gale so fair that

we knew not on which side to carry our spanker-boom. Several of our ship's company were Englishmen, and these Englishmen had all of them mistresses at Cowes. This circumstance conspired with the breeze, to carry us over the bank with the rapidity of lightning. For the damsels at Cowes, impatient of the coming of the Olive, had taken hold of a tow-rope which we had thrown to them for the purpose; and they were now pulling our ship towards Cowes hand over hand.

Sept. 13, 1802. At an early hour of the morning we made the land. It was the Isles of Scilly. The seven southernmost of them were in sight. Every face brightened into joy but that of the steward—more persecutions!—in the night some malicious person or persons had thrown his boots overboard, and he preferred his complaint to the chief-mate. “They have thrown my boots overboard, Mr. Llewellyn,” cried the steward.—“So much the better,” replied the mate. “We shall now have a fair wind all the way up channel.”

The Scilly Islands are twenty-seven in number. They lie at about the distance of thirty miles from Cornwall, and are thought to have been once joined by an isthmus to the main land. Beheld at sea, they appear like old castles and churches, over which the waves are flying in perpetual succession. Of these islands the largest is St. Mary's. It is about nine miles in circumference.

Thus I am now within 262 miles of home, for I count the journey nothing from the Isle of Wight to Salisbury. I came upon deck in the night to see the motion of the vessel, and to commune with Virginia, and my own heart. The moon is gazing at her face in the water, our sails are reflected on the deep, and the repose of the night is disturbed only by the roar of the ocean, whose talking waves the sea-boy chides as he lolls over the bow. I recalled the past scenes of my life in America. But every other gave way to the calm of my log-house in the woods, the melody of the mocking-bird, and the beauty, innocence, and simplicity of Virginia. And now too I felt the advantage of having educated myself. For what can smooth the flight of time more, whether journeying over land or traversing the ocean, than meditation upon past studies, and the recollection of moral truths?

While my fancy was thus on the wing, a tumultuous noise was heard in the wake of the ship, and I jumped aft with Mr. Adams to discover the cause. In the afternoon the ship's doctor (*i. e.* the cook) had baited his shark-hook with some pork, and thrown it overboard. A shark had now swallowed the pork-bait, and in swallowing the pork-bait, he unwittingly swallowed at the same

time an enormous iron hook, and about seven links of an iron chain.

The morning soon arrived, and the rosy blushes of Aurora, associated in my mind that glowing suffusion which I had so often witnessed in the countenance of Virginia. The British shore was rising like a new creation from the water; the country clocks were tolling, and the cocks crowing on the coast.

Sept. 14. We have had a decent run this day along the British coast, and it was no undelightful employment to look through the glass at the towns, villages, and green fields, which projecting into the water, seemed to court its translucent flood. Here and there the surf breaking partially on the shore, heightened the beauty of the scene.

Having passed the Start, we hauled up for the Race of Portland, one of the most remarkable promontories on the coast.

The passengers have been the whole of the day upon deck, expressing their impatience to imprint the shore with their feet. Illusion all! The shore will bring them no accession of happiness. If they could leave their cares and vexations behind them in the ship's hold, it would be something; but they will not have to go many miles on land to detect the fallaciousness of that hope which points to happiness by change of place.

A seventy-four gun ship has been working down channel, in company with a frigate. Long may England smile in the sweet exultation of conscious safety, while she has ships ready to cruise and heroes to command them!

At night not being very remote from the island, we shortened sail and hove to, being in want of light. Let this circumstance impress on the minds of my readers the necessity of attending to the words of the Lord of Life: "Work while ye have light; the night cometh when no man can work!" Soon will the night of darkness, the long night of death, overtake us all; when happy will be they who have not been unmindful of employing the light while it remained, in the work of their master.

We made sail with the rising sun, and no pilot coming off, undertook to seek our port without one. The flood-tide had made. We did not know it was necessary to keep upon the shingles, and the girls treacherously letting go the tow-rope, the good ship Olive lost her way through the water, and every body expected she would come with her broadside upon the needle-rock. Thus the good ship Olive was on the brink of losing her life by a needle!

And now, when we had escaped the disgrace of being discom-

fited by a bare needle, a pilot came off. He took us into Cowes road, where we had nothing more to fear from needles or pins.

We made the Olive fast by the nose; hoisted out her boats; squared our yards by the lifts and braces; ran up our sixteen stripes and sixteen patches to the mizen-peak; swept the decks down fore and aft; and then called all hands to splice the main-brace.

Had I been an ambassador or a consul, I could not have left the good ship Olive with more eclat. The two mates manned the side for me, and the ship's company lying out upon the yards, gave me three hearty cheers.

And thus I landed again in England after an absence of four years, eight months, and seven days; having travelled on foot because I could not afford a horse, through the States of New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and Pennsylvania, Maryland, and Virginia, South Carolina, and Georgia; under whose shifting skies I escaped the pestilence and famine; for which, and all thy other mercies, make me truly thankful, O Lord, my God!

THE END.

THE
LIFE
OF
Edward Lord Herbert,
OF
CHERBURY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

WITH

A PREFATORY MEMOIR.

*(Being the Supplement, for April, 1817, to the Sixth Volume of the New
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ACCOUNT
OF
LORD HERBERT

AND

Preface

By the EARL of ORFORD.

THE Public are much indebted to me for giving them this Life (a Manuscript in my possession). The Writer excelled most men of his time in most capacities. As a soldier, he won the esteem of those great captains, the Prince of Orange, and the Constable de Montmorency. As a knight, his chivalry was drawn from the purest founts of the Fairy Queen. Had he been ambitious, the beauty of his person would have carried him as far as any gentle knight can aspire to go. As a public minister, he supported the dignity of his country, even when its prince disgraced it; and that he was qualified to write its annals, as well as to ennoble them, this history, by his own hand, will prove.

The MS. was in great danger of being lost to the world. Henry Lord Herbert, grandson of the author, died in 1691, without issue, and by his will, left his estate to Francis Herbert, of Oakly-park, father of the present Earl of Powis, his sister's son. At Lymore, in Montgomeryshire, the chief seat of the family after Cromwell had demolished Montgomery castle, was preserved the original manuscript. Upon the marriage of Henry Lord Herbert with a daughter of Francis Earl of Bradford, Lymore, with a considerable part of the estate thereabouts, was allotted for her jointure.

After his decease, Lady Herbert usually resided there; she died in 1714. The MS. could not then be found; yet while she lived there, it was known to have been in her hands. Some years afterwards, it was discovered at Lymore, among some old papers, in very bad condition, several leaves being torn out, and others stained to such a degree as to make it scarcely legible.

ACCOUNT OF LORD HERBERT, &c.

Under these circumstances, inquiry was made of the Herberts of Ribbisford, descended from Sir Henry Herbert, a younger brother of the author-lord, in relation to a duplicate of the memoirs, which was confidently said to be in their custody. It was allowed that such a duplicate had existed; but no one could recollect what was become of it. At last, about the year 1737, this book was sent to the Earl of Powis, by a gentleman, whose father had purchased an estate of Henry Herbert of Ribbisford, son of Sir Henry Herbert above-mentioned, in whom was revived in 1694 the title of Chirbury, which had extinguished in 1691. By him, after the sale of the estate, some few books, pictures, and other things, were left in the house, and remained there to 1737. This manuscript was amongst them; which not only by the contents, as far as it was possible to collate it with the original, but by the similitude of the writing, appeared to be the duplicate so much sought after.

Being written when Lord Herbert was past sixty, the work was probably never completed. The spelling is, in general, given as in the manuscript, but some obvious mistakes it was necessary to correct, and a few notes have been added, to point out the most remarkable persons mentioned in the text. The style is remarkably good for that age; which, coming between the nervous and expressive manliness of the preceding century, and the purity of the present standard, partook of neither.

THE
LIFE
OF
EDWARD LORD HERBERT,
OF CHERBURY.

I do believe, that if all my ancestors had set down their lives in writing, and left them to posterity, many documents necessary to be known of those who both participate of their natural inclinations and humours, and must in all probability run a not much different course, might have been given for their instruction: and certainly it will be found much better for men to guide themselves by such observations as their father, grandfather, and great-grandfather, might have delivered to them, than by those vulgar rules and examples, which cannot in all points so exactly agree unto them. Therefore whether their life were private, and contained only precepts necessary to treat with their children, servants, tenants, kinsmen, and neighbours, or employed abroad in the university, or study of the law, or in the court, or in the camp, their heirs might have benefited themselves more by them than by any else; for which reason I have thought fit to relate to my posterity those passages of my life, which I conceive may best declare me, and be most useful to them. In the delivery of which, I profess to write with all truth and sincerity, as scorning ever to deceive or speak false to any; and therefore detesting it much more where I am under obligation of speaking to those so near me: and if this be one reason for taking my pen in hand at this time, so as my age is now past threescore, it will be fit to recollect my former actions, and examine what had been done well or ill, to the intent I may both reform that which was amiss, and so make my peace with God, as also comfort myself in those things which, through God's great grace and favour, have been done according to the rules of conscience, virtue, and honour. Before yet I bring myself to this account, it will be necessary I say somewhat concerning my ancestors, as far as the notice of them is come to me in any credible way; of whom yet I cannot say much, since I was but eight years old when my grandfather died, and that my father lived but about four years after, and that for the rest I have lived for the most part from home, it is impossible I should have that entire knowledge of their actions which might inform me sufficiently; I shall only, therefore, relate the more known and undoubted parts of their lives.

My father was Richard Herbert, Esq. son to Edward Herbert, Esq. and grandchild to Sir Richard Herbert, Knight, who was a younger son of Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, in Monmouthshire, of all whom I shall say a little. And first of my father, whom I remember to have been black-haired and bearded, as all my ancestors of his side are said to have been, of a manly or somewhat stern look, but withal very handsome and compact in his limbs, and of a great courage, whereof he gave proof, when he was so barbarously assaulted by many men in the churchyard at Lanervil, at what time he would have apprehended a man who denied to appear to justice; for, defending himself against them all, by the help only of one John ap Howell Corbet, he chased his adversaries, until a villain, coming behind him, did, over the shoulders of others, wound him on the head behind with a forest-bill until he fell down, though recovering himself again, notwithstanding his skull was cut through to the *pia mater* of the brain, he saw his adversaries fly away, and after walked home to his house at Llyssyn, where, after he was cured, he offered a single combat to the chief of the family, by whose procurement it was thought the mischief was committed; but he disclaiming wholly the action as not done by his consent, which he offered to testify by oath, and the villain himself flying into Ireland, whence he never returned, my father desisted from prosecuting the business any farther in that kind, and attained, notwithstanding the said hurt, that health and strength, that he returned to his former exercises in a country life, and became the father of many children. As for his integrity in his places of deputy lieutenant of the county, justice of the peace, and *custos rotulorum*, which he, as my grandfather before him, held, it is so memorable to this day, that it was said his enemies appealed to him for justice, which they also found on all occasions. His learning was not vulgar, as understanding well the Latin tongue, and being well versed in history. My grandfather was of a various life; beginning first at court, where, after he had spent most part of his means, he became a soldier, and made his fortune with his sword at the siege of St. Quintens in France, and other wars, both in the north, and in the rebellions happening in the times of King Edward the Sixth, and Queen Mary, with so good success, that he not only came off still with the better, but got so much money and wealth, as enabled him to buy the greatest part of that livelihood which is descended to me; although yet I hold some lands which his mother, the Lady Anne Herbert, purchased, as appears by the deeds made to her by that name, which I can shew; and might have held more, which my grandfather sold under foot at an under value in his youth, and might have been recovered by my father, had my grandfather suffered him. My grandfather was noted to be a great enemy to the outlaws and thieves of his time, who robbed in great numbers in the mountains of Montgomeryshire, for the suppressing of whom he went often, both day and night, to the places where they were; concerning which, though many particulars have been told me, I shall mention one only. Some outlaws being lodged in an alehouse upon the

hills of Llandinam, my grandfather and a few servants coming to apprehend them, the principal outlaw shot an arrow against my grandfather, which stuck in the pommel of his saddle; whereupon my grandfather coming up to him with his sword in his hand, and taking him prisoner, he shewed him the said arrow, bidding him look what he had done; whereof the outlaw was no farther sensible, than to say he was sorry he left his better bow at home, which he conceived would have carried his shot to his body; but the outlaw, being brought to justice, suffered for it. My grandfather's power was so great in the country, that divers ancestors of the better families now in Montgomeryshire were his servants, and raised by him. He delighted much in hospitality; as having a very long table twice covered every meal with the best meats that could be gotten, and a very great samily. It was an ordinary saying in the country at that time, when they saw any fowl rise, "Fly where thou wilt, thou wilt light at Blackhall;" which was a low building, but of great capacity, my grandfather erected in his age; his father and himself, in former times, having lived in Montgomery castle. Notwithstanding yet these expences at home, he brought up his children well, married his daughters to the better sort of persons near him, and bringing up his younger sons at the university; from whence his son Matthew went to the Low Country wars; and, after some time spent there, came home, and lived in the country at Dolegeog, upon a house and fair living, which my grandfather bestowed upon him. His son also, Charles Herbert, after he had past some time in the Low Countries, likewise returned home, and was after married to an inheretrix, whose eldest son, called Sir Edward Herbert, Knight, is the king's attorney-general. His son, George, who was of New College, in Oxford, was very learned, and of a pious life, died in a middle age of a dropsy. Notwithstanding all which occasions of expence, my grandfather purchased much lands, without doing any thing unjustly or hardly; as may be collected by an offer I have publicly made divers time, having given my bailiff in charge to proclaim to the country, that if any lands were gotten by evil means, or so much as hardly, they should be compounded for or restored again; but to this day, never any man yet complained to me in this kind. He died at the age of fourscore, or thereabouts, and was buried in Montgomery church, without having any monument made for him, which yet for my father is there set up in a fair manner. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert, was steward, in the time of King Henry the Eighth, of the lordships and marches of North Wales, East Wales, and Cardiganshire, and had power, in a marshal law, to execute offenders; in the using thereof he was so just, that he acquired himself a singular reputation; as may appear upon the records of that time, kept in the Paper-chamber at Whitehall, some touch whereof I have made in my History of Henry the Eighth: of him I can say little more, than that he likewise was a geat suppressor of rebels, thieves, and outlaws, and that he was just and conscionable; for if a false or cruel person had that power committed to his hands, he would have raised a great fortune

out of it, whereof he left little, save what his father gave him, unto posterity. He lieth buried likewise in Montgomery; the upper monument of the two placed in the chancel being erected for him. My great-grandfather, Sir Richard Herbert of Colebrook, was that incomparable hero, who (in the History of Hall and Grafton, as it appears) twice passed through a great army of northern men alone, with his poleax in his hand, and returned without any mortal hurt, which is more than is famed of Amadis de Gaul, or the Knight of the Sun. I shall, besides this relation of Sir Richard Herbert's prowess in the battle at Banbury, or Edgcot-hill, being the place where the late battle was fought, deliver some traditions concerning him, which I have received from good hands; one is, that the said Sir Richard Herbert being employed, together with his brother William, Earl of Pembroke, to reduce certain rebels in North Wales, Sir Richard Herbert besieged a principal person of them at Harlech castle, in Merionethshire; the captain of this place had been a soldier in the wars of France; whereupon he said, he had kept a castle in France so long, that he made the old women in Wales talk of him; and that he would keep the castle so long, that he would make the old women in France talk of him: And indeed, as the place was almost impregnable but by famine, Sir Richard Herbert was constrained to take him in by composition; he surrendered himself upon condition, that Sir Richard Herbert should do what he could to save his life; which being accepted, Sir Richard brought him to King Edward IV. desiring his highness to give him a pardon, since he yielded up a place of importance, which he might have kept longer upon this hope. But the king replying to Sir Richard Herbert, that he had no power by his commission to pardon any, and therefore might, after the representation hereof to his majesty, safe deliver him up to justice; Sir Richard Herbert answered, he had not yet done the best he could for him; and therefore most humbly desired his highness to do one of two things—either to put him again in the castle where he was, and command some other to take him out; or, if his highness would not do so, to take his life for the said captain's, that being the last proof he could give that he used his uttermost endeavour to save the said captain's life.

The king finding himself urged thus far, gave Sir Richard Herbert the life of the said captain, but withal he bestowed no other reward for his service. The other history is, that Sir Richard Herbert, together with his brother the Earl of Pembroke, being in Anglesea, apprehending there seven brothers, which had done many mischiefs and murders; in these times the Earl of Pembroke thinking it fit to root out so wicked a progeny, commanded them all to be hanged; whereupon the mother of them coming to the Earl of Pembroke, upon her knees desired him to pardon two, or at leastwise one of her said sons, affirming, that the rest were sufficient to satisfy justice or example, which request Sir Richard Herbert seconded; but the earl finding them all equally guilty, said, he could make no distinction betwixt them, and therefore commanded them to be executed together; at which the mother was so

aggrieved, that, with a pair of woollen beads on her arms, (for so the relation goeth,) she, on her knees, cursed him, praying God's mischief might fall to him in the first battle he should make. The earl after this, coming with his brother to Edgcot-field, as is before set down, after he had put his men in order to fight, found his brother, Sir Richard Herbert, in the head of his men, leaning upon his pole-ax in a kind of sad or pensive manner; whereupon the earl said, What! doth thy great body (for he was higher by the head than any one in the army) apprehend any thing that thou art so melancholy, or art thou weary with marching, that thou doest lean thus upon thy pole-ax? Sir Richard Herbert replied, that he was neither of both, whereof he should see the proof presently; only I cannot but apprehend on your part, lest the curse of the woman with the woollen beads fall upon you. This Sir Richard Herbert lieth buried in Abergavenny, in a sumptuous monument for those times, which still remains; whereas his brother, the Earl of Pembroke, being buried in Tintirne Abbey, his monument, together with the church, lie now wholly defaced and ruined. This Earl of Pembroke had a younger son, which had a daughter which married the eldest son of the Earl of Worcester, who carried away the fair castle of Ragland, with many thousand pounds yearly, from the heir-male of that house, which was the second son of the said Earl of Pembroke, and ancestor of the family of St. Gillians, whose daughter and heir I after married, as shall be told in its place. And here it is very remarkable, that the younger sons of the said Earl of Pembroke, and Sir R. Herbert, left their posterity after them, who, in the person of myself and my wife, united both houses again; which is the more memorable, that when the said Earl of Pembroke and Sir R. Herbert were taken prisoners in defending the just cause of Edward IV. at the battle abovesaid, the earl never entreated that his own life might be saved, but his brother's, as it appears by the said history. So that joining of both houses together in my posterity, ought to produce a perpetual obligation of friendship and mutual love in them one to another, since by these two brothers, so brave an example thereof was given, as seeming not to live or die but for one another.

My mother was Magdalen Newport, daughter of Sir Richard Newport and Margaret his wife, daughter and heir of Sir Thomas Bromley, one of the privy council and executor of King Henry the Eighth, who, surviving her husband, gave rare testimonies of an incomparable piety to God, and love to her children, as being most assiduous and devout in her daily both private and public prayers, and so careful to provide for her posterity, that though it were in her power to give her estate (which was very great) to whom she would, yet she continued still unmarried and so provident for them that, after she had bestowed all her daughters, with sufficient portions, upon very good neighbouring families, she delivered up her estate and care of housekeeping to her eldest son Francis, when now she had for many years kept hospitality with that plenty and order as exceeded all either of her country or time; for, besides

abundance of provision and good cheer for guests, which her son Sir Francis Newport continued, she used ever day after dinner to distribute with her own hands to the poor, who resorted to her in great numbers, alms in money, to every one of them more or less, as she thought they needed it. By these ancestors I am descended of Talbot, Devoreux, Gray, Corbet, and many other noble families, as may be seen in their matches, extant in the many fair coats the Newports bear. I could say much more of my ancestors of that side likewise, but that I should exceed my proposed scope: I shall, therefore, only say somewhat more of my mother, my brothers, and sisters. And for my mother, after she lived most virtuously and lovingly with her husband for many years, she, after his death, erected a fair monument for him in Montgomery church; brought up her children carefully, and put them in good courses for making their fortunes, and briefly was that woman Dr. Donne hath described in his funeral sermon of her printed. The names of her children were, Edward, Richard, William, Charles, George, Henry, Thomas; her daughters were, Elizabeth, Margaret, Frances: of all whom I will say a little before I begin a narration of my own life, so I may pursue my intended purpose the more entirely. My brother Richard, after he had been brought up in learning, went to the Low Countries, where he continued many years with much reputation, both in the wars and for fighting single duels, which were many; insomuch, that between both, he carried, as I have been told, the scars of four-and-twenty wounds upon him to his grave, and lieth buried in Bergenopzoom. My brother William, being brought up likewise in learning, went afterwards to the wars in Denmark, where fighting a single combat, and having his sword broken, he not only defended himself, with that piece which remained, but, closing with his adversary, threw him down, and so held him until company came in; and then went to the wars in the Low Countries, but lived not long after. My brother Charles was fellow of New College in Oxford, where he died young, after he had given great hopes of himself every way. My brother George* was so excellent a scholar, that he was made the public orator of the University in Cambridge; some of whose English works are extant; which, though they be rare in their kind, yet are far short of expressing those perfections he had in the Greek and Latin tongue, and all divine and human literature; his life was most holy and exemplary; insomuch, that about Salisbury, where he lived beneficed for many years, he was little less than sainted. He was not exempt from passion and choler, being infirmities to which all our race is subject, but that excepted, without reproach in his actions. Henry,

* He had studied foreign languages, in hopes of rising to be secretary of state; but being disappointed in his views at court, he took orders, became prebend of Lincoln, and rector of Bemerton, near Salisbury: He died between 1630 and 1640. His poems were printed at London 1635, under the title of "The Temple;" and his "Priest to the Temple," in 1652. Lord Bacon dedicated to him a Translation of some Psalms into English verse.—*V. General Dict.*

after he had been brought up in learning, as the other brothers were, was sent by his friends into France, where he attained the language of that country in much perfection; after which time he came to court, and was made gentleman of the king's privy chamber, and master of the revels; by which means, as also by a good marriage, he attained to great fortunes, for himself and posterity to enjoy. He also hath given several proofs of his courage in duels, and otherwise; being no less dexterous in the ways of the court, as having gotten much by it. My brother Thomas was a posthumous, as being born some weeks after his fathers' death. He also, being brought up a while at school, was sent as a page to Sir Edward Cecil,* lord-general of his majesty's auxiliary forces to the princes in Germany. and was particularly at the siege of Juliers, A. D. 1610, where he shewed such forwardness, as no man in that great army before him was more adventurous on all occasions. Being returned from thence, he went to the East Indies, under the command of Captain Joseph, who, in his way thither, meeting with a great Spanish ship, was unfortunately killed in fight with them; whereupon, his men being disheartened, my brother Thomas encouraged them to revenge the loss, and renewed the fight in that manner, (as Sir John Smyth, governor of the East India Company, told me at several times,) that they forced the Spanish ship to run a-ground, where the English shot her through and through so often, that she run herself a-ground, and was left wholly unserviceable. After which time, he, with the rest of the fleet, came to Suratte; and from thence, went with the merchants to the Great Mogul; where, after he had staid about a twelvemonth, he returned with the same fleet back again to England. After this, he went in the navy which King James sent to Argier, under the command of Sir Robert Mansel, where our men being in great want of money and victuals, and many ships scattering themselves to try whether they could obtain a prize, whereby to relieve the whole fleet; it was his hap to meet a ship, which he took, and in it, to the value of eighteen hundred pounds, which, it was thought, saved the whole fleet from perishing. He conducted, also, Count Mansfelt to the Low Countries, in one of the king's ships, being unfortunately cast away not far from the shore, the count, together with his company, saved themselves in a long-boat, or shalop, the benefit whereof my said brother refused to take for the present, as resolved to assist the master of the ship, who endeavoured by all means to clear the ship from the danger; but finding it impossible, he was the last man that saved himself in the long boat; the master thereof yet refusing to come away, so that he perished together with the ship. After this, he commanded one of the ships that were to bring the prince from Spain; where, upon his return, there being a fight between the Low Country-men and the Dunkirkers, the prince, who thought it was not for his dignity to suffer them to fight in his presence, commanded some of his ships

* Afterwards Viscount Wimbledon. See an account of him in "The Royal and Noble Authors."

to part them : whereupon my said brother, with some other ships, got betwixt them on either side, and shot so long, that both parties were glad to desist. After he had brought the prince safely home, he was appointed to go with one of the kings ships to the Narrow Seas. He also fought divers times with great courage and success, with divers men in single fight, sometimes hurting and disarming his adversary, and sometimes driving him away. After all these proofs given of himself, he expected some great command ; but finding himself, as he thought, undervalued, he retired to a private and melancholy life, being much discontented to find others preferred to him ; in which sullen humour having lived many years, he died and was buried in London, in St Martin's near Charing Cross ; so that of all my brothers none survives but Henry.

Elizabeth, my eldest sister, was married to Sir Henry Jones of Albenmarles, who had by her one son and two daughters ; the latter end of her time was the most sickly and miserable that hath been known in our times ; while, for the space of about fourteen years, she languished and pined away to skin and bones, and at last died in London, and lieth buried in a church called near Cheapside. Margaret was married to John Vaughan, son and heir to Owen Vaughan of Llwydiart ; by which match some former differences betwixt our house and that were appeased and reconciled. He had by her three daughters and heirs, Dorothy, Magdalen, and Katherine ; of which the two latter only survive. The estate of the Vaughans yet went to the heirs-male, although not so clearly but that the entail which carried the said lands was questioned. Frances, my youngest sister, was married to Sir John Brown, Knight, in Lincolnshire, who had by her divers children ; the eldest son of whom, although young, fought divers duels, in one of which it was his fortune to kill one Lee, of a great family in Lancashire. I could say many things more concerning all these, but it is not my purpose to particularize their lives. I have related only some passages concerning them to the best of my memory, being assured I have not failed much in my relation of them. I shall now come to myself.

I was born at Eyton, in Shropshire, [being a house which, together with fair lands, descended upon the Newports by my said grandmother,] between the hours of twelve and one of the clock in the morning ; my infancy was very sickly, my head continually purging itself very much by the ears ; whereupon also it was so long before I began to speak, that many thought I should be ever dumb. I remember this defluction at at my ears continued in that violence, that my friends did not think fit to teach me so much as my alphabet until I was seven years old, at which time my defluction ceased, and left me free of the disease my ancestors were subject unto, being the epilepsy. My schoolmaster in the house of my said lady grandmother began then to teach me the alphabet, and afterwards grammar, and other books commonly read in schools ; in which I profited so much, that upon this theme *Audaces fortuna juvat*, I made an oration of a sheet of paper, and fifty or sixty verses in the space of one day. I remember in that time I was corrected sometimes

for going to cuffs with two school-fellows being both elder than myself, but never for telling a lie or any other fault; my natural disposition and inclination being so contrary to all falsehood, that being demanded whether I had committed any fault whereof I might be justly suspected, I did use ever to confess it freely, and thereupon choosing rather to suffer correction than to stain my mind with telling a lie, which I did judge then, no time could ever deface; and I can affirm to all the world truly, that, from my first infancy to this hour, I told not willingly any thing that was false, my soul naturally having an antipathy to lying and deceit. After I had attained the age of nine, during all which time I lived in my said lady grandmother's house at Eton, my parents thought fit to send me to some place where I might learn the Welch tongue, as believing it necessary to enable me to treat with those of my friends and tenants who understood no other language; whereupon I was recommended to Mr. Edward Thelwall, of Place-ward in Denghbyshire. This gentleman I must remember with honour, as having of himself acquired the exact knowledge of Greek, Latin, French, Italian, and Spanish, and all other learning, having for that purpose neither gone beyond seas, nor so much as had the benefit of any universities. Besides, he was of that rare temper in governing his choler, that I never saw him angry during the time of my stay there, and have heard so much of him for many years before. When occasion of offence was given him, I have seen him redden in the face, and after remain for a while silent, but when he spake, his words were so calm and gentle, that I found he had digested his choler, though yet I confess I could never attain that perfection, as being subject ever to choler and passion more than I ought, and generally to speak my mind freely, and indeed rather to imitate those, who, having fire within doors, choose rather to give it vent than suffer it to burn the house. I commend yet much more the manner of Mr. Thelwall; and certainly, he that can forbear speaking for sometime, will remit much of his passion; but as I could not learn much of him in this kind, so I did as little profit in learning the Welch, or any other of those languages that worthy gentleman understood, as having a tertian ague for the most part of nine months, which was all the time I staid in his house. Having recovered my strength again, I was sent, being about the age of ten, to be taught by one Mr. Newton at Diddlebury in Shropshire, where, in the space of less than two years, I not only recovered all I had lost in my sickness, but attained to the knowledge of the Greek tongue and logic, in so much, that at twelve years old my parents thought fit to send me to Oxford to University College, where I remember to have disputed at my first coming in logic, and to have made in Greek the exercises required in that college, oftener than in Latin. I had not been many months in the University, but news was brought me of my father's death, his sickness being a lethargy, *caros*, or *coma vigilans*, which continued long upon him; he seemed at last to die without much pain, though in his senses. Upon opinion given by physicians that his disease was mortal, my mother thought fit so send for me home, and presently

after my father's death, to desire her brother Sir Francis Newport to haste to London to obtain my wardship for his and her use jointly, which he obtained. Shortly after I was sent again to my studies in Oxford, where I had not been long but that an overture for a match with the daughter and heir of Sir William Herbert of St. Gillians was made, the occasion whereof was this : Sir William Herbert being heir-male to the old Earl of Pembroke abovementioned by a younger son of his, (for the eldest son had a daughter, who carried away those great possessions the Earl of Worcester now holds in Monmouthshire, as I said before,) having one only daughter surviving, made a will, whereby he estated all his possessions in Monmouthshire and Ireland upon his said daughter, upon condition she married one of the surname of Herbert, otherwise the said lands to descend to the heirs-male of the said Sir William ; and his daughter to have only a small portion out of the lands he had in Anglesey and Carnarvonshire ; his lands being thus settled, Sir William died shortly afterwards. He was a man much conversant with books, and especially given to the study of divinity, in so much, that he writ an Exposition upon the Revelations, which is printed ; though some thought he was as far from finding the sense thereof as he was from attaining the philosopher's stone, which was another part of his study : howsoever, he was very understanding in all other things, he was noted yet to be of a very high mind ; but I can say little of him, as having never seen his person, nor otherwise had much information concerning him. His daughter and heir, called Mary, after her father died, continued unmarried until she was one-and-twenty ; none of the Herberts appearing in all that time, who, either in age or fortune, was fit to match her. About this time I had attained the age of fifteen, and a match at last being proposed, yet, notwithstanding the disparity of years betwixt us, upon the eight-and-twentieth of February 1598, in the house of Eton, where the same man, vicar of married my father and mother, christened and married me, I espoused her. Not long after my marriage I went again to Oxford, together with my wife and mother, who took a house, and lived for some certain time there ; and now, having a due remedy for that lasciviousness to which youth is naturally inclined, I followed my book more close than ever, in which course I continued until I attained about the age of eighteen, when my mother took a house in London, between which place and Montgomery Castle I passed my time till I came to the age of one-and-twenty, having in that space divers children, I having now none remaining but Beatrice, Richard, and Edward. During this time of living in the University, or at home, I did, without any master or teacher, attain the knowledge of the French, Italian, and Spanish languages, by the help of some books in Latin or English translated into those idioms, and the dictionaries of those several languages ; I attained also to sing my part at first sight in music, and to play on the lute with very little or almost no teaching. My intention in learning languages being to make myself a citizen of the world as far as it were possible ; and my learning of music was for this end, that I might entertain myself at home, and

together refresh my mind after my studies, to which I was exceedingly inclined, and that I might not need the company of young men, in whom I observed in those times much ill example and debauchery.

Being gotten thus far into my age, I shall give some observations concerning ordinary education, even from the first infancy till the departure from the University; as being desirous, together with the narration of my life, to deliver such rules as I conceive may be useful to my posterity.

When children go to school, they should have one to attend them, who may take care of their manners, as well as the school-master doth of their learning; for among boys all vice is easily learned; and here I could wish it constantly observed, that neither the master should correct him for faults of his manners, nor his governor for manners for the faults in his learning. After the alphabet is taught, I like well the shortest and clearest grammars, and such books into which all the Greek and Latin words are severally contrived, in which kind one Comenius hath given an example: this being done, it would be much better to proceed with Greek authors than with Latin; for as it is as easy to learn at first the one as the other, it would be much better to give the first impressions into the child's memory of those things which are more rare than usual: therefore I would have them begin at Greek first, and the rather that there is not that art in the world wherein the Greeks have not excelled and gone before others; so that when you look upon philosophy, astronomy, mathematics, medicine, and briefly all learning, the Greeks have exceeded all nations. When he shall be ready to go to the university, it will be fit also his governor for manners go along with him; it being the frail nature of youth, as they grow to ripeness in age, to be more capable of doing ill, unless their manners be well guided, and themselves by degrees habituated in virtue, with which if once they acquaint themselves, they will find more pleasure in it than ever they can do in vice; since every body loves virtuous persons, whereas the vicious do scarce love one another. For this purpose, it will be necessary that you keep the company of grave, learned men, who are of good reputation, and hear rather what they say, and follow what they do, than follow the examples of young, wild, and rash persons; and certainly of those two parts which are to be acquired in youth, whereof one is goodness and virtuous manners, the other learning and knowledge, I shall so much prefer the first before the second, as I shall ever think virtue accompanied with ordinary discretion, will make his way better both to happiness in this world and the next, than any puff'd knowledge which which would cause him to be insolent and vain-glorious, or minister, as it were, arms and advantages to him for doing a mischief; so that it is pity that wicked dispositions should have knowledge to acuate their ill intentions, or courage to maintain them; that fortitude which should defend all a man's virtues, being never well employed to defend his humours, passions, or vices. I do not approve for elder brothers that course of study which is ordinary used in the university, which is, if their parents perchance intend they shall stay there four or five years, to em-

ploy the said time as if they meant to proceed masters of art and doctors in some science; for which purpose, their tutors commonly spend much time in teaching them the subtilties of logic, which, as it is usually practised, enables them for little more than to be excellent wranglers, which art, though it may be tolerable in a mercenary lawyer, I can by no means commend in a sober and well-governed gentleman. I approve much those parts of logic which teach men to deduce their proofs from firm and undoubted principles, and show men to distinguish betwixt truth and falsehood, and help them to discover fallacies, sophisms, and that which the schoolmen call vicious arguments, concerning which I shall not here enter into a long discourse. So much of logic as may serve for this purpose being acquired, some good sum of philosophy may be learned, which may teach him both the ground of the Platonic and Aristotelian philosophy. After which it will not be amiss to read the *Idea Medicinæ Philosophicæ*, written by Severnius Danus, there being many things considerable concerning the Paracelsian principles written in that book, which are not to be found in former writers; it will not be amiss also to read over Franciscus Patricius, and Tilesius, who have examined and controverted the ordinary Peripatetic doctrine; all which may be performed in one year, that term being enough for philosophy, as I conceive, and six months for logic, for I am confident a man may have quickly more than he needs of these two arts. These being attained, it will be requisite to study Geography with exactness, so much as may teach a man the situation of all countries in the whole world, together with which, it will be fit to learn something concerning the governments, manners, religions, either ancient or new, as also the interests of states, and relations in amity, or strength in which they stand to their neighbours; it will be necessary also, at the same time, to learn the use of the celestial globe, the studies of both globes being complicated and joined together. It will be also fit to learn arithmetic and geometry in some good measure, but especially arithmetic, it being most useful for many purposes, and, among the rest, for keeping accounts, whereof here is much use. As for the knowledge of lines, superficies, and bodies, though it be a science of much certainty and demonstration, it is not much useful for a gentleman, unless it be to understand fortifications, the knowledge whereof is worthy of those who intend the wars; though yet he must remember, that whatsoever art doth in way of defence, art likewise, in way of assailing, can destroy. This study hath cost me much labour, but yet I could never find how any place could be so fortified, but there were means, in certain opposite lines, to prevent or subvert all that could be done in that kind. It will become a gentleman to have some knowledge in medicine, especially the diagnostic part, whereby he may take timely notice of a disease, and by that means timely prevent it, as also the prognostic part, whereby he may judge of the symptoms either increasing or decreasing in the disease, as also concerning the crisis or indication thereof. This art will get a gentleman not only much knowledge, but much credit; since seeing any sick body, he

will be able to tell, in all human probability, whether he shall recover, or if he shall die of the disease; to tell what signs shall be before, and what the conclusion will be; it will become him also to know not only the ingredients, but doses, of certain cathartic or purging, emetic or vomitive medicines, specific or choleric, melancholic, or phlegmatic constitutions, phlebotomy being only necessary for those who abound in blood. Besides, I would have a gentleman know how to make these medicines himself, and afterwards prepare them with his own hands; it being the manner of apothecaries so frequently to put in the succedanea, that no man is sure to find with them medicines made with the true drugs which ought to enter into the composition when it is exotic or rare; or when they are extant in the shop, no man can be assured that the said drugs are not rotten, or that they have not lost their natural force and virtue. I have studied this art very much also, and have, in cases of extremity, ministered physic with that success which is strange, whereof I shall give two or three examples: Richard Griffiths of Sutton, my servant, being sick of a malignant pestilent fever, and tried in vain all our country physicians could do, and his water at last stinking so grievously, which physicians note to be a sign of extension of natural heat, and consequently of present death, I was intreated to see him, when as yet he had neither eaten, drank, slept, or known any body for the space of six or seven days; whereupon demanding whether the physicians had given him over, and it being answered unto me that they had, I said it would not be amiss to give him the quantity of an hazle-nut of a certain rare receipt which I had, assuring, that if any thing in the world could recover him, that would; of which I was so confident, that I would come the next day at four of the clock in the afternoon unto him, and at that time I doubted not but they should find signs of amendment, provided they should put the doses I gave them, being about the bigness of a nut, down his throat; which being done with much difficulty, I came the morrow after at the hour appointed, when, to the wonder of his family, he knew me, and asked for some broth, and not long after recovered. My cousin, Athelston Owen, also of Rhue Sayson, having an hydrocephale also in that extremity, that his eyes began to start out of his head, and his tongue to come out of his mouth, and his whole head finally exceeding its natural proportion, insomuch that his physicians likewise left him; I prescribed to him the decoction of two diuretic roots, which after he had drank four or five days, he urined in that abundance that his head by degrees returned to its ancient figure, and all other signs of health appeared; whereupon also he wrote a letter to me, that he was so suddenly and perfectly restored to his former health, that it seemed more like a miracle than a cure; for those are the very words in the letter he sent me. I cured a great lady in London of an issue of blood, when all the physicians had given her over, with so easy a medicine, that the lady herself was astonished to find the effects thereof. I could give more examples in this kind, but these shall suffice; I will for the rest deliver a rule I conceive for finding out the best receipts not only for

curing all inward but outward hurts, such as are ulcers, tumours, contusions, wounds, and the like : you must look upon all pharmacopæias or antidotaries of several countries, of which sort I have in my library the *Pharmacopæia Londinensis*, *Parisiensis*, *Amstelodamensis*, that of Quercsetau, Bauderoni, Renadeus, Valerius Scordus, *Pharmacopæia Coloniensis*, Augustana, Venetiana, Vnoniensis, Florentina, Romana, Messanensis ; in some of which are told not only what the receipts there set down are good for, but the doses of them. The rule I here give is, that what all the said dispensatories, antidotaries, or pharmacopæias prescribe as effectual for overcoming a disease, is certainly good ; for as they are set forth by the authority of the physicians of these several countries, what they all ordain must necessarily be effectual : but they who will follow my advice, shall find in that little short antidotary called *Amstelodamensis*, not long since put forth, almost all that is necessary to be known in curing of diseases, wounds, &c. There is a book called *Aurora Medicorum*, very fit to be read in this kind. Among writers of physick, I do especially commend, Hippocrates and Galen. I conceive it is a fine study, and worthy a gentleman to be a good botanist, that so he may know the nature of all herbs and plants, being our fellow creatures, and made for the use of man ; for which purpose it will be fit for him to cull out of some good herbal all the icones together, with the descriptions of them, and to lay by themselves all such as grow in England, and afterwards to select again such as usually grow by the highway-side, in meadows, by rivers, or in marshes, or in corn-fields, or in dry and mountainous places, or on rocks, walls, or in shady places, such as grow by the sea-side ; for this being done, and the said icones being ordinarily carried by themselves, or by their servants, one may presently find out every herb he meets withal, especially if the said flowers be truly coloured. Afterwards it will not be amiss to distinguish by themselves such herbs as are in gardens, and are exotics, and are transplanted hither.

Having thus passed over all human literature, it will be fit to say something of moral learning. As for these, it would not be inconvenient to begin with Aristotle's Morals, above all I recommend to my posterity an attentive perusal of the Holy Scriptures, there being none that can justly hope of an union with the supreme God, that doth not come as near to him in this life in virtue and goodness as he can ; so that if human frailty do interrupt this union, by committing faults that make him incapable of his everlasting happiness, it will be fit, by a serious repentance, to expiate and emaculate those faults, and for the rest, trust to the mercy of God his Creator, Redeemer, and Preserver, who being our Father, and knowing well in what a weak condition through infirmities we are, will, I doubt not, commiserate those transgressions we commit when they are done without desire to offend his Divine Majesty, and together rectify our understanding through his grace ; since we commonly sin through no other cause, but that we mistook a true good for that which was only apparent, and so were deceived, by making an undue election in the objects proposed to us ; wherein, though it will be fit for every man to

confess that he hath offended an infinite Majesty and Power, yet, as upon better consideration, he finds he did not mean infinitely to offend, there will be just reason to believe that God will not inflict an infinite punishment upon him if he be truly penitent, so that his justice may be satisfied, if not with man's repentance, yet at least with some temporal punishment here or hereafter, such as may be proportionable to the offence; though I cannot deny but when man would infinitely offend God in a despiteful and contemptuous way, it will be but just that he suffer an infinite punishment: but I hope none are so wicked as to sin thus purposely, and with so high a hand against the eternal Majesty of God.

It would be fit that some time be spent in learning rhetoric or oratory, to the intent that upon all occasions you may express yourself with eloquence and grace; for, as it is not enough for a man to have a diamond unless it is polished and cut out into its due angles; so it will not be sufficient for a man to have a great understanding in all matters, unless the said understanding be not only polished and clear, but underset and holpen a little with those figures, tropes, and colours which rhetoric affords, where there is use of persuasion. I can by no means yet commend an affected eloquence, there being nothing so pedantical, or indeed that would give more suspicion that the truth is not intended, than to use overmuch the common forms prescribed in schools. It is well said by them, that there are two parts of eloquence necessary and commendable; one is, to speak hard things plainly, so that when a knotty or intricate business, having no method or coherence in its parts, shall be presented, it will be a singular part of oratory to take those parts asunder, set them together aptly, and so exhibit them to the understanding. And this part of rhetoric I much commend to every body; there being no true use of speech, but to make things clear, perspicuous, and manifest, which otherwise would be perplexed, doubtful, and obscure.

The other part of oratory is to speak common things ingeniously or wittily: there being no little vigour and force added to words, when they are delivered in a neat and fine way, and somewhat out of the ordinary road, common and dull language relishing more of the clown than the gentleman. But herein also affectation must be avoided; it being better for a man by a native and clear eloquence to express himself, than by those words which may smell either of the lamp or inkhorn; so that, in general, one may observe, that men who fortify and uphold their speeches with strong and evident reasons, have ever operated more on the minds of the auditors, than those who have made rhetorical excursions. Aristotle hath written a book of rhetoric, a work in my opinion not inferior to his best pieces, whom therefore with Cicero de Oratore, as also Quintilian, you may read for your instruction how to speak; neither of which two yet I can think so exact in their orations, but that a middle style will be of more efficacy, Cicero in my opinion being too long and tedious, Quintilian too short and concise.

Having thus by moral philosophy enabled yourself to all that wisdom and goodness which is requisite to direct you in all your particular actions, it will be fit now to think how you are to behave yourself as a public person, or member of the commonwealth and kingdom wherein you live; as also to look into those principles and grounds upon which government is framed, it being manifest in nature that the wise doth easily govern the foolish, and the strong master the weak, so that he that could attain most wisdom and power, would quickly rule his fellows.

The exercises I chiefly used and most recommend to my posterity, were riding the great horse and fencing, in which arts I had excellent masters, English, French and Italian. As for dancing, I could never find leisure enough to learn it, as employing my mind always in acquiring of some art or science more useful.

The manner of fighting a duel on horseback I was taught thus. We had each of us a reasonable stiff riding rod in our hands, about the length of a sword, and so rid one against the other, he as the more expert sat still to pass me and then to get behind me, and after to turn with his right hand upon my left side with his rod, that so he might hit me with the point thereof in the body; and he that can do this handsomely, is sure to overcome his adversary, it being impossible to bring his sword about enough to defend himself or offend the assailant; and to get this advantage, which they call in French, *gagner la croupe*, nothing is so useful as to make a horse to go only sideward until his adversary be past him, since he will by this means avoid his adversary's blow or thrust, and on a sudden get on the left hand of his adversary in the manner I formerly related.

To make a horse fit for the wars, and embolden him against all terrors, these inventions are useful, to beat a drum out of the stable first, and then give him his provender, then beat a drum in the stable by degrees, and then give him his provender upon the drum. When he is acquainted herewith sufficiently, you must shoot off a pistol out of the stable, before he hath his provender; then you may shoot off a pistol in the stable, and so by degrees bring it as near to him as you can till he be acquainted with the pistol, likewise remembering still after every shot to give him more provender. You shall do well also to use your horse to swimming; which you may do, either by trailing him after you at the tail of a boat, in a good river, holding him by the the head at the length of the bridles, or by putting a good swimmer in a linen waistcoat and breeches upon him.

It will be fit for a gentleman also to learn to swim, unless he be given to cramps and convulsions; howbeit, I must confess, in my own particular, that I cannot swim; for as I was once in danger of drowning, by learning to swim, my mother, upon her blessing, charged me never to learn swimming, telling me further, that she had heard of more drowned than saved by it: which reason, though it did not prevail with me, yet her commandment did. It will be good also for a gentleman to learn to leap, wrestle, and vault on horseback; they being all of them qualities of

great use. I do much approve likewise of shooting in the long bow, as being both an healthful exercise and useful for the wars, notwithstanding all that our firemen speak against it; for bring an hundred archers against so many musqueteers, I say if the archer comes within his distance, he will not only make two shoots, but two hits for one.

When I had attained the age betwixt eighteen or nineteen years, my mother, together with myself and wife, removed up to London, where we took house, and kept a greater family than became either my mother's widow's estate, or such young beginners as we were; especially, since six brothers and three sisters were to be provided for, my father having either made no will, or such an imperfect one, that it was not proved. My mother, although she had all my father's leases and goods, which were of great value, yet she desired me to undertake that burden of providing for my brothers and sisters; which, to gratify my mother, as well as those so near me, I was voluntarily content to provide thus far, as to give my six brothers thirty pounds a piece yearly, during their lives, and my three sisters one thousand pound a-piece, which portions married them to those I have abovementioned. My younger sister, indeed might have been married to a far greater fortune, had not the overthwartness of some neighbours interrupted it.

About the year of our Lord 1600 I came to London, shortly after which the attempt of the Earl of Essex, related in our history, followed; which I had rather were seen in the writers of that argument than here, Not long after this, curiosity, rather than ambition, brought me to court; and, as it was the manner of those times for all men to kneel down before the great Queen Elizabeth, who then reigned, I was likewise upon my knees in the Presence Chamber, when she passed by the Chapel at Whitehall. As soon as she saw me, she stopped, and, swearing her usual oath, demanded, who is this? Every body there present looked upon me, but no man knew me, until Sir James Croft, a pensioner, finding the Queen stayed, returned back and told who I was, and that I had married Sir William Herbert of St Gillian's daughter. The Queen hereupon looked attentively upon me, and swearing again her ordinary oath, said it is pity he was married so young, and thereupon gave her hand to kiss twice, both times gently clapping me on the cheek. I remember little more of myself, but that, from that time until King James's coming to the crown, I had a son which died shortly afterwards, and that I attended my studies seriously; the more I learnt out of my books adding still a desire to know more.

King James being now acknowledged King, and coming towards London, I thought fit to meet his Majesty at Burley, near Stamford. Shortly after I was made Knight of the Bath, with the usual ceremonies belonging to that ancient order. I could tell how much my person was commended by the lords and ladies that came to see the solemnity then used; but I shall flatter myself too much if I believed it.

I must not forget yet the ancient custom, being that some principal person was to put on the right spur of those the King had appointed to

receive that dignity. The Earl of Shrewsbury, seeing my esquire there with my spur in his hand, voluntarily came to me, and said, cousin, I believe you will be a good knight and therefore I will put on your spur; whereupon, after my most humble thanks for so great a favour, I held up my leg against the wall, and he put on my spur.

There is another custom likewise, that the knights the first day wear the gown of some religious order, and the night following to be bathed; after which they take an oath never to sit in place where injustice should be done, but they shall right it to the uttermost of their power; and particularly ladies and gentlewomen that shall be wronged in their honour, if they demand assistance, and many other points, not unlike the romances of knight errantry.

The second day to wear robes of crimson taffety (in which habit I am painted in my study,) and so to ride from St. James's to Whitehall, with our esquires before us; and the third day to wear a gown of purple sattin, upon the left sleeve whereof is fastened certain strings weaved of white silk and gold tied in a knot, and tassels to it of the same, which all the knights are obliged to wear until they have done something famous in arms, or until some lady of honour take it off, and fasten it on her sleeve, saying, I will answer he shall prove a good knight. I had not long worn this string, but a principal lady of the court, and, certainly, in most men's opinion, the handsomest, took mine off, and said she would pledge her honour for mine. I do not name this lady, because some passages happened afterwards which oblige me to silence; though nothing could be justly said to her prejudice or wrong.

Shortly after this I intended to go with Charles, Earl of Nottingham, the Lord Admiral, who went to Spain to take the King's oath for confirmation of the articles of peace betwixt the two crowns. Howbeit, by the industry of some near me, who desired to stay me at home, I was hindered; and, instead of going that voyage, was made sheriff of Montgomeryshire, concerning which I will say no more, but that I bestowed the place of under sheriff, as also other places in my gifts freely, without either taking gift or reward; which custom also I have observed throughout the whole course of my life; in so much that when I was ambassador in France, and might have had great presents, which former ambassadors accepted, for doing lawful courtesies to merchants and others, yet no gratuity, upon what terms soever, could ever be fastened upon me.

This public duty did not hinder me yet to follow my beloved studies in a country life for the most part; although sometimes also I resorted to court, without yet that I had any ambition there, and much less was tainted with those corrupt delights incident to the times. For, living with my wife in all conjugal loyalty for the space of about ten years after my marriage, I wholly declined the allurements and temptations whatsoever, which might incline me to violate my marriage bed.

About the year 1608, my two daughters, called Beatrice and Florence, who lived not yet long after, and one son Richard being born,

and come to so much maturity, that, although in their mere childhood, they gave no little hopes of themselves for the future time, I called them all before my wife, demanding, how she liked them, to which she answering, well; I demanded then, whether she was willing to do so much for them as I would? whereupon, she replying, demanded what I meant by that. I told her, that, for my part, I was but young for a man, and she not old for a woman; that our lives were in the hands of God; that, if he pleased to call either of us away, that party which remained might marry again, and have children by some other, to which our estates might be disposed; for preventing whereof, I thought fit to motion to her, that if she would assure upon the son any quantity of lands from three hundred pounds a-year to one thousand, I would do the like. But my wife not approving hereof, answered, in these express words, that she would not draw the cradle upon her head; whereupon, I desiring her to advise better upon the business, and to take some few days respite for that purpose, she seemed to depart from me not very well contented. About a week or ten days afterwards, I demanded again what she thought concerning the motion I made; to which yet she said no more, but that she thought she had already answered me sufficiently to the point. I told her then, that I should make another motion her; which was, that in regard I was too young to go beyond sea before I married her, she now would give me leave for a while to see foreign countries; howbeit, if she would assure her lands as I would mine, in the manner above mentioned, I would never depart from her. She answered, that I knew her mind before concerning that point, yet that she should be sorry I went beyond sea; nevertheless, if I would needs go, she could not help it. This, whether a licence taken or given, served my turn to prepare without delay, for a journey beyond sea, that so I might satisfy that curiosity I long since had to see foreign countries. So that I might leave my wife so little discontented as I could, I left her not only posterity to renew the family of the Herberts of St. Gillian's according to her father's desire to inherit his lands, but the rents of all the lands she brought with her; reserving mine own partly to pay my brothers and sisters portions, and defraying my charges abroad. Upon which terms, though I was sorry to leave my wife, as having lived most honestly with her all this time, I thought it no such unjust ambition, to attain the knowledge of foreign countries; especially, since I had in great part already attained the languages, and that I intended not to spend any long time out of my country.

Before I departed yet, I left her with child of a son, christened afterwards by the name of Edward; and now coming to court, I obtained a licence to go beyond sea, taking with me for my companion Mr. Aurelian Townsend, a gentleman that spoke the languages of French, Italian, and Spanish, in great perfection, and a man to wait in my chamber, who spoke French, two lackeys, and three horses. Coming thus to Dover, and passing the seas thence to Calais, I journied without any memorable adventure, until I came to Fauxbourg St. Germans in Paris, where

Sir George Carew, then ambassador for the King, lived; I was kindly received by him, and often invited to his table. Next to his house dwelt the Duke of Ventadour, who had married a daughter of Monsieur de Montmorency, Grand Constable de France. Many visits being exchanged between the duchess and the lady of our ambassador, it pleased the duchess to invite me to her father's house, at the castle of Merlou, being about twenty-four miles from Paris; and here I found much welcome from that brave old General, who being informed of my name, said he well knew of what family I was; telling, the first notice he had of the Herberts was at the siege of St. Quintence, where my grandfather, with a command of foot under William Earl of Pembroke, was. Passing two or three days here, it happened one evening, that a daughter of the Duchess, of about ten or eleven years of age, going one evening from the castle to walk in the meadows, myself, with divers French gentlemen, attended her and some gentlewomen that were with her. This young lady wearing a knot of ribband on her head, a French chevalier took it suddenly, and fastened it to his hatband. The young lady, offended herewith, demands her ribband, but he refusing to restore it, the young lady, addressing herself to me, said, Monsieur, I pray get my ribband from that gentleman; hereupon, going towards him, I courteously, with my hat in my hand, desired him to do me the honour, that I may deliver the lady her ribband or bouquet again; but he roughly answering me, do you think I will give it you, when I have refused it to her? I replied, nay then, sir, I will make you restore it by force; whereupon also putting on my hat and reaching at his, he to save himself ran away, and, after a long course in the meadow, finding that I had almost overtook him, he turned short, and running to the young lady, was about to put the ribband on her hand, when I, seizing upon his arm, said to the young lady, it was I that gave it. Pardon me, quoth she, it is he that gives it me. I said then, Madam, I will not contradict you; but if he dare say, that I did not constrain him to give it, I will fight with him. The French gentleman answered nothing thereunto for the present, and so conducted the young lady again to the castle. The next day I desired Mr. Aurelian Townsend to tell the French cavalier, that either he must confess that I constrained him to restore the ribband, or fight with me; but the gentleman seeing him unwilling to accept of this challenge, went out from the place, whereupon, I following him, some of the gentlemen that belonged to the Constable taking notice hereof, acquainted him therewith, who sending for the French cavalier, checked him well for his sauciness, in taking the ribband away from his grandchild, and afterwards bid him depart his house; and this was all that I ever heard of the gentleman, with whom I proceeded in that manner, because I thought myself obliged thereunto by the oath taken when I was made knight of the Bath, as I formerly related upon this occasion.

I must remember also, that three other times I engaged myself to challenge men to fight with me, who I conceived had injured ladies and

gentlewomen; one was in defence of my cousin Sir Francis Newport's daughter, who was married to John Barker of Hamon, whose younger brother and heir † * * * * * sent him a challenge, which to this day he never answered; and would have beaten him afterwards, but that I was hindered by my uncle Sir Francis Newport.

I had another occasion to challenge one Captain Vaughan, who I conceived offered some injury to my sister the Lady Jones of Abarmarlas. I sent him a challenge, which he accepted, the place between us being appointed beyond Greenwich, with seconds on both sides. Hereupon, I coming to the King's Head in Greenwich, with intention the next morning to be in the place, I found the house beset with at least an hundred persons, partly sent by the Lords of the Privy Council, who gave orders to apprehend me. I hearing thereof, desired my servant to bring my horses as far as he could from my lodging, but yet within sight of me; which being done, and all this company coming to lay hold on me, I and my second, who was my cousin, James Price of Hanachly, sallied out of the doors, with our swords drawn, and, in spite of that multitude, made our way to our horses, where my servant very honestly opposing himself against those who would have laid hands upon us, while we got up on horseback, was himself laid hold on by them, and evil treated; which I perceiving, rid back again, and with my sword in my hand rescued him, and afterwards seeing him get on horseback, charged them to go any where rather than to follow me. Riding afterwards with my second to the place appointed, I found nobody there, which, as I heard afterwards, happened, because the Lords of the Council, taking notice of this difference, apprehended him, and charged him in his Majesty's name not to fight with me; since otherwise I believed he would not have failed.

The third that I questioned in this kind was a Scotch gentleman, who taking a ribband in the like manner from Mrs Middlemore, a maid of honour, as was done from the young lady abovementioned, in a back room behind Queen Anne's lodgings in Greenwich; she likewise desired me to get her said ribband; I repaired, as formerly, to him in a courteous manner to demand it, but he refusing as the French cavalier did, I caught him by the neck, and had almost thrown him down, when company came in and parted us. I offered likewise to fight with this gentleman, and came to the place appointed by Hyde Park; but this also was interrupted by order of the Lords of the Council, and I never heard more of him.

These passages, though different in time, I have related here together; both for the similitude of argument, and that it may appear how strictly I held myself to my oath of knighthood; since, for the rest I can truly say, that, though I have lived in the armies and courts of the greatest

† This space is left blank, because there is certainly something wanting in the original.

princes in Christendom, yet I never had a quarrel with man for my own sake ; so that although in mine own nature I was ever choleric and hasty, yet I never without occasion quarrelled with any body, and as little did any body attempt to give me offence, as having as clear a reputation for my courage as whosoever of my time. For my friends often I have hazarded myself ; but never yet drew my sword for my own sake singly, as hating ever the doing of injury, contenting myself only to resent them when they were offered me. After this digression I shall return to my history.

That brave Constable in France testifying now more than formerly his regard of me, at his departure from Merlou to his fair house at Chantilly, five or six miles distant, said, he left that castle to be commanded by me, as also his forests and chaces, which were well stored with wild boar and stag ; and that I might hunt them when I pleased. He told me also, that if I would learn to ride the great horse, he had a stable there of some fifty, the best and choicest as was thought in France ; and that his escuyer, called Monsieur de Disancour, not inferior to Pluvenel or Labrove, should teach me. I did with great thankfulness accept his offer, as being very much addicted to the exercise of riding great horses ; and, as for hunting in his forests, I told him I should use it sparingly, as being desirous to preserve his game. He commanded also his escuyer to keep a table for me, and his pages to attend me, the chief of whom was Monsieur de Menuon, who proving to be one of the best horsemen in France, keeps now an academy in Paris ; and here I shall recount a little passage betwixt him and his master, that the inclination of the French at that time may appear ; there being scarce any man thought worth the looking on, that had not killed some other in duel.

Menuon desiring to marry a niece of Monsieur Disancour, who it was thought should be his heir, was thus answered by him : " Friend, it is not time yet to marry ; I will tell you what you must do. If you will be a brave man, you must first kill in single combat two or three men, then afterwards marry and engender two or three children, so the world will neither have got nor lost by you ;" of which strange counsel Disancour was no otherwise the author than as he had been an example at least of the former part ; it being his fortune to have fought three or four brave duels in his time.

And now, as every morning I mounted the great horse, so in the afternoon I many times went a hunting, the manner of which was this : The Duke of Montmorency having given orders to the tenants of the town of Merlou, and some villages adjoining, to attend me when I went a hunting, they, upon my summons, usually repaired to those woods where I intended to find my game, with drums and muskets, to the number of sixty or eighty, and sometimes one hundred or more persons ; they entering the wood on that side with that noise, discharging their pieces and beating their said drums, we on the other side of the said wood having placed mastiffs and greyhounds to the number of twenty or thirty, which Monsieur de Montmorency kept near his castle, expected

those beasts they should force out of the wood. If stags or wild boars came forth, we commonly spared them, pursuing only the wolves, which were there in great number, of which are found two sorts; the mastiff wolf, thick and short, though he could not indeed run fast, yet would fight with our dogs; the greyhound wolf, long and swift, who many times escaped our best dogs, although when he was overtaken, easily killed by us, without making much resistance. Of both these sorts I killed divers with my sword, while I stayed there.

One time also it was my fortune to kill a wild boar in this manner. The boar being roused from his den, fled before our dogs for a good space; but finding them press him hard, turned his head against our dogs, and hurt three or four of them very dangerously: I came on horseback up to him, and with my sword thrust him twice or thrice without entering his skin, the blade being not so stiff as it should be. The boar hereupon turned my horse; which I perceiving, rid a little out of the way, leaving my horse with my lackey, returned with my sword against the boar, who by this time had hurt more dogs, and here happened a pretty kind of fight; for, when I thrust at the boar sometimes with my sword, which in some places I made enter, the boar would run at me, whose tusks yet by stepping a little out of the way I avoided, but he then turning upon me, the dogs came in, and drew him off, so that he fell upon them, which I perceiving, ran at the boar with my sword again, which made him turn upon me, but then the dogs pulled him from me again, while so relieving one another by turns, we killed the boar. At this chase Monsieur Disancour and Mennon were present, as also Mr. Townsend; yet so as they did endeavour rather to withdraw me from, than assist me in the danger. Of which boar some part being well seasoned and larded, I presented to my uncle Sir Francis Newport in Shropshire, and found most excellent meat.

Thus having past a whole summer, partly in these exercises, and partly in visits of the Duke of Montmorency at his fair house in Chantilly; which, for its extraordinary fairness and situation, I shall here describe.

A little river descending from some higher grounds in a country which was almost all his own, and falling at last upon a rock in the middle of a valley, which to keep its way forwards, it must on one or other side thereof have declined. Some of the ancestors of the Montmorencies, to ease the river of this labour, made divers channels through this rock to give it a free passage, dividing the rock by that means into little islands, upon which he built a great strong castle, joined together with bridges, and sumptuously furnished with hangings of silk and gold, rare pictures, and statues; all which buildings united as I formerly told, were encompassed about with water, which was paved with stone, (those which were used in building of the house were drawn from thence.) One might see the huge carps, pike, and trouts, which were kept in several divisions, gliding along the waters very easily; yet nothing in my opinion added so much to the glory of this castle as a forest adjoining close

to it, and upon a level with the house. For being of a very large extent, and set thick both with tall trees and underwood, the whole forest, which was replenished with wild boar, stag, and roe deer, was cut out into long walks every way ; so that, although the dogs might follow their chace through the thickets, the huntsmen might ride along the said walks, and meet or overtake their game in some one of them, they being cut with that art, that they led to all the parts in the said forest ; and here also I have hunted the wild boar divers times, both then and afterwards, when his son, the Duke of Montmorency, succeeded him in the possession of that incomparable place.

And there I cannot but remember the directions the old constable gave me to return to his castle out of this admirable labyrinth ; telling me I should look upon what side the trees were roughest and hardest, which being found, I might be confident that part stood northward, which being observed, I might easily find the east, as being on the right hand ; and so guide my way home.

How much this house, together with the forest, hath been valued by great princes, may appear by two little narratives I shall here insert. Charles V. the great emperor, passing in the time of Fransoy I. from Spain into the Low Countries, by the way of France, was entertained for some time in this house, by a duke of Montmorency, who was likewise constable de France ; after he had taken this palace into his consideration, with the forests adjoining, said he would willingly give one of his provinces in the Low Countries for such a place ; there being, as he thought, no where such a situation.

Henry IV. also was desirous of this house, and offered to exchange any of his houses, with much more lands than his estate thereabouts was worth ; to which the Duke of Montmorency made this wary answer ; *Sieur, la maison est à vous, mais que je sois le concierge* ; which in English sounds thus ; Sir, the house is yours, but give me leave to keep it for you.

When I had been at Merlou about some eight months, and attained, as was thought, the knowledge of horsemanship, I came to the Duke of Montmorency at * St. Ilee, and, after due thanks for his favours, took my leave of him to go to Paris ; whereupon, the good old prince embracing me, and calling me son, bid me farewell, assuring me nevertheless he should be glad of any occasion hereafter to testify his love and esteem for me ; telling me further, he should come to Paris himself shortly, where he hoped to see me. From hence I returned to Merlou, where I gave Monsieur Disancour such a present as abundantly requited the charges of my diet, and the pains of his teaching. Being now ready to set forth, a gentleman from the Duke of Montmorency came to me, and told me his master would not let me go without giving me a present, which I might keep as an earnest of his affection ; whereupon also a genet, for which the Duke had sent expressly into Spain, and which cost him there five hundred crowns, as I was told, was brought to me.

* Sic orig. But it is probably a blunder of the transcriber for Chantilly.

The greatness of this gift, together with other courtesies received, did not a little trouble me, as not knowing then how to requite them. I would have given my horses I had there, which were of great value to him, but that I thought them too mean a present, but the Duke also suspecting that I meant to do so, prevented me; saying, that as I loved him, I should think upon no requital, while I stayed in France, but when I came into England, if I sent him a mare that ambled naturally, I should much gratify him; I told the messenger I should strive both that way, and every way else to declare my thankfulness, and so dismissed the messenger with a good reward.

Coming now to Paris, through the recommendation of the Lord Ambassador, I was received to the house of that incomparable scholar Isaac Casaubon, by whose learned conversation I much benefited myself, besides I did apply myself much to know the use of my arms, and to ride the great horse, playing on the lute, and singing according to the rules of the French masters.

Sometimes also I went to the court of the French king, Henry IV. who upon information of me in the garden at the Thuilleries, received me with all courtesy, embracing me in his arms, and holding me some while there. I went sometimes also to the court of Queen Margaret at the Hostel, called by her name; and here I saw many balls or masks, in all which it pleased that Queen publicly to place me next to her chair, not without the wonder of some, and the envy of another who was wont to have that favour. I shall recount one accident which happened while I was there.

All things being ready for the ball, and every one being in their place, and I myself next to the Queen, expecting when the dancers would come in, one knocked at the door somewhat louder than became, as I thought, a very civil person; when he came in, I remember there was a sudden whisper among the ladies, saying, *c'est Monsieur Balagny*, or, it is Monsieur Balagny; whereupon also I saw the ladies and gentlemen one after another invite him to sit near them, and, which is more, when one lady had his company a while, another would say, you have enjoyed him long enough, I must have him now; at which bold civility of theirs, though I were astonished, yet it added unto my wonder, that his person could not be thought at most but ordinary handsome; his hair, which was cut very short, half grey, his doublet but of sackcloth cut to his shirt, and his breeches only of plain grey cloth; informing myself by some standers-by who he was, I was told that he was one of the gallantest men in the world, as having killed eight or nine men in single fight, and that for this reason the ladies made so much of him, it being the manner of all Frenchwomen to cherish gallant men, as thinking they could not make so much of any else with the safety of their honour. This cavalier, though his head was half grey, he had not yet attained the age of thirty years, whom I have thought fit to remember more particularly here, because of some passages that happened afterwards betwixt him and me, at the siege of Juliers, as I shall tell in its place.

Having passed thus all the winter, until about the latter end of January, without any such memorable accident as I shall think fit to set down particularly, I took my leave of the French king, Queen Margaret, and the nobles and ladies in both courts; at which time the princess of Conti desired me to carry a scarf into England, and present to Queen Anne on her part, which being accepted, myself and Sir Thomas Lucy (whose second I had been twice in France, against two cavaliers of our nation, who yet were hindered to fight with us in the field, where we attended them) we came on our way as far as Dieppe in Normandy, and there took ship about the beginning of February, when so furious a storm arose, that with very great danger we were at sea all night; the master of our ship lost both the use of his compass and his reason; for not knowing whither he was carried by the tempest, all the help he had was by the lightnings, which, together with the thunder very frequently that night, terrified him, yet gave the advantage sometimes to discover whether we were upon our coast, to which he thought by the course of his glasses we were near approached; and now towards day we found ourselves, by great providence of God, within view of Dover, to which the master of our ship did make. The men of Dover rising betimes in the morning to see whether any ship were coming towards them, were in great numbers upon the shore, as believing the tempest, which had thrown down barns and trees near the town, might give them the benefit of some wreck, if perchance any ship were driven thitherwards; we coming thus in extreme danger straight upon the pier of Dover, which stands out in the sea, our ship was unfortunately split against it; the master said, *mes amies, nous sommes perdus*; or, my friends, we are cast away; when myself who heard the ship crack against the pier, and then found by the master's words it was time for every one to save themselves, if they could, got out of my cabin (though very sea-sick), and climbing up the mast a little way, drew my sword and flourished it; they at Dover, having this sign given them, adventured in a shallop of six oars to relieve us, which being come with great danger to the side of our ship, I got into it first with my sword in my hand, and called for Sir Thomas Lucy, saying, that if any man offered to get in before him, I should resist him with my sword; whereupon a faithful servant of his taking Sir Thomas Lucy out of the cabin, who was half dead of sea-sickness, put him into my arms, whom after I had received, I bid the shallop make away for the shore, and the rather that I saw another shallop coming to relieve us; when a post from France, who carried letters, finding the ship still rent more and more, adventured to leap from the top of our ship into the shallop, were falling fortunately on some of the stronger timber of the boat, and not on the planks, which he must needs have broken, and so sunk us had he fallen upon them, escaped together with us two unto the land; I must confess myself, as also the seamen that were in the shallop, thought once to have killed him for this desperate attempt; but finding no harm followed, we escaped together unto the land, from whence we sent more shallops, and so made means to save both men and

horses that were in the ship, which yet itself was wholly split and cast away, insomuch that in pity to the master, Sir Thomas Lucy and myself gave thirty pounds towards his loss, which yet was not so great as we thought, since the tide now ebbing, he recovered the broken parts of his ship.

Coming thus to London, and afterwards to court, I kissed his majesty's hand, and acquainted him with some particulars concerning France. As to the present I had to deliver to the Princess of Conty, I thought fit rather to send it by one of the ladies that attended her, than to presume to demand audience of her in person: but her majesty not satisfied herewith, commanded me to attend her, and demanded divers questions of me concerning that princess and the courts in France, saying she would speak more at large with me at some other time; for which purpose she commanded me to wait on her often, wishing me to advise her what present she might return back again.

Howbeit, not many weeks after, I returned to my wife and family again, where I passed some time, partly in my studies, and partly riding the great horse, of which I had a stable well furnished. No horse yet was so dear to me as the genet I brought from France, whose love I had so gotten, that he would suffer none else to ride him, nor indeed any man to come near him, when I was upon him, as being in his nature a most furious horse; his true picture may be seen in the chapel chamber in my house, where I am painted riding upon him, and this motto by me,

Me totum bonitas bonum suprema

Reddas; me intrepidum dabo vel ipse,

This horse as soon as ever I came to the stable would neigh, and when I drew nearer would lick my hands, and (when I suffered him) my cheek, but yet would permit nobody to come near his heels at the same time. Sir Thomas Lucy would have given me 200*l.* for this horse, which, though I would not accept, yet I left the horse with him when I went to the Low Countries, who not long after died. The occasion of my going thither was thus: hearing that a war about the title of Cleave, Juliers, and some other provinces betwixt the Low-Countries and Germany, should be made by the several pretenders to it, and that the French king himself would come with a great army into those parts; it was now the year of our Lord 1610, when my Lord Chandois and myself resolved to take shipping for the Low-Countries, and from thence to pass to the city of Juliers, which the Prince of Orange resolved to besiege; making all haste thither, we found the siege newly begun; the Low-Country army assisted by 4000 English under the command of Sir Edward Cecill. We had not been long there, when the Marshal de Chartres, instead of Henry IV. who was killed by that villain Ravalliac, came with a brave French army thither, in which Monsieur Balagny, I formerly mentioned, was a colonel.

My Lord Chandois lodged himself in the quarter where Sir Horace Vere was; I went and quartered with Sir Edward Cecill, where I was lodged next to him in a hut I made there, going yet both by day and

night to the trenches; we making our approaches to the town on one side, and the French on the other. Our lines were drawn towards the point of a bulwark of the citadel or castle, thought to be one of the best fortifications in Christendom, and encompassed about with a deep wet ditch, we lost many men in making these approaches, the town and castle being very well provided both with great and small shot, and a garrison in it of about 4000 men, besides the burghers; Sir Edward Cecill (who was a very active general), used often during the siege, to go in person in the night time, to try whether he could find any centinels perdues; and for this purpose still desired me to accompany him; in performing whereof, both of us did much hazard our lives, for the first centinel retiring to the second, and the second to the third, three shots were commonly made at us, before we could do any thing, though afterwards chasing them with our swords almost unto their guards, we had some sport in the pursuit of them.

One day Sir Edward Cecill and myself coming to the approaches that Monsieur de Balagny had made towards a bulwark or bastion of that city, Monsieur de Balagny, in the presence of Sir Edward Cecill and divers English and French captains then present, said, *Monsieur, on dit, que vous êtes un des plus braves de votre nation, et je suis Balagny, allons voir qui fera le mieux*; they say you are one of the bravest of your nation, and I am Balagny, let us see who will do best; whereupon leaping suddenly out of the trenches with his sword drawn, I did in the like manner as suddenly follow him, both of us in the mean while striving who should be foremost, which being perceived by those of the bulwark and cortine opposite to us, three or four hundred shot at least, great and small, were made against us. Our running on forwards in emulation of each other, was the cause that all the shots fell betwixt us and the trench from which we sallied. When Monsieur Balagny, finding such a storm of bullets, said, *Par Dieu il fait bien chaud*, it is very hot here. I answered briefly thus: *Vous en ires premier, autrement je n'iray jamais*; you shall go first, or else I will never go; hereupon he ran with all speed, and somewhat crouching towards the trenches, I followed after leisurely and upright, and yet came within the trenches before they on the bulwark or cortine could charge again; which passage afterwards being related to the Prince of Orange, he said it was a strange bravado of Balagny, and that we went to an unavoidable death.

I could relate divers things of note concerning myself, during the siege; but do forbear, lest I should relish too much of vanity: it shall suffice, that my passage over the ditch unto the wall, first of all the nations there, is set down by William Crofts, master of arts, and soldier, who hath written and printed the history of the Low-Countries.

There happened during this siege a particular quarrel betwixt me and the Lord of Walden, eldest son to the Earl of [Suffolk, Lord Treasurer of England at that time, which I do but unwillingly relate, in regard of the great esteem I have of that noble family; howbeit, to avoid misreports, I have thought fit to set it down truly. That Lord having been invited

to a feast in Sir Horace Vere's quarters, where, (after the Low-Country manner) there was liberal drinking, returned not long after to Sir Edward Cecill's quarters, at which time I speaking merrily to him, upon some slight occasion, he took that offence at me, which he would not have done at another time, insomuch that he came towards me in a violent manner, which I perceiving, did more than half-way meet him; but the company were so vigilant upon us, that before any blow past we were separated; howbeit, because he made towards me, I thought fit the next day to send him a challenge, telling him, that if he had any thing to say to me, I would meet him in such a place as no man should interrupt us. Shortly after this Sir Thomas Payton came to me on his part, and told me my Lord would fight with me on horseback with single sword; and, said he, I will be his second; where is yours? I replied, that neither his Lordship nor myself brought over any great horses with us; that I knew he might much better borrow one than myself: howbeit, as soon as he shewed me the place, he should find me there on horseback or on foot; whereupon both of us riding together upon two geldings to the side of a wood, Payton said he chose that place, and the time, break of day the next morning: I told him I would fail neither place nor time, though I knew not where to get a better horse than the nag I rid on; and as for a second, I shall trust to your nobleness, who, I know, will see fair play betwixt us, though you come on his side; but he urging me again to provide a second, I told him I could promise for none but myself, and that if I spoke to any of my friends in the army to this purpose, I doubted lest the business might be discovered and prevented.

He was no sooner gone from me, but night drew on, myself resolving in the mean time to rest under a fair oak all night; after this, tying my horse by the bridle unto another tree, I had not now rested two hours, when I found some fires nearer to me than I thought was possible in so solitary a place, whereupon also having the curiosity to see the reason hereof, I got on horseback again, and had not rode very far, when by the talk of the soldiers there, I found I was in the Scotch quarter, where finding in a stable a very fair horse of service, I desired to know whether he might be bought for any reasonable sum of money; but a soldier replying it was their captain's, Sir James Areskin's chief horse, I demanded for Sir James, but the soldier answering he was not within the quarter, I demanded then for his lieutenant, whereupon the soldier courteously desired him to come to me; this lieutenant was called Montgomery, and had the reputation of a gallant man; I told him that I would very fain buy a horse, and, if it were possible, the horse I saw but a little before; but he telling me none was to be sold there, I offered to leave in his hands 100 pieces, if he would lend me a good horse for a day or two, he to restore me the money again when I delivered him the horse in good plight, and did besides bring him some present as gratuity.

The lieutenant, though he did not know me, suspected I had some private quarrel, and that I desired this horse to fight on, and thereupon told me, Sir, whosoever you are, you seem to be a person of worth, and you shall have the best horse in the stable; and if you have a quarrel and want a second, I offer myself to serve you upon another horse, and if you will let me go along with you upon these terms, I will ask no pawn of you for the horse. I told him I would use no second, and I desired him to accept 100 pieces, which I had there about me, in pawn for the horse, and that he should hear from me shortly again; and that though I did not take his noble offer of coming along with me, I should ever more rest much obliged to him; whereupon giving him my purse with the money in it, I got upon his horse, and left my nag besides with him.

Riding thus away about twelve o'clock at night to the wood from whence I came, I alighted from my horse and rested there till morning; the day now breaking I got on horseback, and attended the Lord of Walden with his second. The first person that appeared was a footman, who I heard afterwards was sent by the Lady of Walden, who as soon as he saw me, ran back again with all speed; I meant once to pursue him, but that I thought it better at least to keep my place. About two hours after Sir William St. Leiger, now lord president Munster, came to me, and told me he knew the cause of my being there, and that the business was discovered by the Lord Walden's rising so early that morning, and the suspicion that he meant to fight with me, and had Sir Thomas Payton with him, and that he would ride to him, and that there were thirty or forty sent after us, to hinder us from meeting; shortly after many more came to the place where I was, and told me I must not fight, and that they were sent for the same purpose, and that it was to no purpose to stay there, and thence rode to seek the Lord of Walden; I stayed yet two hours longer, but finding still more company came in, rode back again to the Scotch quarters, and delivered the horse back again, and received my money and nag from Lieutenant Montgomery, and so withdrew myself to the French quarters, till I did find some convenient time to send again to the Lord Walden.

Being among the French, I remembered myself of the bravado of Monsieur Balagny, and coming to him told him, I knew how brave a man he was, and that as he had put me to one trial of daring, when I was last with him in his trenches, I would put him to another; saying I heard he had a fair mistress, and that the scarf he wore was her gift, and that I would maintain I had a worthier mistress than he, and that I would do as much for her sake as he, or any else durst do for his; Balagny hereupon looking merrily upon me, said, If we shall try who is the abler man to serve his mistress, let both of us get two wenches, and he that doth his business best, let him be the braver man; and that for his part, he had no mind to fight on that quarrel; I looking hereupon somewhat disdainfully on him, said he spoke more like a paillard than a cavalier; to which he answering nothing, I rid my ways, and afterwards

went to Monsieur Terant, a French gentleman that belonged to the Duke of Montmorency, formerly mentioned ; who telling me he had a quarrel with another gentleman, I offered to be his second, but he saying he was provided already, I rode thence to the English quarters, attending some fit occasion to send again to the Lord Walden. I came no sooner thither, but I found Sir Thomas Sommerset with eleven or twelve more in the head of the English, who were then drawing forth in a body or squadron, who seeing me on horse back, with a footman only that attended me, gave me some affronting words, for my quarrelling with the Lord of Walden ; whereupon I alighted, and giving my horse to my lacquey, drew my sword, which he no sooner saw, but he drew his, and also all the company with him ; I running hereupon amongst them, put by some of their thrusts, and making towards him in particular, put by a thrust of his, and had certainly run him through, but that one Lieutenant Prichard, at that instant, taking me by the shoulder, turned me aside ; but I, recovering myself again, ran at him a second time, which he perceiving, retired himself with the company to the tents which were near, though not so fast but I hurt one Proger, and some others also that were with him ; but they being all at last got within the tents, I finding now nothing else to be done, got to my horse again, having received only a slight hurt on the outside of my ribs, and two thrusts, the one through the skirts of my doublet, and the other through my breeches, and about eighteen nicks upon my sword and hilt, and so rode to the trenches before Juliers, where our soldiers were.

Not long after this, the town being now surrendered, and every body preparing to go their ways, I sent again a gentleman to the Lord of Walden to offer him the meeting with my sword ; but this was avoided not very handsomely by him (contrary to what Sir Henry Rich, now Earl of Holland, persuaded him.)

After having taken leave of his Excellency Sir Edward Cecill, I thought fit to return on my way homewards as far as Dusseldorp. I had been scarce two hours in my lodgings when one Lieutenant Hamilton brought a letter from Sir James Areskin (who was then in town likewise) unto me, the effect whereof was, that in regard his Lieutenant Montgomery had told him that I had the said James Areskin's consent for borrowing his horse, he did desire me to do one of two things, which was, either to disavow the said words, which he thought in his conscience I never spake, or if I would justify them, then to appoint time and place to fight with him. Having considered a while what I was to do in this case, I told Lieutenant Hamilton that I thought myself bound in honour to accept the more noble part of his proposition, which was to fight with him, when yet perchance it might be easy enough for me to say that I had his horse upon other terms than was affirmed ; whereupon also giving Lieutenant Hamilton the length of my sword, I told him that as soon as ever he had matched it, I would fight with him, wishing him further to make haste, since I desired to end the business as speedily as could be. Lieutenant Hamilton hereupon returning back, met in a cross

street (I know not by what miraculous adventure) Lieutenant Montgomery, conveying diverse of the hurt and maimed soldiers at the siege of St. Juliers unto that town, to be lodged and dressed by the chirurgeons there; Hamilton hereupon calling to Montgomery, told him the effects of his captain's letter, together with my answer, which Montgomery no sooner heard, but he replied, (as Hamilton told me afterwards,) I see that noble gentleman chooseth rather to fight than to contradict me; but my telling a lie must not be an occasion why either my captain or he should hazard their lives: I will alight from my horse, and tell my captain presently how all that matter past; whereupon also he relating the business about borrowing the horse, in that manner I formerly set down, which as soon as Sir James Areskin heard, he sent Lieutenant Hamilton to me presently again, to tell me he was satisfied how the business past, and that he had nothing to say to me, but that he was my most humble servant, and was sorry he ever questioned me in that manner.

Some occasions detaining me in Dusseldorp, the next day Lieutenant Montgomery came to me, and told me he was in danger of losing his place, and desired me to make means to his excellency the Prince of Orange that he might not be cashiered, or else that he was undone; I told him that either I would keep him in his place, or take him as my companion and friend, and allow him sufficient means till I could provide him another as good as it; which he taking very kindly, but desiring chiefly he might go with my letter to the Prince of Orange, I obtained at last he should be restored to his place again.

And now taking boat, I passed along the river of Rhine to the Low Countries, where after some stay, I went to Antwerp and Brussels; and having passed some time in the court there, went from thence to Calais, where taking ship I arrived at Dover, and so went to London. I had scarce been two days there, when the Lords of the Council sending for me, ended the difference betwixt the Lord of Walden and myself. And now, if I may say it without vanity, I was in great esteem both in court and city; many of the greatest desiring my company, though yet before that time I had no acquaintance with them. Richard Earl of Dorset, to whom otherwise I was a stranger, one day invited me to Dorset-house, where bringing me into his gallery, and shewing me many pictures, he at last brought me to a frame covered with green taffeta, and asked me who I thought was there; and therewithal presently drawing the curtain, shewed me my own picture; whereupon demanding how his Lordship came to have it, he answered, that he had heard so many brave things of me, that he got a copy of a picture which one Larkin a painter drew for me, the original whereof I intended before my departure to the Low Countries for Sir Thomas Lucy. But not only the Earl of Dorset, but a * greater person than I will here nominate, got another copy from Larkin, and placing it afterwards in her cabinet (without that ever I knew

* This was certainly Queen Anne, as appears from the very respectful terms in which he speaks of her a little farther, and from other passages, when he mentions the secret and dangerous enemies he had on this account.

any such thing was done) gave occasion to those that saw it after her death, of more discourse than I could have wished ; and indeed I may truly say, that taking of my picture was fatal to me, for more reasons than I shall think fit to deliver.

There was a lady also, wife to Sir John Ayres knight, who, finding some means to get a copy of my picture from Larkin, gave it to Mr. * Isaac the painter in Blackfriars, and desired him to draw it in little after his manner ; which being done, she caused it to be set in gold and enamelled, and so wore it about her neck so low that she hid it under her breasts, which I conceive coming afterwards to the knowledge of Sir John Ayres, gave him more cause of jealousy than needed, had he known how innocent I was from pretending to any thing which might wrong him or his lady ; since I could not so much as imagine that either she had my picture, or that she bare more than ordinary affection to me. It is true, that as she had a place in court, and attended Queen Anne, and was beside of an excellent wit, and discourse, she had made herself a considerable person ; howbeit little more than common civility ever passed betwixt us, though I confess I think no man was welcomer to her when I came, for which I shall allege this passage :

Coming one day into her chamber, I saw her through the curtains lying upon her bed with a wax candle in one hand, and the picture I formerly mentioned in the other. I coming thereupon somewhat boldly to her, she blew out the candle, and hid the picture from me ; myself thereupon being curious to know what that was she held in her hand, got the candle to be lighted again, by means whereof I found it was my picture she looked upon with more earnestness and passion than I could have easily believed, especilly since myself was not engaged in any affection towards her : I could willingly have omitted this passage, but that it was the beginning of a bloody history which followed : Howsoever, yet I must before God clear her honour. And now in court a great person sent for me divers times to attend her, which summons though I obeyed, yet God knoweth I declined coming to her as much as conveniently I could, without incurring her displeasure ; and this I did not only for very honest reasons, but, to speak ingenuously, because that affection passed betwixt me and another lady (who I believe was the fairest of her time) as nothing could divert it. I had not been long in London, when a violent burning fever seized upon me, which brought me almost to my death, though at last I did by slow degrees recover my health ; being thus upon my amendment, the Lord Lisle, afterwards Earl of Leicester, sent me word, that Sir John Ayres intended to kill me in my bed, and wished me to keep a guard upon my chamber and person ; the same advertisement was confirmed by Lucy Countess of Bedford, and the Lady Hobby shortly after. Hereupon I thought fit to entreat Sir William Herbert, now Lord Powis, to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that I marvelled much at the information given me by these great persons, and that I could not imagine any sufficient ground hereof ; how-

* Isaac Oliver.

beit, if he had any thing to say to me in a fair and noble way, I would give him the meeting as soon as I had got strength enough to stand upon my legs; Sir William hereupon brought me so ambiguous and doubtful an answer from him, that whatsoever he meant, he would not declare yet his intention, which was really, as I found afterwards, to kill me any way that he could, since, as he said, though falsely, I had whored his wife. Finding no means thus to surprise me, he sent me a letter to this effect; that he desired to meet me somewhere, and that it might so fall out as I might return quietly again. To this I replied, that if he desired to fight with me upon equal terms, I should, upon assurance of the field and fair play, give him meeting when he did any way specify the cause, and that I did not think fit to come to him upon any other terms, having been sufficiently informed of his plots to assassinate me.

After this, finding he could take no advantage against me, then in a treacherous way he resolved to assassinate me in this manner; hearing I was to come to Whitehall on horseback with two lacqueys only, he attended my coming back in a place called Scotland-yard, at the hither end of Whitehall, as you come to it from the Strand, hiding himself here with four men armed on purpose to kill me. I took horse at Whitehall-gate, and passing by that place, he being armed with a sword and dagger, without giving me so much as the least warning, ran at me furiously, but instead of me wounded my horse in the brisket, as far as his sword could enter for the bone; my horse hereupon starting aside, he ran him again in the shoulder, which though it made the horse more timorous, yet gave me time to draw my sword. His men thereupon encompassed me, and wounded my horse in three places more; this made my horse kick and fling in that manner as his men durst not come near me; which advantage I took to strike at Sir John Ayres with all my force, but he warded the blow both with his sword and dagger; instead of doing him harm, I broke my sword within a foot of the hilt. Hereupon some passenger that knew me, and observing my horse bleeding in so many places, and so many men assaulting me, and my sword broken, cried to me several times, ride away, ride away; but I, scorning a base flight upon what terms soever, instead thereof alighted as well as I could from my horse. I had no sooner put one foot upon the ground, but Sir John Ayres pursuing me, made at my horse again, which the horse perceiving, pressed on me on the side I alighted, in that manner that he threw me down, so that I remained flat upon the ground, only one foot hanging in the stirrup, with that piece of a sword in my right hand. Sir John Ayres hereupon ran about the horse, and was thrusting his sword into me, when I, finding myself in this danger, did with both my arms reaching at his legs pull them towards me, till he fell down backwards on his head; one of my footmen hereupon, who was a little Shropshire boy, freed my foot out of the stirrup, the other, which was a great fellow, having run away as soon as he saw the first assault. This gave me time to get upon my legs, and to put myself in the best pos-

ture I could with that poor remnant of a weapon. Sir John Ayres by this time likewise was got up, standing betwixt me and some part of Whitehall, with two men on each side of him, and his brother behind him, with at least twenty or thirty persons of his friends, or attendants of the Earl of Suffolk. Observing thus a body of men standing in opposition against me, though to speak truly I saw no swords drawn but by Sir John Ayres and his men, I ran violently against Sir John Ayres; but he, knowing my sword had no point, held his sword and dagger over his head, as believing I could strike rather than thrust, which I no sooner perceived but I put a home thrust to the middle of his breast, that I threw him down with so much force, that his head fell first to the ground, and his heels upwards. His men hereupon assaulted me, when one Mr. Mansel, a Glamorganshire gentleman, finding so many set against me alone, closed with one of them; a Scotch gentleman also closing with another, took him off also. All I could well do to those two which remained was to ward their thrusts, which I did with that resolution that I got ground upon them. Sir John Ayres was now got up a third time, when I making towards him with intention to close, thinking that there was otherwise no safety for me, put by a thrust of his with my left hand, and so coming within him, received a stab with his dagger on my right side, which ran down my ribs as far as my hip, which I feeling, did with my right elbow force his hand, together with the hilt of the dagger, so near the upper part of my right side, that I made him leave hold. The dagger now sticking in me, Sir Henry Cary, afterwards Lord of Faulkland and Lord Deputy of Ireland, finding the dagger thus in my body, snatched it out. This while I being closed with Sir John Ayres, hurt him on the head, and threw him down a third time, when kneeling on the ground and bestriding him, I struck at him as hard as I could with my piece of a sword, and wounded him in four several places, and did almost cut off his left hand; his two men this while struck at me, but it pleased God even miraculously to defend me; for when I lifted up my sword to strike at Sir John Ayres, I bore off their blows half a dozen times. His friends now finding him in this danger, took him by the head and shoulders, and drew him from betwixt my legs, and carried him along with them through Whitehall, at the stairs whereof he took boat. Sir Herbert Croft (as he told me afterwards) met him upon the water vomiting all the way, which I believe was caused by the violence of the first thrust I gave him. His servants, brother, and friends, being now retired also, I remained master of the place and his weapons; having first wrested his dagger from him, and afterwards struck his sword out of his hand.

This being done, I retired to a friend's house in the Strand, where I sent for a surgeon, who searching my wound on the right side, and finding it not to be mortal, cured me in the space of some ten days, during which time I received many noble visits and messages from some of the best in the kingdom. Being now fully recovered of my hurts, I desired Sir Robert Harley* to go to Sir John Ayres, and tell him, that though

* Knight of the Bath and Master of the Mint.

I thought he had not so much honour left in him, that I could be any way ambitious to get it, yet that I desired to see him in the field with his sword in his hand : the answer that he sent me was, that I had whored his wife, and that he would kill me with a musket out of a window.

The lords of the privy council, who had first sent for my sword, that they might see the little fragment of a weapon with which I had so behaved myself, as perchance the like had not been heard in any credible way, did afterwards command both him and me to appear before them ; but I absenting myself on purpose, sent one Humphrey Hill with a challenge to him in an ordinary, which he refusing to receive, Humphrey Hill put it upon the point of his sword, and so let it fall before him and the company then present.

The lords of the privy council had now taken order to apprehend Sir John Ayres ; when I, finding nothing else to be done, submitted myself likewise to them. Sir John Ayres had now published every where, that the ground of his jealousy, and consequently of his assaulting me, was drawn from the confession of his wife the Lady Ayres. She, to vindicate her honour, as well as to free me from this accusation, sent a letter to her aunt the Lady Crook, to this purpose : That her husband Sir John Ayres did lie falsely, in saying that I ever whored her ; but most falsely of all did lie when he said he had it from her confession, for she had never said any such thing.

This letter the Lady Crook presented to me most opportunely as I was going to the council table before the lords, who having examined Sir John Ayres concerning the cause of his quarrel against me, found him still persist in his wife's confession of the fact ; and now he being withdrawn, I was sent for, when then the Duke of Lennox, afterwards of Richmond, telling me that was the ground of his quarrel, and the only excuse he had for assaulting me in that manner ; I desired his lordship to peruse the letter, which I told him was given me as I came into the room. The letter being publicly read by a clerk of the council, the Duke of Lennox then said, that he thought Sir John Ayres the most miserable man living ; for his wife had not only given him the lie, as he found by her letter, but his father had disinherited him for attempting to kill me in that barbarous fashion, which was most true, as I found afterwards. For the rest, that I might content myself with what I had done, it being more almost than could be believed, but that I had so many witnesses thereof ; for all which reasons, he commanded me, in the name of his majesty and all their lordships, not to send any more to Sir John Ayres, nor to receive any message from him, in the way of fighting, which commandment I observed. Howbeit I must not omit to tell, that some years afterwards Sir John Ayres returning from Ireland by Beaumaris, where I then was, some of my servants and followers broke open the doors of the house where he was, and would, I believe, have cut him into pieces, but that I hearing thereof, came suddenly to the house and recalled them, sending him word also, that I scorned to give him the usage he gave me, and that I would set him free out of the town ; which

courtesy of mine, as I was told afterwards, he did thankfully acknowledge. About a month after that Sir John Ayres attempted to assassinate me, the news thereof was carried, I know not how, to the Duke of Montmorency, who presently dispatched a gentleman with a letter to me, which I keep, and a kind offer, that if I would come unto him, I should be used as his son; neither had this gentleman, as I know of, any other business in England. I was told besides by this gentleman, that the duke heard I had greater and more enemies than did publicly declare themselves, which indeed was true, and that he doubted I might have a mischief before I was aware.

My answer hereunto by letter was, That I rendered most humble thanks for his great favour in sending to me; that no enemies, how great or many soever, could force me out of the kingdom; but if ever there were occasion to serve him in particular, I should not fail to come; for performance whereof, it happening there were some overtures of a civil war in France the next year, I sent over a French gentleman who attended me unto the Duke of Montmorency, expressly to tell him, that if he had occasion to use my service in the designed war, I would bring over 100 horse at my own cost and charges to him, which that good old duke and constable took so kindly, that, as the duchess of Antedor,* his daughter told me afterwards, when I was ambassador, there were few days till the last of his life that he did not speak of me with much affection.

I can say little more memorable concerning myself from the year 1611, when I was hurt, until the year of our Lord 1614, than that I past my time sometimes in the court, where (I protest before God) I had more favours than I desired, and sometimes in the country, without any memorable accident; but only that it happened one time going from St. Gillian's to Abergaveney, in the way to Montgomery Castle, Richard Griffiths, a servant of mine, being come near a bridge over Husk, not far from the town, thought fit to water his horse, but the river being deep and strong in that place where he entered it, he was carried down the stream. My servants that were before me seeing this, cried aloud Dick Griffiths was drowning, which I no sooner heard, but I put spurs to my horse, and coming up to the place, where I saw him as high as his middle in water, leapt into the river a little below him, and swimming up to him, bore him up with one of my hands, and brought him unto the middle of the river, where (through God's great providence) was a bank of sand. Coming hither, not without some difficulty, we rested ourselves, and advised whether it were better to return back unto the side from whence we came, or to go on forwards; but Dick Griffiths saying we were sure to swim if we returned back, and that perchance the river might be shallow the other way, I followed his counsel, and putting my horse below him, bore him up in the manner I did formerly, and swimming through the river, brought him safe to the other side. The horse I rode upon I remember cost me 40*l*. and was the same horse which Sir John Ayres hurt under me, and did swim excellently well, carrying me and his back above water; whereas that little nag upon

which Richard Griffiths rid, swam so low, that he must needs have drowned, if I had not supported him.

I will tell one history more of this horse, which I bought of my cousin Fowler of the Grange, because it is memorable. I was passing over a bridge not far from Colebrook, which had no barrier on the one side, and a hole in the bridge not far from the middle; my horse, although lusty, yet being very timorous, and seeing besides but very little on the right eye, started so much at the hole, that upon a sudden he had put half his body lengthways over the side of the bridge, and was ready to fall into the river, with his fore-foot and hinder-foot on the right side, when I, foreseeing the danger I was in if I fell down, clapt my left foot, together with the stirrup and spur, flat-long to the left side, and so made him leap upon all four into the river, whence, after some three or four plunges, he brought me to land.

The year 1614 was now entering, when I understood that the Low-Country and Spanish army would be in the field that year; this made me resolve to offer my service to the Prince of Orange, who upon my coming did much welcome me, not suffering me almost to eat any where but at his table, and carrying me abroad the afternoon in his coach, to partake of those entertainments he delighted in when there was no pressing occasion. The Low-Country army being now ready, his excellency prepared to go into the field; in the way to which he took me in his coach, and sometimes in a waggon after the Low-Country fashion, to the great envy of the English and French chief commanders, who expected that honour. Being now arrived near Emerick, one with a most humble petition came from a monastery of nuns, most humbly desiring that the soldiers might not violate their honour nor their monastery, whereupon I was a most humble suitor to his excellency to spare them, which he granted; but, said he, we will go and see them ourselves; and thus his excellency, and I and Sir Charles Morgan only, not long after going to the monastery, found it deserted in great part. Having put a guard upon this monastery, his excellency marched with his army on till we came near the city of Emerick, which upon summoning yielded. And now leaving a garrison here, we resolved to march towards Rice;* this place having the Spanish army, under the command of Monsieur Spinola on the one side, and the Low-Country army on the other, being able to resist neither, sent word to both armies, that whichever came first should have the place. Spinola hereupon sent word to his excellency, that if we intended to take Rice, he would give him battle in a plain near before the town. His excellency, nothing astonished hereat, marched on, his pioneers making his way for his army still, through hedges and ditches, till he came to that hedge and ditch which was next the plain; and here drawing his men into battle, resolved to attend the coming of Spinola into the field. While his men were putting in order, I was so desirous to see whether Spinola with his army appeared, I leapt over a great hedge and ditch, attended only with one footman, purposing to change a pistol-shot or two with the first I met. I found thus some sin-

* Rees, in the Duchy of Cleve, near Emerick.

gle horse in the field, who, perceiving me to come on, rid away as fast as they could, believing perchance that more would follow me; having thus passed to the further end of the field, and finding no shew of the enemy, I returned back that I might inform his excellency there was no hope of fighting as I could perceive. I the mean time, his excellency having prepared all things for battle, sent out five or six scouts to discover whether the enemy were come according to promise; these men finding me now coming towards them, thought I was one of the enemies, which being perceived by me, and I as little knowing at that time who they were, rode up with my sword in my hand, and pistol, to encounter them; and now being come within reasonable distance, one of the persons there that knew me told his fellows who I was, whereupon I passed quietly to his excellency and told him what I had done, and that I found no appearance of an army: his excellency then caused the hedge and ditch before him to be levelled, and marched in front with his army into the middle of the field, from whence sending some of his forces to summon the town, it yielded without resistance.

Our army made that haste to come to the place appointed for the battle, that all our baggage and provision were left behind, in so much that I was without any meat, but what my footman spared me out of his pocket; and my lodging that night was no better, for extreme rain falling at that time in the open field, I had no shelter, but was glad to get on the top of a waggon which had straw in it, and to cover myself with my cloak as well as I could, and so endure that stormy night. Morning being come, and no enemy appearing, I went to the town of Rice, into which his excellency having now put a garrison, marched on with the rest of his army towards Wezel, before which Spinola with his army lay, and in the way entrenched himself strongly, and attended Spinola's motions. For the rest, nothing memorable happened after this, betwixt those two great generals for the space of many weeks.

I must yet not omit with thankfulness to remember a favour his excellency did me at this time; for a soldier having killed his fellow soldier, in the quarter where they were lodged, which is an unpardonable fault, insomuch that no man would speak for him; the poor fellow comes to me, and desires me to beg his life of his excellency; whereupon I demanded whether he had ever heard of a man pardoned in this kind, and he saying no, I told him it was in vain then for me to speak; when the poor fellow writhing his neck a little, said, Sir, but were it not better you shall cast away a few words, than I lose my life? This piece of eloquence moved me so much, that I went straight to his excellency, and told him what the poor fellow had said, desiring him to excuse me, if upon these terms I took the boldness to speak for him. There was present at that time the Earl of Southampton, as also Sir Edward Cecil, and Sir Horace Vere, as also Monsieur de Chastillon, and divers other French commanders; to whom his excellency turning himself said in French, Do you see this cavalier? with all that courage you know, hath yet that good nature to pray for the life of a poor soldier; though I had

never pardoned any before in this kind, yet I will pardon this at his request; so commanding him to be brought me, and disposed of as I thought fit, whom therefore I released and set free.

It was so far advanced in autumn, both armies thought of retiring themselves into their garrisons, when a trumpeter comes from the Spanish army to ours, with a challenge from a Spanish cavalier to this effect, That if any cavalier in our army would fight a single combat for the sake of his mistress, the said Spaniard would meet him, upon assurance of the camp in our army. This challenge being brought early in the morning, was accepted by nobody till about ten or eleven of the clock, when the report thereof coming to me, I went straight to his excellency, and told him I desired to accept the challenge. His excellency thereupon looking earnestly upon me, told me he was an old soldier, and that he had observed two sorts of men who used to send challenges in this kind; one was of those who, having lost perchance some part of their honour in the field against the enemy, would recover it again by a single fight. The other was of those who sent it only to discover whether our army had in it men affected to give trial of themselves in this kind; howbeit, if this man was a person, without exception to be taken against him, he said there was none he knew, upon whom he would sooner venture the honour of his army than myself; and this also he spoke before divers of the English and French commanders I formerly nominated. Hereupon, by his excellency's permission, I sent a trumpet to the Spanish army with this answer, That if the person who would be sent were a cavalier without reproach, I would answer him with such weapons as we should agree upon, in the place he offered; but my trumpeter was scarcely arrived, as I believe, at the Spanish army, when another trumpeter came to ours from Spinola, saying the challenge was made without his consent, and that therefore he would not permit it. This message being brought to his excellency, with whom I then was, he said to me presently, this is strange; they send a challenge hither, and when they have done, recal it. I should be glad if I knew the true causes of it. Sir, said I, if you will give me leave, I will go to their army, and make the like challenge, as they sent hither; it may be some scruple is made concerning the place appointed, being in your excellency's camp, and therefore I shall offer them the combat in their own: his excellency said, I should never have persuaded you to this course, but since you voluntarily offer it, I must not deny that which you think to be for your honour. Hereupon taking my leave of him, and desiring Sir Humphrey Tufton, a brave gentleman, to bear me company, thus we two attended only with two lackies, rode straight towards the Spanish camp before Wezel; coming thither without any disturbance, by the way I was demanded by the guard at the entering into their camp, with whom I would speak; I told them with the Duke of Newbourg; whereupon a soldier was presently sent with us to conduct us to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, who remembering me well, since he saw me at the siege of Juliers, very kindly embraced me, and therewithall demanding the cause

of my coming thither; I told him the effect thereof in the manner I formerly set down: to which he replied only, he would acquaint the Marquis Spinola therewith; who coming shortly after to the Duke of Newbourg's tent, with a great train of commanders and captains following him, he no sooner entered, but he turned to me and said, that he knew well the cause of my coming, and that the same reasons which made him forbid the Spanish cavalier to fight a combat in the Prince of Orange's camp, did make him forbid it in his, and that I should be better welcome to him than I would be, and thereupon intreated me to come and dine with him; I finding nothing else to be done, did kindly accept the offer, and so attended him to his tent, where a brave diuner being put upon his table, he placed the Duke of Newbourg uppermost at one end of the table, and myself at the other, himself sitting below us, presenting with his own hand still the best of that meat his carver offered him; he demanded of me then in Italian, *Di che moriva Sigr. Francisco Vere*; of what died Sir Francis Vere? I told him, *Per aver niente á fare*, because he had nothing to do; Spinola replied, *E basta per un Generale*, and it is enough to kill a general; and indeed that brave commander, Sir Francis Vere, died not in time of war but of peace.

Taking my leave now of the Marquis Spinola, I told him that if ever he did lead an army against the infidels, I should adventure to be the first man that would die in that quarrel, and together demanded leave of him to see his army, which he granting, I took leave of him, and did at leisure view it; observing the difference in the proceedings betwixt the Low Country army and fortifications, as well as I could; and so returning shortly after to his excellency, related to him the success of my journey. It happened about this time that Sir Henry Wotton mediated a peace by the king's command, who coming for that purpose to Wezel, I took occasion to go along with him into Spinola's army, whence after a night's stay, I went on an extreme rainy day through the woods to Kysarawert, to the great wonder of mine host, who said all men were robbed or killed that went that way. From hence I went to Cullin, where, among other things, I saw the monastery of St Herbert; from hence I went to Hydelberg, where I saw the Prince and Princess Palatine: from whom having received much good usage, I went to Ulme, and so to Augsbουργ, where extraordinary honour was done me; for coming into an inn where an ambassador from Brussels lay, the town sent twenty great flaggons of wine thither, whereof they gave eleven to the ambassador, and nine to me; and withall some such compliments that I found my fame had prevented my coming thither. From hence I went through Switzerland to Trent, and from thence to Venice, where I was received by the English ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton, with much honour; among other favours shewed me, I was brought to see a nun in Murano, who being an admirable beauty, and together singing extremely well, was thought one of the rarities not only of that place but of the time; we came to a room opposite unto the cloyster, whence she coming on the other side of the grate betwixt us, sung so extremely well, that when she

departed, neither my lord ambassador nor his lady, who were then present, could find as much as a word of fitting language to return her, for the extraordinary music she gave us; when I, being ashamed that she should go back without some testimony of her beauty and her voice, said in Italian, *Moria pur quando vuol, non bisogna mutar ni voce ni facis per esser un angelo*; die whensoever you will, you will neither need to change voice, nor face, to be an angel: these words it seemed were fatal, for going thence to Rome, and returning shortly afterwards, I heard she was dead in the mean time.

From Venice, after some stay, I went to Florence, where I met the Earl of Oxford and Sir Benjamin Rudier: having seen the rarities of this places likewise, and particularly that rare chapel made for the house of Medici, beautified on all the inside with a coarser kind of precious stone, as also that nail which was at one end iron, and the other gold, made so by vertue of a tincture into which it was put. I went to Siena, and from thence a little before the Christmas holidays to Rome. I was no sooner alighted at my inn, but I went straight to the English college, where demanding for the regent or master thereof, a grave person not long after appeared at the door, to whom I spake in this manner: Sir, I need not tell you my country when you hear my language; I come not here to study controversies, but to see the antiquities of the place; if without scandal to the religion in which I was born and bred up, I may take this liberty, I should be glad to spend some convenient time here; if not, my horse is yet unsaddled, and myself willing to go out of town. The answer returned by him to me was, that he never heard any body before me profess himself of any other religion than what was used in Rome; for his part, he approved much my freedom, as collecting thereby I was a person of honour; for the rest that he could give me no warrant for my stay there, howbeit that experience did teach that those men who gave no affronts to the Roman Catholic religion, received none; wherenpon also he demanded my name. I telling him I was called Sir Edward Herbert, he replied, that he had heard men oftentimes speak of me both for learning and courage, and presently invited me to dinner; I told him that I took his courteous offer as an argument of his affection; that I desired him to excuse me, if I did not accept it; the uttermost liberty I had (as the times then were in England) being already taken in coming to that city only, lest they should think me a factious person; I thought fit to tell him that I conceived the points agreed upon on both sides are greater bonds of amity betwixt us, than that the points disagreed on could break them; that for my part I loved every body that was of a pious and virtuous life, and thought the errors on what side soever, were more worthy pity than hate; and having declared myself thus far, I took my leave of him courteously, and spent about a month's time in seeing the antiquities of that place, which first found means to establish so great an empire over the persons of men, and afterwards over their consciences. The articles of confession and absolving sinners being a greater *arcanum*

imperii for governing the world, than all the arts invented by statists formerly were.

After I had seen Rome sufficiently, I went to Tivoli, anciently called Tibur, and saw the fair palace and garden there, as also Frascati, anciently called Tusculanum. After that I returned to Rome, and saw the Pope in consistory, which being done, when the Pope being now ready to give his blessing, I departed thence suddenly; which gave such a suspicion of me, that some were sent to apprehend me, but I going a bye way escaped them, and went to my inn to take horse, where I had not been now half an hour, when the master or regent of the English college telling me that I was accused in the Inquisition, and that I could stay no longer with any safety, I took this warning very kindly; howbeit I did only for the present change my lodging, and a day or two afterwards took horse, and went out of Rome towards Siena, and from thence to Florence. I saw Sir Robert Dudley, who had the title of Earl or Duke of Northumberland given him by the emperor, and handsome Mrs. Sudel, whom he carried with him out of England, and was there taken for his wife. I was invited by them to a great feast the night before I went out of town; taking my leave of them both, I prepared for my journey the next morning; when I was ready to depart, a messenger came to me, and told me if I would accept the same pension Sir Robert Dudley had, being two thousand ducats per annum, the duke would entertain me for his service in the war against the Turks. This offer, whether procured by the means of Sir Robert Dudley, Mrs. Sudel, or Sigr. Loty, my ancient friend, I know not, being thankfully acknowledged as a great honour, was yet refused by me, my intention being to serve his excellency in the Low Country war.

After I had stayed a while, from hence I went by Ferrara and Bologna towards Padua, in which university having spent some time to hear the learned readers, and particularly Cremonini, I left my English horses and Scotch saddles there, for on them I rid all the way from the Low Countries, I went by boat to Venice. The lord ambassador, Sir Dudley Carlton, by this time had a command to reside awhile in the court of the Duke of Savoy, wherewith also his lordship acquainted me, demanding whether I would go thither; this offer was gladly accepted by me, both as I was desirous to see that court, and that it was in the way to the Low Country, where I meant to see the war the summer ensuing.

Coming thus in the coach with my lord ambassador to Milan, the governor thereof invited my lord ambassador to his house, and sometimes feasted him during his stay there. Here I heard that famous nun singing to the organ in this manner; another nun beginning first to sing, performed her part so well, that we gave her much applause for her excellent art and voice; only we thought she did sing somewhat lower than other women usually did; hereupon also being ready to depart, we heard suddenly, for we saw nobody, that nun which was so famous, sing an eighth higher than the other had done; her voice was the sweetest, strongest, and clearest, that ever I heard, in the using whereof also she shewed that art as ravished us into admiration.

From Milan we went to Novara, as I remember, where we were entertained by the governor, being a Spaniard, with one of the most sumptuous feasts that ever I saw, being but of nine dishes, in three several services; the first whereof was, three ollas podridas, consisting of all choice boiled meats, placed in three large silver chargers, which took up the length of a great table; the meat in it being heightened up artificially, pyramid wise, to a sparrow which was on the top. The second service was like the former of roast meat, in which all manner of fowl from the pheasant and partridge, to other fowl less than them, were heightened up to a lark. The third was in sweetmeats dry of all sorts, heightened in like manner to a round comfit.

From hence we went to Vercelly, a town of the Duke of Savoy's, frontier to the Spaniard, with whom the duke was then in war; from whence, passing by places of least note, we came to Turin, where the Duke of Savoy's court was. After I had refreshed myself here some two or three days, I took leave of my lord ambassador with intention to go to the Low Countries, and was now upon the way thither, as far as the foot of Mount Cenis, when the Count Scarnafigi came to me from the duke,* and brought a letter to this effect: That the duke had heard I was a cavalier of great worth, and desirous to see the wars, and that if I would serve him I should make my own conditions. Finding so courteous an invitation, I returned back, and was lodged by the Duke of Savoy in a chamber furnished with silk and gold hangings, and a very rich bed, and defrayed at the duke's charges in the English ambassador's house. The duke also confirmed unto me what the Count Scarnafigi had said, and together bestowed divers compliments on me. I told his highness, that when I knew in what service he pleased to employ me, he should find me ready to testify the sense I had of his princely invitation.

It was now in the time of Carnival, when the duke, who loved the company of ladies and dancing as much as any prince whosoever, made divers masks and balls, in which his own daughters, among divers other ladies, danced; and here it was his manner to place me always with his own hand near some fair lady, wishing us both to entertain each other with some discourse, which was a great favour among the Italians. He did many other ways also declare the great esteem he had of me without coming to any particular, the time of the year for going into the field being not yet come; only he exercised his men often, and made them ready for his occasions in the spring.

The duke at last resolving to use my service, thought fit to send me to Languedoc in France, to conduct 4000 men of the reformed religion, who had promised their assistance in his war, unto Piedmont. I willingly accepted this offer; so taking my leave of the duke, and bestowing about 70 or 80% among his officers, for the kind entertainment I had received, I took my leave also of my lord ambassador, and Sir Albertus Moreton, who was likewise employed there, and prepared for my jour-

* Charles Emanuel.

ney, for more expedition of which I was desired to go post. An old Scotch knight of the Sandelands hearing this, desired to borrow my horses as far as Heydelberg, which I granted, on condition that he would use them well by the way, and give them good keeping at that place afterwards.

The Count Scarnafigi was commanded to bear me company in this journey, and to carry with him some jewels, which he was to pawn in Lions in France, and with the money gotten for them pay the soldiers above nominated; for though the duke had put extreme taxations on his people, insomuch that they paid not only a certain sum for every horse, ox, cow, or sheep that they kept, but afterwards for every chimney; and, finally, every single person by the poll, which amounted to a pistole, or 14s. a-head or person, yet he wanted money; at which I did not so much wonder as at the patience of his subjects, of whom I demanded how they could bear their taxations? I have heard some of them answer, We are not so much offended with the duke for what he takes from us, as thankful for what he leaves us.

The Count Scarnafigi and I, now setting forth, rid post all day without eating or drinking by the way, the count telling me still we should come to a good inn at night. It was now twilight when the count and I came near a solitary inn, on the top of a mountain; the hostess hearing the noise of horses, came out with a child new born on her left arm, and a rush candle in her hand: she presently knowing the Count de Scarnafigi, told him, Ah, Signior, you are come in a very ill time, the duke's soldiers have been here to-day, and have left me nothing. I looked sadly upon the count, when he coming near to me whispered me in the ear, and said, It may be she thinks we will use her as the soldiers have done: go you into the house, and see whether you can find any thing; I will go round about the house, and perhaps I shall meet with some duck, hen, or chicken; entering thus into the house, I found for all other furniture of it, the end of an old form, the hostess came towards me with a rush candle, and said, I protest before God that is true which I told the count, here is nothing to eat; but you are a gentleman, methinks it is a pity you should want; if you please I will give you some milk out of my breasts, into a wooden dish I have here. This unexpected kindness made that impression on me, that I remember I was never so tenderly sensible of any thing. My answer was, God forbid I should take away the milk from the child I see in thy arms; howbeit, I shall take it all my life for the greatest piece of charity that ever I heard of; and therewithal, giving her a pistole, or a piece of gold of 14s., Scarnafigi and I got on horseback again and rid another post, and came to an inn where we found very coarse cheer, yet hunger made us relish it.

In this journey I remember I went over Mount Gabelet by night, being carried down that precipice in a chair, a guide that went before bringing a bottle of straw with him, and kindling pieces of it from time to time, that we might see our way. Being at the bottom of a hill, I got on horseback and rid to Burgoine, resolving to rest there awhile; and

the rather, to speak truly, that I had heard divers say, and particularly Sir John Finnet and Sir Richard Newport, that the host's daughter there was the handsomest woman that ever they saw in their lives. Coming to the inn, the Count Scarnafigi wished me to rest two or three hours, and he would go before to Lyons to prepare business for my journey to Languedoc. The host's daughter being not within, I told her father and mother that I desired only to see their daughter, as having heard her spoken of in England with so much advantage, that divers told me they thought her the handsomest creature that ever they saw. They answered she was gone to a marriage, and should be presently sent for, wishing me in the mean while to take some rest upon a bed, for they saw I needed it. Waking now about two hours afterwards, I found her sitting by me, attending when I would open mine eyes. I shall touch a little of her description; Her hair being of a shining black, was naturally curled in that order that a curious woman would have dressed it, for one curl rising by degrees above another, and every bout tied with a small ribband of a naccarine, or the colour that the Knights of the Bath wear, gave a very graceful mixture, while it was bound up in this manner from the point of her shoulder to the crown of her head; her eyes, which were round and black, seemed to be models of her whole beauty, and in some sort of her air, while a kind of light or flame came from them not unlike that which the ribband that tied up her hair exhibited; I do not remember ever to have seen a prettier mouth, or whiter teeth; briefly, all her outward parts seemed to become each other, neither was there any thing that could be misliked, unless one should say her complexion was too brown, which yet from the shadow was heightened with a good blood in her cheeks. Her gown was a green Turkey gogram, cut all into panes or slashes, from the shoulder and sleeves unto the foot, and tied up at the distance of about a hand's-breadth every where with the same ribband, with which her hair was bound: so that her attire seemed as bizare as her person. I am too long in describing an host's daughter, howbeit I thought I might better speak of her than of divers other beauties, held to be the best and fairest of the time, whom I have often seen. In conclusion, after about an hour's stay, I departed thence, without offering so much as the least incivility; and indeed, after so much weariness, it was enough that her sight alone did somewhat refresh me.

From hence I went straight to Lyons. Entering the gate, the guards there, after their usual manner, demanded of me who I was, whence I came, and whither I went? to which, while I answered, I observed one of them look very attentively upon me, and again upon a paper he had in his hand; this having been done divers times, bred in me a suspicion that there was no good meaning in it, and I was not deceived in my conjecture; for the Queen-mother of France having newly made an edict, that no soldiers should be raised in France, the Marquis de Rambouillet, French ambassador at Turin, sent word of my employment to the Marquis de St Chaumont, then governor of Lyons, as also a description of my person. This edict was so severe, as they who raised any men were

to lose their heads. In this unfortunate conjuncture of affairs, nothing fell out so well on my part, as that I had not raised as yet any men; howbeit, the guards requiring me to come before the governor, I went with them to a church where he was at vespers; this while I walked in the lower part of the church little imagining what danger I was in had I levied any men. I had not walked there long, when a single person came to me, apparelled in a black stuff suit without any attendants upon him, when I, supposing this person to be any man rather than the governor, saluted him without much ceremony. His first question was, whence I came? I answered, from Turin. He demanded then, whither I would go? I answered, I was not yet resolved. His third question was, what news at Turin? to which I answered, that I had no news to tell, as supposing him to be only some busy or inquisitive person. The marquis hereupon called one of the guards that conducted me thither, and after he had whispered something in his ear, wished me to go along with him, which I did willingly, as believing this man would bring me to the governor. This man silently leading me out of the church, brought me to a fair house, into which I was no sooner entered, but he told me I was commanded to prison there by him I saw in the church, who was the governor; I replied, I did not know him to be governor, nor that that was a prison, and that if I were out of it again, neither the governor nor all the town could bring me to it alive. The master of the house hereupon spoke me very fair, and told me he would conduct me to a better chamber than any I could find in an inn, and thereupon conducted me to a very handsome lodging not far from the river. I had not been here half an hour when Sir Edward Sackville (now Earl of Dorset) hearing only that an Englishman was committed, sent to know who I was, and why I was imprisoned: The governor not knowing whether to lay the fault upon my short answers to him, or my commission to levy men contrary to the queen's edict, made him so doubtful an answer, (after he had a little touched upon both) as he dismissed him unsatisfied.

Sir Edward Sackville hereupon coming to the house where I was, as soon as ever he saw me embraced me, saying Ned Herbert, what doest thou here? I answered, Ned Sackville, I am glad to see you, but I protest I know not why I am here. He again said, hast thou raised any men yet for the Duke of Savoy? I replied, not so much as one; then, said he, I will warrant thee, though I must tell thee the governor is much offended at thy behaviour and language in the church; (I replied it was impossible for me to imagine him to be governor that came without a guard, and in such mean clothes as he then wore.) I will go to him again, and tell him what you say, and doubt not but you shall be suddenly freed. Hereupon returning to the governor, he told of what family I was, and of what condition, and that I had raised no men, and that I knew him not to be governor; whereupon the marquis wished him to go back, that he would come in person to free me out of the house.

This message being brought me by Sir Edward Sackville, I returned this answer only: That is was enough if he sent order to free me. While

these messages past, and a company of handsome young men and women, out of I know not what civility, brought music under the window and danced before me, looking often up to see me; but Sir Edward Sackville being now returned with order to free me, I only gave them thanks out of the window, and so went along with them to the governor. Being come into a great hall where his lady was, and a large train of gentlewomen and other persons, the governor, with his hat in his hand, demanded of me whether I knew him? when his noble lady, answering for me, said, how could he know you, when you were in the church alone, and in this habit, being for the rest wholly a stranger to you? which civility of hers, though I did not presently take notice of it, I did afterwards most thankfully acknowledge when I was ambassador in France. The governor's next questions were the very same he made when he met me in the church; to which I made the very same answers before them all, concluding that as I did not know him, he could think it no incongruity if I answered in those terms: the governor yet was not satisfied herewith, and his noble lady taking my part again, gave him those reasons for my answering him in that manner, that they silenced him from speaking any further. The governor turning back, I likewise, after an humble obeisance made to his lady, returned with Sir Edward Sackville to my lodgings.

This night I passed as quietly as I could, but the next morning advised with him what I was to do; I told him I had received a great affront, and that I intended to send him a challenge, in such courteous language, that he could not refuse it: Sir Edward Sackville by all means dissuaded me from it; by which I perceived I was not to expect his assistance therein, and indeed the next day he went out of town.

Being alone now, I thought on nothing more than how to send him a challenge, which at last I penned to this effect: That whereas he had given me great offence, without a cause, I thought myself bound as a gentleman to resent it, and therefore desired to see him with his sword in his hand in any place he should appoint; and hoped he would not interpose his authority as an excuse for not complying with his honour on this occasion, and that so I rested his humble servant.

Finding nobody in town for two or three days by whom I might send this challenge, I resolved for my last means to deliver it in person, and observe how he took it, intending to right myself as I could, when I found he stood upon his authority.

This night it happened that Monsieur Terant, formerly mentioned, came to the town; this gentleman knowing me well, and remembering our acquaintance both at France and Juliers, wished there were some occasion for him to serve me; I presently hereupon, taking the challenge out of my pocket, told him he would oblige me extremely if he were pleased to deliver it, and that I hoped he might do it without danger, since I knew the French to be so brave a nation, that they would never refuse or dislike any thing that was done in an honourable and worthy way.

Terant took the challenge from me, and after he had read it, told me that the language was civil and discreet; nevertheless he thought the governor would not return me that answer-I expected; howsoever, said he, I will deliver it. Returning thus to my inn, and intending to sleep quieter that night than I had done three nights before; about one of the clock after midnight, I heard a great noise at my door, which awakened me, certain persons-knocking so hard as if they would break it; besides, through the chinks thereof I saw light. This made me presently rise in my shirt, when, drawing my sword, I went to the door, and demanded who they were; and together told them that if they came to make me prisoner, I would rather die with my sword in my hand; and therewithal opening the door, I found upon the stairs half a dozen men armed with halberts, whom I no sooner prepared to resist, but the chief of them told me, that they came not to me from the governor, but from my good friend the Duke of Montmorency, son to the duke I formerly mentioned, and that he came to town late that night, in his way from Languedoc (of which he was governor) to Paris; and that he desired me, if I loved him, to rise presently and come to him, assuring me further that this was most true; hereupon wishing them to retire themselves, I drest myself, and went with them. They conducted me to the great hall of the governor, where the Duke of Montmorency, and divers other cavaliers, had been dancing with the ladies; I went presently to the Duke of Montmorency, who, taking me a little aside, told me that he had heard of the passages betwixt the governor and me, and that I had sent him a challenge; howbeit, that he conceived men in his place were not bound to answer as private persons for those things they did by virtue of their office; nevertheless, that I should have satisfaction in as ample manner as I could reasonably desire. Hereupon, bringing me with him to the governor, he freely told me that he was sorry for what was done, and desired me to take this for satisfaction; the Duke of Montmorency hereupon said presently, *C'est assez*; it is enough. I then turning to him, demanded whether he would have taken this satisfaction in the like case? He said, yes. After this, turning to the governor, I demanded the same question, to which he answered, that he would have taken the same satisfaction, and less too. I kissing my hand, gave it him, who embraced me, and so this business ended.

After some compliments past between the Duke of Montmorency, who remembered the great love his father bore me, which he desired to continue in his person, and putting me in mind also of our being educated together for a while, demanded whether I would go with him to Paris? I told him that I was engaged to the Low Countries, but that wheresoever I was I should be his most humble servant.

My employment with the Duke of Savoy in Languedoc being thus ended, I went from Lyons to Geneva, where I found also my fame had prevented my coming; for the next morning after my arrival, the state taking notice of me, sent a messenger in their name to congratulate my being there, and presented me with some flaggons of wine, desiring me

(if I staid there any while) to see their fortifications, and give my opinion of them ; which I did, and told them I thought they were weakest where they thought themselves the strongest ; which was on the hilly part, where indeed they had made great fortifications ; yet as it is a rule in war, that whatsoever may be made by art, may be destroyed by art again, I conceived they had need to fear the approach of an enemy on that part rather than any other. They replied, that divers great soldiers had told them the same ; and that they would give the best order they could to serve themselves on that side.

Having rested here some while to take physic (my health being a little broken with long travel) I departed after a fortnight's stay, to Basil, where taking a boat upon the river, I came at length to Strasbourg, and from thence went to Heydelbourg, where I was received again by the Prince Elector and princess with much kindness, and viewed at leisure the fair library there, the gardens, and other rarities of that place ; and here I found my horses I lent to Sandilands in good plight, which I then bestowed upon some servants of the prince, in way of retribution for my welcome thither. From hence Sir George Calvert and myself went by water, for the most part to the Low-Countries, where taking leave of each other, I went straight to his excellency, who did extraordinarily welcome me, insomuch that it was observed that he did never outwardly make so much of any one as myself.

It happened this summer that the Low-Country army was not drawn into the field, so that the Prince of Orange past his time at playing at chess with me after dinner ; or in going to Reswick with him to see his great horses ; or in making love ; in which also he used me as his companion, yet so that I was at any time from him, I did by his good leave endeavour to raise a troop of horse for the Duke of Savoy's service, as having obtained a commission to that purpose for my brother William, then an officer in the Low-Country. Having these men in readiness, I sent word to the Count Scarnafigi thereof, who was now ambassador in England, telling him, that if he would send money, my brother was ready to go.

Scarnafigi answered me, that he expected money in England and that as soon as he received it, he would send over so much as would pay an hundred horse. But a peace betwixt him and the Spaniard being concluded not long after at Asti, the whole charge of keeping this horse fell upon me, without ever to this day receiving any recompence.

Winter now approaching, and nothing more to be done for that year, I went to the Brill to take shipping for England. Sir Edward Conway, who was then governor at that place, and afterwards secretary of state, taking notice of my being there, came to me, and invited me every day to come to him, while I attended only for a wind ; which serving at last for my journey, Sir Edward Conway conducted me to the ship, into which as soon as I was entered he caused six pieces of ordnance to be discharged for my farewell. I was scarce gone a league into the sea, when the wind turned contrary, and forced me back again. Returning

thus to the Brill, Sir Edward Conway welcomed me as before ; and now, after some three or four days, the wind serving, he conducted me again to the ship, and bestowed six volleys of ordnance upon me. I was now about half way to England, when a most cruel storm arose, which tore our sails and spent our masts, insomuch that the master of our ship gave us all for lost, as the wind was extreme high, and together contrary ; we were carried at last, though with much difficulty, back again to the Brill, where Sir Edward Conway did congratulate my escape ; saying, he believed certainly, that (considering the weather) I must needs be cast away.

After some stay here with my former welcome, the wind being now fair, I was conducted again to my ship by Sir Edward Conway, and the same volleys of shot given me, and was now scarce out of the haven, when the wind again turned contrary, and drove me back. This made me resolve to try my fortune here no longer ; hiring a small bark, therefore, I went to the sluice, and from thence to Ostend, where finding company, I went to Brussels. In the inn where I lay, here an ordinary was kept, to which divers noblemen and principal officers of the Spanish army resorted : sitting among these at dinner, the next day after my arrival, no man knowing me, or informing himself who I was, they fell into discourse of divers matters, in Italian, Spanish, and French ; and at last three of them, one after another, began to speak of king James, my master, in a very scornful manner ; I thought with myself then, that if I was a base fellow, I need not take any notice thereof, since no man knew me to be an Englishman, or that I did so much as understand their language ; but my heart burning within me, I putting off my hat, arose from the table, and turning myself to those that sat at the upper end, who had said nothing to the king my master's prejudice, I told them in Italian, *Son Inglese* ; I am an Englishman ; and should be unworthy to live if I suffered these words to be spoken of the King my master ; and therewithal turning myself to those who had injured the king, I said, you have spoken falsely, and I will fight with you all. Those at the upper end of the table, finding I had so much reason on my part, did sharply check those I questioned, and, to be brief, made them ask the king's forgiveness, wherewith also the king's health being drank round about the table, I departed thence to Dunkirk, and thence to Graveling, where I saw, though unknown, an English gentlewoman enter into a nunnery there. I went thence to Calais ; it was now extreme foul weather, and I could find no master of a ship willing to adventure to sea ; howbeit, my impatience was such, that I demanded of a poor fisherman there whether he would go ? he answered, his ship was worse than any in the haven, as being open above, and without any deck, besides, that it was old ; but, saith he, I care for my life as little as you do, and if you will go, my boat is at your service.

I was now scarce out of the haven, when a high grown sea had almost overwhelmed us, the waves coming in very fast into our ship, which we laded out again the best we could ; notwithstanding which, we expected

every minute to be cast away : it pleased God yet before we were gone six leagues into the sea, to cease the tempest, and give us a fair passage over to the Downs, where, after giving God thanks for my delivery from this most needless danger that ever I did run, I went to London. I had not been here ten days when a quartain ague seized on me, which held me for a year and a half without intermission, and a year and a half longer at spring and fall : the good days I had during all this sickness, I employed in study, the ill being spent in as sharp and long fits as I think ever any man endured, which brought me at last to be so lean and yellow, that scarce any man did know me. It happened during this sickness, that I walked abroad one day towards Whitehall, where, meeting with one Emerson, who spoke very disgraceful words of Sir Robert Harley, being then my dear friend, my weakness could not hinder me to be sensible of my friend's dishonour; shaking him therefore by a long beard he wore, I stept a little aside, and drew my sword in the street; Captain Thomas Scriven, a friend of mine, being not far on one side, and divers friends of his on the other side. All that saw me wondered how I could go, being so weak and consumed as I was, but much more that I would offer to fight; howsoever, Emerson, instead of drawing his sword, ran away into Suffolk house, and afterwards informed the lords of the council of what I had done; who not long after sending for me, did not so much reprehend my taking part with my friend, as that I would adventure to fight, being in such a bad condition of health. Before I came wholly out of my sickness, Sir George Villiers, afterwards Duke of Buckingham, came into the king's favour: this cavalier meeting me accidentally at the Lady Stanhope's house, came to me, and told me he had heard so much of my worth, as he would think himself happy if, by his credit with the king, he could do me any service; I humbly thanked him, but told him, that for the present I had need of nothing so much as of health, but that if ever I had ambition, I should take the boldness to make my address by him.

I was no sooner perfectly recovered of this long sickness, but the Earl of Oxford and myself resolved to raise two regiments for the service of the Venetians. While we were making ready for this journey, the king having an occasion to send an ambassador into France, required Sir George Villiers to present him with the names of the fittest men for that employment that he knew; whereupon eighteen names, among which mine was, being written in a paper, were presented to him; the king presently chose me, yet so as he desired first to have the approbation of his privy council, who, confirming his majesty's choice, sent a messenger to my house among gardens, near the Old Exchange, requiring me to come presently to them. Myself little knowing then the honour intended me, asked the messenger whether I had done any fault, that the lords sent for me so suddenly? wishing him to tell the Lords that I was going to dinner, and would afterwards attend them. I had scarce dined when another messenger was sent; this made me hasten to Whitehall, where I was no sooner come, but the lords saluted me by the name of lord

of lord ambassador of France ; I told their lordships thereupon, that I was glad it was no worse, and that I doubted, that by their speedy sending for me, some complaint, though false, might be made against me.

My first commission was to renew the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which purpose I was extraordinary ambassador, which being done, I was to reside there as ordinary. I had received now about six or seven hundred pounds, towards the charges of my journey, and locked it in certain coffers in my house ; when the night following, about one of the clock, I could hear divers men speak and knock at the door, in that part of the house where none did lie but myself, my wife, and her attendants, my servants being lodged in another house not far off : as soon as I heard the noise, I suspected presently they came to rob me of my money ; howsoever, I thought fit to rise, and go to the window to know who they were ; the first word I heard was, Darest thou come down, Welchman ? which I no sooner heard, but, taking a sword in one hand, and a little target in the other, I did in my shirt run down stairs, open the doors suddenly, and charged ten or twelve of them with that fury that they ran away, some throwing away their halberts, others hurting their fellows to make them go faster in a narrow way they were to pass ; in which disordered manner I drove them to the middle of the street by the Exchange, where finding my bare feet hurt by the stones I trod on, I thought fit to return home, and leave them to their flight. My servants, hearing the noise, by this time were got up, and demanded whether I would have them pursue those rogues that fled away ; but I answering that I thought they were out of their reach, we returned home together.

While I was preparing myself for my journey, it happened that I passing through the Inner Temple one day, and encountering Sir Robert Vaughan in this country, some harsh words past betwixt us, which occasioned him, at the persuasion of others whom I will not nominate, to send me a challenge ; this was brought me at my house in Blackfriars, by Captain Charles Price, upon a Sunday, about one of the clock in the afternoon. When I had read it, I told Charles Price that I did ordinarily bestow this day in devotion, nevertheless that I would meet Sir Robert Vaughan presently, and gave him thereupon the length of my sword, demanding whether he brought any second with him ; to which Charles Price replying that he would be in the field with him, I told my brother, Sir Henry Herbert then present, thereof, who readily offering himself to be my second, nothing was wanting now but the place to be agreed upon betwixt us, which was not far from the waterside near Chelsea.

My brother and I taking boat presently, came to the place, where, after we had staid about two hours in vain, I desired my brother to go to Sir Robert Vaughan's lodging, and tell him that I now attended his coming a great while, and that I desired him to come away speedily ; hereupon my brother went, and after a while, returning back again, he told me they were not ready yet : I attended then about an hour and

an half longer, but as he did not come, I sent my brother a second time to call him away, and to tell him I caught cold, nevertheless that I would stay there till sun-set. My brother yet could not bring him along, but returned himself to the place, where we staid together till half an hour after sun-set, and then returned home.

The next day the Earl of Worcester, by the king's command, forbid me to receive any message or letter from Sir Robert Vaughan, and advertised me withal, that the king had given him charge to end the business betwixt us, for which purpose he desired me to come before him the next day about two o'clock; at which time, after the Earl had told me, that being now made ambassador, and a public person, I ought not to entertain private quarrels; after which, without much ado, he ended the business betwixt Sir Robert Vaughan and myself. It was thought by some, that this would make me lose my place, I being under so great an obligation to the king for my employment in France; but Sir George Villiers, afterwards duke of Buckingham, told me he would warrant me for this one time, but I must do so no more.

I was now almost ready for my journey, and had received already as choice a company of gentlemen for my attendants, as I think ever followed an ambassador; when some of my private friends told me, that I was not to trust so much to my pay from the exchequer, but that it was necessary for me to take letters of credit with me, for as much money as I could well procure. Informing myself hereupon who had furnished the last ambassador, I was told Monsieur Savage, a Frenchman: coming to his house, I demanded whether he would help me with monies in France, as he had done the last ambassador; he said he did not know me, but would inform himself better who I was. Departing thus from him, I went to Sigr. Burlamacchi, a man of great credit in those times, and demanded of him the same; his answer was, that he knew me to be a man of honour, and I had kept my word with every body; whereupon also going to his study, gave me a letter of credence to one Monsieur de Langherac in Paris, for 2000*l.* sterling. I then demanded what security he expected for this money? He said, he would have nothing but my promise; I told him he had put a great obligation upon me, and that I would strive to acquit myself of it the best I could.

Having now a good sum of money in my coffers, and this letter of credit, I made ready for my journey: the day I went out of London I remember was the same in which Queen Anne was carried to burial, which was a sad spectacle to all that had occasion to honour her. My first night's journey was to Gravesend, where being at supper in my inn, Monsieur Savage formerly mentioned came to me, and told me, that whereas I had spoken to him for a letter of credit, he had made one which he thought would be to my contentment. I demanded to whom it was directed; he said to Monsieur Tallemant and Rambouillet, in Paris; I asked then what they were worth? he said, above one hundred thousand pounds sterling. I demanded for how much this letter of credit was? he said, for as much as I should have need of: I asked

what security he required? he said, nothing but my word, which he had heard was inviolable.

From Gravesend, by easy journeys I went to Dover, where I took shipping, with a train of a hundred and odd persons, and arrived shortly after at Calais, where I remember my cheer was twice as good as at Dover, and my reckoning half as cheap. From whence I went to Boulogne, Monstre-ville, Abbeville, Amiens, and in two days thence, to St. Dennis near Paris, where I was met with a great train of coaches that were sent to receive me, as also by the master of the ceremonies, and Monsieur Mennon, my fellow scholar, with Monsieur Disancour, who then kept an academy, and brought with him a brave company of gentlemen on great horses, to attend me into town.

It was now somewhat late when I entered Paris, upon a Saturday night; I was but newly settled in my lodging, when a secretary of the Spanish ambassador there told me that his lord desired to have first audience from me, and therefore requested he might see me the next morning; I replied, it was a day I gave wholly to devotion, and therefore intreated him to stay till some more convenient time: the secretary replied, that his master did hold it no less holy; howbeit, that his respect to me was such, that he would prefer the desire he had to serve me before all other considerations; howsoever I put him off till Monday following.

Not long after, I took a house in Fauxbourg St. Germain's Rue Tournon, which cost me 200*l.* sterling yearly; having furnished the house richly, and lodged all my train, I prepared for a journey to Tours and Touraine, where the French court then was: being come hither in extreme hot weather, I demanded audience of the king and queen, which being granted, I did assure the king of the great affection the king my master bore him, not only out of the ancient alliance betwixt the two crowns, but because Henry the Fourth and the king my master had stipulated with each other, that whensoever any one of them died, the survivor should take care of the other's child: I assured him further, that no charge was so much imposed upon me by my instructions, as that I should do good offices betwixt both kingdoms; and therefore that it were a great fault in me, if I behaved myself otherwise than with all respect to his majesty: this being done I presented to the king a letter of credence from the king my master: the king assured me of a reciprocal affection to the king my master, and of my particular welcome to his court: his words were never many, as being so extreme a stutterer, that he would sometimes hold his tongue out of his mouth a good while before he could speak so much as one word; he had besides a double row of teeth, and was observed seldom or never to spit or blow his nose, or to sweat much, though he were very laborious, and almost indefatigable in his exercises of hunting and hawking, to which he was much addicted; neither did it hinder him, though he was burst in his body, as we call it, or herniosus; for he was noted in those sports, though oftentimes on foot, to tire not only his courtiers, but even his lackies, being equally insensible as was thought, either of heat or cold: his understanding and natural

parts were as good as could be expected in one that was brought up in so much ignorance, which was on purpose so done that he might be the longer governed; howbeit, he acquired in time a great knowledge in affairs, as conversing for the most part with wise and active persons. He was noted to have two qualities incident to all who were ignorantly brought up—suspicion and dissimulation; for as ignorant persons walk so much in the dark, they cannot be exempt from fear of stumbling; and as they are likewise deprived of, or deficient in those true principles by which they should govern both public and private actions in a wise, solid, and demonstrative way, they strive commonly to supply these imperfections with covert arts, which though it may be sometimes excusable in necessitous persons, and be indeed frequent among those who negotiate in small matters, yet condemnable in princes, who, proceeding upon foundations of reason and strength, ought not to submit themselves to such poor helps: howbeit, I must observe, that neither his fears did take away his courage, when there was occasion to use it, nor his dissimulation extend itself to the doing of private mischiefs to his subjects, either of one or the other religion; his favourite was one Monsieur de Luynes, who in his non-age gained much upon the king, by making hawks fly at all little birds in his gardens, and by making some of those little birds again catch butter-flies; and had the king used him for no other purpose he might have been tolerated; but as, when the king came to a riper age, the government of public affairs was drawn chiefly from his counsels, not a few errors were committed.

The queen-mother, princes, and nobles of that kingdom, repined that his advices to the king should be so prevalent, which also at last caused a civil war in that kingdom. How unfit this man was for the credit he had with the king may be argued by this; that when there was question made about some business in Bohemia, he demanded whether it was an inland country, or lay upon the sea? And thus much for the present of the king and his favourite.

After my audience with the king, I had another from the queen, being sister to the king of Spain; I had little to say unto her but some compliments on the king my master's part; but such compliments as her sex and quality were capable of. This queen was exceedingly fair, like those of the house of Austria, and together of so mild and good a condition, she was never noted to have done ill offices to any, but to have mediated as much as possible for her, in satisfaction of those who had any suit to the king, as far as their cause would bear. She had now been married divers years without having any children, though so ripe for them, that nothing seemed to be wanting on her part. I remember her the more particularly, that she shewed publicly at my audiences that favour to me, as not only my servants, but divers others took notice of it. After this my first audience, I went to see Monsieur de Luynes, and the principal ministers of state, as also the princes and princesses, and ladies then in court, and particularly the princess of Conti, from whom I carried the scarf formerly mentioned;

and this is as much as I shall declare in this place concerning my negotiation with the king and state, my purpose being, if God sends me life, to set them forth apart, as having the copies of all my dispatches in a great trunk, in my house in London; and considering that in that time of my stay there, there were divers civil wars in that country, and that the prince, now king, passed with my Lord of Buckingham, and others, through France into Spain; and the business of the Elector Palatine in Bohemia, and the battle of Prague, and divers other memorable accidents, both of state and war, happened during the time of my employment; I conceive a narration of them may be worth the seeing, to them who have it not from a better hand; I shall only therefore relate here, as they come into my memory, certain little passages, which may serve in some part to declare the history of my life.

Coming back from Tours to Paris, I gave the best order I could concerning the expences of my house, family, and stable, that I might settle all things as near as was possible in a certain course, allowing, according to the manner of France, so many pounds of beef, mutton, veal, and pork, and so much also in turkeys, capons, pheasants, partridges, and all other fowls, as also pies and tarts, after the French manner, and after all this, a dozen dishes of sweetmeats every meal constantly. The ordering of these things was the heavier to me, that my wife flatly refused to come over into France, as being now entered into a dropsy, which also had kept her without children for many years: I was constrained therefore to make use of a steward, who was understanding and diligent, but no very honest man; my chief secretary was William Boswell, now the king's agent in the Low-Countries; my secretary for the French tongue was one Monsieur Ozier, who afterwards was the king's agent in France. The gentleman of my horse was Monsieur de Meny, who afterwards commanded a thousand horse, in the wars of Germany, and proved a very gallant gentleman. Mr. Crofts was one of my principal gentlemen, and afterwards made the king's cup-bearer; and Thomas Caage, that excellent wit, the king's carver; Edmund Taverner, whom I made my under secretary, was afterwards chief secretary to the lord chamberlain; and one Mr. Smith, secretary to the Earl of Northumberland; I nominate these, and could many more, that came to very good fortunes afterwards, because I may verify that which I said before concerning the gentlemen that attended me.

When I came to Paris, the English and French were in very ill intelligence with each other, insomuch that one Buckley coming then to me, said he was assaulted and hurt upon Pontneuf, only because he was an Englishman: nevertheless, after I had been in Paris about a month, all the English were so welcome thither, that no other nation was so acceptable amongst them, insomuch, that my gentlemen having a quarrel with some debauched French, who in their drunkenness quarrelled with them, divers principal gentlemen of that nation offered themselves to assist my people with their swords,

It happened one day that my cousin, Oliver Herbert, and George Radney, being gentlemen who attended me, and Henry Whittingham,

my butler, had a quarrel with some French, upon I know not what frivolous occasion. It happened my cousin, Oliver Herbert, had for his opposite a fencer, belonging to the Prince of Conde, who was dangerously hurt by him in divers places; but as the house, or hostel, of the Prince of Conde was not far off, and himself well beloved in those quarters, the French in great multitudes arising, drove away the three above mentioned into my house, pursuing them within the gates; I perceiving this at a window, ran out with my sword, which the people no sooner saw, but they fled again as fast as ever they entered. Howsoever, the Prince of Conde, his fencer, was in that danger of his life, that Oliver Herbert was forced to fly France, which, that he might do the better, I paid the said fencer 200 crowns, or 60*l.* Sterling, for his hurt and cures.

The plague now being hot in Paris, I desired the Duke of Montmorency to lend me the castle of Merlou, where I lived in the time of his most noble father, which he willingly granted. Removing thither, I enjoyed that sweet place and country, wherein I found a few that welcomed me out of their ancient acquaintance.

On the one side me was the Baron de Montaterra, of the reformed religion, and Monsieur de Bouteville on the other, who, though young at that time, proved afterwards to be that brave cavalier which all France did so much celebrate. In both their castles likewise, were ladies of much beauty and discretion, and particularly a sister of Bouteville, thought to be one of the chief perfections of the time, whose company yielded some divertisement, when my public occasions did suffer it.

Winter being now come, I returned to my house in Paris, and prepared for renewing the oath of alliance betwixt the two crowns, for which, as I said formerly, I had an extraordinary commission; nevertheless the king put off the business to as long a time as he well could. In the mean while Prince Henry of Nassau, brother to Prince Maurice, coming to Paris, was met and much welcomed by me, as being obliged to him no less than to his brother in the Low-Countries. This prince, and all his train, were feasted by me at Paris with one hundred dishes, costing, as I remember, in all 100*l.*

The French king at last resolving upon a day for performing the ceremony betwixt the two crowns above mentioned, myself and all my train put ourselves into that sumptuous equipage, that I remember it cost me, one way or other, above 1000*l.* And truly the magnificence of it was such, as a little French book was presently printed thereof. This being done, I resided here in the quality of an ordinary ambassador.

And now I shall mention some particular passages concerning myself. I spent my time much in the visits of the princes, council of state, and great persons of the French kingdom, who did ever punctually requite my visits. The like I did also to the chief ambassadors there, among whom the Venetian, Low-Country, Savoy, and the united princes in Germany, ambassadors, did bear me that respect, that they usually met in my house, and advised together concerning all the great affairs of that time. All our endeavours yet could not hinder, but that

the Spaniard both publicly prevailed in his attempts abroad, and privately did corrupt divers of the principal ministers of state in this kingdom. I came to discover this by the means of an Italian, who returned over, by letters of exchange, the monies the Spanish ambassador received for his occasions in France: for I perceived that when the said Italian was to receive any extraordinary great sum for the Spanish ambassador's use, the whole face of affairs was presently changed, insomuch that neither my reasons, nor the ambassadors above mentioned, how valid soever, could prevail: though yet afterwards we found means together, to reduce affairs to their former train; until some other new great sum coming to the Spanish ambassador's hand, and from thence to the aforesaid ministers of state, altered all. Howbeit divers visits passed betwixt the Spanish ambassador and myself; in one of which he told me, that though our interests were divers, yet we might continue friendship in our particular persons; for, said he, it can be no occasion of offence betwixt us, that each of us strive the best he can to serve the king his master. I disliked not his reasons, though yet I could not omit to tell him, that I would maintain the dignity of the king my master the best I could: and this I said, because the Spanish ambassador had taken place of the English, in the time of Henry IV., in this fashion:—they both meeting in an antichamber to the secretary of state, the Spanish ambassador, leaning to the wall in that posture that he took the hand of the English ambassador, said publicly, I hold this place in the right of the king my master; which small punctilio being not resented by our ambassador at that time, gave the Spaniard occasion to brag, that he had taken the hand from our ambassador. This made me more watchful to regain the honour which the Spaniard pretended to have gotten herein; so that though the ambassador, in his visits, often repeated the words above mentioned, being in Spanish, *Que cada uno haga lo que pudiere por su amo*, Let every man do the best he can for his master, I attended the occasion to right my master. It happened one day, that both of us going to the French king for our several affairs, the Spanish ambassador, between Paris and Estampes, being upon his way before me in his coach, with a train of about sixteen or eighteen persons on horseback, I following him in my coach, with about ten or twelve horse, found that either I must go the Spanish pace, which is slow, or if I hasted to pass him, that I must hazard the suffering of some affront like unto that our former ambassador received; proposing hereupon to my gentlemen the whole business, I told them that I meant to redeem the honour of the king my master some way or other, demanding further, whether they would assist me? which they promising, I bid the coachman drive on. The Spanish ambassador seeing me approach, and imagining what my intention was, sent a gentleman to me, to tell me he desired to salute me; which I accepting, the gentleman returned to the ambassador, who, alighting from his coach, attended me in the middle of the highway; which being perceived by me, I alighted also, when, some extravagant compliments having passed betwixt us, the

Spanish ambassador took his leave of me, went to a dry ditch not far off, upon pretence of making water, but indeed to hold the upper hand of me while I passed by in my coach; which being observed by me, I left my coach, and getting upon a spare horse I had there, rode into the said dry ditch, and telling him aloud, that I knew well why he stood there, bid him afterwards get to his coach, for I must ride that way: the Spanish ambassador, who understood me well, went to his coach grumbling and discontented, though yet neither he nor his train did any more than look one upon another, in a confused manner: my coach this while passing by the ambassador on the same side I was, I shortly after left my horse and got into it. It happened this while, that one of my coach horses having lost a shoe, I thought fit to stay at a smith's forge, about a quarter of a mile before; this shoe could not be put on so soon, but that the Spanish ambassador overtook us, and might indeed have passed us, but that he thought I would give him another affront. Attending, therefore, the smith's leisure, he staid in the highway, to our no little admiration, until my horse was shod. We continued our journey to Estampes, the Spanish ambassador following us still at a good distance.

Among the visits I rendered to the *grande*s of France, one of the principal I made was to that brave general the Duke of Lesdiguères, who was now grown very old and deaf. His first words to me were, *Monsieur*, you must do me the honour to speak high, for I am deaf; my answer to him was, You was born to command and not to obey; it is enough if others have ears to hear you. This compliment took him much, and indeed I have a manuscript of his military precepts and observations, which I value at a great price.

I shall relate now some things concerning myself, which though they may seem scarcely credible, yet, before God, are true: I had been now in France about a year and an half, when my tailor, Andrew Henly of Basil, who now lives in Blackfryars, demanded of me half a yard of satin, to make me a suit, more than I was accustomed to give; of which I required a reason, saying I was not fatter now than when I came to France. He answered, it was true, but you are taller; whereunto, when I would give no credit, he brought his old measures, and made it appear that they did not reach to their just places.

I weighed myself in balances often with men lower than myself by the head, and in their bodies slenderer, and yet was found lighter than they, as Sir Jahn Davers, knight, and Richard Griffiths, now living, can witness, with whom I have been weighed. I had also, and have still, a pulse on the crown of my head. It is well known to those that wait in my chamber, that the shirts, waistcoats, and other garments I wear next my body, are sweet, beyond what either easily can be believed, or hath been observed in any else, which sweetness also was found to be in my breath above others, before I used to take tobacco, which, towards my latter time, I was forced to take against certain rheums and catarrhs that trouble me, which yet did not taint my breath for any long time; I scarce ever felt cold in my life, though yet so subject to catarrhs, that

I think no man ever was more obnoxious to it; all which I do in a familiar way mention to my posterity, though otherwise they might be thought scarce worth the writing.

The effect of my being sent into France by the king my master, being to hold all good intelligence betwixt both crowns, my employment was both noble and pleasing. Besides the times I spent in treaties and negociation, I had either with the ministers of state in France, or foreign ambassadors residing in Paris, I had spare time not only for my book, but for visits to divers grandees, for little more ends than obtaining some intelligence of the affairs of that kingdom and civil conversation, for which their free, generous, and cheerful company was no little motive.

It happened one day, that I being ready to return from the Thuilleries, about eight of the clock in the summer, with intention to write a dispatch to the king about some intelligence I had received there, the queen attended with her principal ladies, without so much as one cavalier, did enter the garden; I staid on one side of an alley, there to do my reverence to her and the rest, and so return to my house, when the queen perceiving me, staid a while, as if she expected I should attend her; but as I stirred not more than to give her that respect I owed her, the Princess of Conti, who was next, called me to her, and said I must go along with her, but I excusing myself upon occasion of a present dispatch which I was to make unto his majesty, the Duchess of Antador, who followed her, came to me, and said I must not refuse her; whereupon, leading her by her arms, according to the manner of that country, the Princess of Conti, offended that I had denied her that civility which I had yielded to another, took me off, after she had demanded the consent of the duchess; but the queen then also staying, I left the princess, and, with all due humility, went to the queen, and led her by the arms walking thus to a place in the garden where some orange trees grew, and here discoursing with her majesty bare-headed, some small shot fell on both our heads: the occasion whereof was this; the king being in the garden, and shooting at a bird in the air, which he did with much perfection, the descent of his shot fell just upon us; the queen was much startled herewith, when I, coming nearer to her, demanded whether she had received any harm; to which she answering no, and therewith taking two or three small pellets from her hair, it was thought fit to send a gardener to the king, to tell him that her majesty was there, and that he should shoot no more that way, which was no sooner heard among the nobles that attended him, but many of them leaving him, came to the queen and ladies, among whom was Monsieur le Grand, who, finding the queen still discoursing with me, stole behind her, and letting fall gently some comfits he had in his pocket upon the queen's hair, gave her occasion to apprehend that some shot had fallen on her again; turning hereupon to Monsieur le Grand, I said that I marvelled that so old a courtier as he was could find no means to entertain ladies but by making

them afraid ; but the queen shortly after returning to her lodging, I took my leave of her and came home.

It fell out one day that the prince of Condé coming to my house, some speech happened concerning the king my master, in whom, though he acknowledged much learning, knowledge, clemency, and divers other virtues, yet he said he had heard that the king was much given to cursing ; I answered that it was out of his gentleness ; but the prince demanding how cursing could be a gentleness ? I replied, yes, for though he could punish men himself, yet he left them to God to punish ; which defence of the king my master was afterwards much celebrated in the French court.

Monsieur de Luines continuing still the king's favourite, advised him to war against his subjects of the reformed religion in France. This counsel, though approved by the young king, was yet disliked by other grave and wise persons about him, and particularly by the chancellor Sillery, and the president Jannin, who thought, better to have a peace which had two religions, than a war that had none. Howbeit, the design of Luines was applauded, not only by the jesuit party in France, but by some princes, and other martial persons, insomuch that the Duke of Guise coming to see me one day, said, that they should never be happy in France, until those of the religion were rooted out : I answered, that I wondered to hear him say so ; and the Duke demanding why, I replied, that whensoever those of the religion were put down, the turn of the great persons, and governors of provinces of that kingdom, would be next ; and that, though the present king were a good prince, yet that their successors may be otherwise, and that men did not know how soon princes might prove tyrants, when they had nothing to fear.

The king having now assembled an army, and made some progress against those of the religion, I had instruction sent me from the king my master to mediate a peace, and if I could not prevail therein, to use some such words as may both argue his majesty's care of them of the religion, and together, to let the French king know, that he would not permit their total ruin and extirpation. The king was now going to lay siege to St. Jean d'Angely, when myself was newly recovered of a fever at Paris, in which, besides the help of many able physicians, I had the comfort of divers visits from many principal *grande*s of France, and particularly the princess of Conti, who would sit by my bedside two or three hours, and with cheerful discourse entertain me, though yet I was brought so low, that I could scarce return any thing by way of answer but thanks. The command yet which I received from the king my master quickened me, insomuch, that by slow degrees I went into my coach, together with my train, towards St Jean d'Angely. Being arrived within a small distance of that place, I found by divers circumstances, that the effect of my negociation had been discovered from England, and that I was not welcome thither, howbeit, having obtained an audience from the king, I exposed what I had in charge to say to him, to which yet I received no other answer but that I should go to M. de Luines, by whom

I should know his majesty's intention. Repairing thus to him, I did find outwardly good reception, though yet I did not know how cunningly he proceeded to betray and frustrate my endeavours for those of the religion; for, hiding a gentleman, called Monsieur Arnaud, behind the hangings in his chamber, who was then of the religion, but had promised a revolt to the king's side, this gentleman, as he himself confessed afterwards to the earl of Carlisle, had in charge to relate unto those of the religion, how little help they might expect from me, when he should tell them the answers which Monsieur de Luines made me. Sitting thus in a chair before Monsieur de Luines, he demanded the effect of my business; I answered, that the king my master commanded me to mediate a peace betwixt his majesty and his subjects of the religion, and that I desired to do it in all those fair and equal terms, which might stand with the honour of France, and the good intelligence betwixt the two kingdoms; to which he returned this rude answer only, What hath the king your master to do with our actions? why doth he meddle with our affairs? My reply was, that the king my master ought not to give an account of the reason which induced him hereunto, and for me it was enough to obey him; howbeit, if he did ask me in more gentle terms, I should do the best I could to give him satisfaction; to which, though he answered no more than the word *bien*, or well, I, pursuing my instruction, said, that the king my master, according to the mutual stipulation betwixt Henry the Fourth and himself, that the survivor of either of them should procure the tranquillity and peace of the other's estate, had sent this message; and that he had not only testified this his pious inclination heretofore, in the late civil wars of France, but was desirous on this occasion also to show how much he stood affected to the good of the kingdom; besides, he hoped that when peace was established here, that the French king might be the more easily disposed to assist the palatine, who was an ancient friend and ally of the French crown. His reply to this was, We will have none of your advices: whereupon I said, that I took those words for an answer, and was sorry only they did not understand sufficiently the affection and good will of the king my master; and since they rejected it upon those terms, I had in charge to tell him, that we knew very well what we had to do. Luines seeming offended herewith, said, *Nous ne vous craignons pas*, or, we are not afraid of you. I replied hereupon, that if you had said you had not loved us, I should have believed you, but should have returned you another answer; in the mean while, that I had no more to say than what I told him formerly, which was, that we knew what we had to do. This, though somewhat less than was in my instructions, so angered him, that in much passion he said, *Par Dieu, si vous n'étiez Monsieur l'Ambassadeur, je vous traiterois d'un' autre sorte*; by God, if you were not Monsieur Ambassador, I would use you after another fashion. My answer was, that as I was an ambassador, so I was also a gentleman; and therewithal, laying my hand upon the hilt of my sword, told him, there was that which should make him an answer, and so arose from my chair; to which Monsieur

de Luines made no reply, but, arising likewise from his chair, offered civilly to accompany me to the door; but I telling him there was no occasion for him to use ceremony, after so rude an entertainment, I departed from him. From thence returning to my lodging, I spent three or four days afterwards in seeing the manner of the French discipline, in making approaches to towns; at that time I remember, that going in my coach within reach of cannon, those in the town imagining me to be an enemy, made many shots against me, which so affrighted my coachman, that he durst drive no farther; whereupon alighting, I bid him put the horses out of danger; and notwithstanding many more shots made against me, went on foot to the trenches, where one Seaton, a Scotchman, conducting me, shewed me their works, in which I found little differing from the Low Country manner. Having satisfied myself in this manner, I thought fit to take my leave of the king, being at Cognac, the city of St Jean d'Angely being now surrendered unto him. Coming thus to a village not far from Cognac, about ten of the clock at night, I found all the lodgings possessed by soldiers; so that alighting in the market place I sent my servants to the inns to get some provision, who bringing me only six rye loaves, which I was doubtful whether I should bestow on myself and company, or on my horses, Monsieur de Ponts, a French nobleman of the religion, attended with a brave train, hearing of my being there, offered me lodging in his castle near adjoining: I told him it was a great courtesy at that time, yet I could not with my honour accept it, since I knew it would endanger him; howbeit, if he would procure me lodging in the town, I should take it kindly; whereupon sending his servants round about the town, he found at last in the house of one of his tenants, a chamber, to which, when he had conducted me, and together gotten some little accommodation for myself and horses, I desired him to depart to his lodgings, he being then in a place which his enemies the king's soldiers, had possessed. All which was not so silently carried, but that the said nobleman was accused afterwards at the French court, upon suspicion of holding correspondence with me, whereof it was my fortune to clear him.

Coming next day to Cognac, the Mareschal de St. Geran, my noble friend, privately met me, and said I was not in a place of surety there, as having offended Monsieur de Luines, who was the king's favourite, desiring me withal to advise what I had to do: I told him I was in a place of surety wheresoever I had a sword by my side; and that I intended to demand audience of the king; which also being obtained, I found not so cold a reception as I thought to meet with, insomuch that I parted with his majesty, to all outward appearance, in very good terms.

From hence returning to Paris shortly after, I found myself welcome to all those ministers of state there, and noblemen, who either envied the greatness, or loved not the insolencies of Monsieur de Luines; by whom also I was told, that the said Luines had intended to send a brother of his into England with an embassy, the effect whereof should be chiefly

to complain against me, and to obtain that I should be repealed; and that he intended to relate the passages betwixt us at St. Jean d'Angely in a much different manner from that I reported, and that he would charge me with giving the first offence. After thanks for this advertisement, I told them my relation of the business betwixt us, in the manner I delivered, was true, and that I would justify it with my sword; at which they being nothing scandalized, wished me good fortune.

The ambassador into England following shortly after, with a huge train, in a sumptuous manner, and an accusation framed against me, I was sent for home, of which I was glad, my payment being so ill, that I was run far into debt with my merchant, who had assisted me now with 3 or 4000*l.* more than I was able at the present to discharge. Coming thus to court, the duke of Buckingham, who was then my noble friend, informed me at large of the objections represented by the French ambassador, to which when I had made my defence in the manner above related, I added, that I was ready to make good all that I had said with my sword; and shortly after, I did, in the presence of his majesty and the duke of Buckingham, humbly desire leave to send a trumpet to Monsieur de Luines, to offer him the combat, upon terms that passed betwixt us; which was not permitted, otherwise than that they would take my offer into consideration. Howsoever, notice being publickly taken of this my desire, much occasion of speech was given, every man that heard thereof much favouring me; but the duke of Luines death following shortly after, the business betwixt us was ended, and I commanded to return to my former charge in France. I did not yet presently go, as finding much difficulty to obtain the monies due to me from the exchequer, and therewith, as also by my own revenues, to satisfy my creditors in France. The Earl of Carlise this while being employed extraordinary ambassador to France, brought home a confirmation of the passages betwixt Monsieur de Luines and myself; Monsieur de Arnaud, who stood behind the hangings, as above related, having verified all I said, insomuch, that the king my master was well satisfied of my truth.

Having by this time cleared all my debts, when demanding new instructions from the king my master, the Earl of Carlisle brought me this message, that his majesty had that experience of my abilities and fidelity, that he would give me no instructions, but leave all things to my discretion, as knowing I would proceed with that circumspection, as I should be better able to discern, upon emergent occasions, what was fit to be done, than that I should need to attend directions from hence, which besides that they would be slow, might perchance be not so proper, or correspondent to the conjuncture of the great affairs then in agitation, both in France and Germany, and other parts of Christendom, and that these things, therefore, must be left to my vigilance, prudence, and fidelity. Whereupon I told his lordship, that I took this as a singular expression of the trust his majesty reposed in me; howbeit, that I desired his lordship to pardon me, if I said I had herein only received a

greater power and latitude to err, and that I durst not trust my judgment so far as that I would presume to answer for all events, in such factious and turbulent times, and therefore again did humbly desire new instructions, which I promised punctually to follow. The Earl of Carlisle returning hereupon to the king, brought me yet no other answer back than that I formerly mentioned, and that his majesty did so much confide in me, that he would limit me with no other instructions, but refer all to my discretion, promising together, that if matters proceeded not as well as might be wished, he would attribute the default to any thing rather than to my not performing my duty.

Finding his majesty thus resolved, I humbly took leave of him and my friends at court, and went to Monsieur Savage; when demanding of him new letters of credit, his answer was, he could not furnish me as he had before, there being no limited sum expressed there, but that I should have as much as I needed.

Coming thus to Paris, I found myself welcomed by all the principal persons, nobody that I found there being either offended with the passages betwixt me and Monsieur de Luines, or that were sorry for his death, in which number the queen's majesty seemed the most eminent person, as one who long since had hated him: whereupon also, I cannot but remember this passage, that in an audience I had one day from the queen, I demanded of her how far she would have assisted me with her good offices against Luines? she replied, that what cause soever she might have to hate him, either by reason or by force, they would have made her to be of his side; to which I answered in Spanish, *No ay fuerza por las a reynas*; there is no force for queens; at which she smiled.

About this time, the Duke de Crouy, employed from Brussels to the French court, coming to see me, said, by way of rhodomontade, as though he would not speak of our isles, yet he saw all the rest of the world must bow under the Spaniard; to which I answered, God be thanked they are not yet come to that pass, or when they were, they have this yet to comfort them, that at worst they should be but the same which you are now.

It happened one day that the agent from Brussels, and ambassador from the Low-Countries, came to see me, immediately one after the other, to whom I said familiarly, that I thought that the inhabitants of the parts of the seventeen provinces, which were under the Spaniards, might be compared to horses in a stable, which, as they were finely curried, dressed, and fed, so they were well ridden also, spurred, and galled; and that I thought the Low-Country men were like to horses at grass, which, though they wanted so good keeping as the other had, yet might leap, kick, and fling, as much as they would; which freedom of mine displeased neither.

About this time, the French being jealous that the king my master would match the prince, his son, with the king of Spain's sister, and together relinquish his alliance with France, myself, who did endeavour nothing more than to hold all good intelligence betwixt the two crowns

had enough to do. The Count de Gondomor passing now from Spain into England, came to see me at Paris, about ten of the clock in the morning, when, after some compliments, he told me that he was to go towards England the next morning, and that he desired my coach to accompany him out of town; I told him, after a free and merry manner, he should not have my coach, and that if he demanded it, it was not because he needed coaches, the pope's nuntio, the emperor's ambassador, the duke of Bavaria's agent, and others, having coaches enough to furnish him, but because he would put a jealousy betwixt me and the French, as if I inclined more to the Spanish side than to their's. Gondomor then looking merrily upon me, said I will dine with you yet; I told him, by his good favour, he should not dine with me at that time, and that when I would entertain the ambassador of so great a king as his, it should not be upon my ordinary, but that I would make him a feast worthy of so great a person. Gondomor hereupon said, he esteemed me much, and that he meant only to put a trick upon me, which he found I had discovered, and that he thought that an Englishman had not known how to avoid handsomely a trick put upon him under shew of civility.

This Gondomor being an able person, and dexterous in his negotiations, had so prevailed with king James, that his majesty resolved to pursue his treaty with Spain, and for that purpose, to send his son Prince Charles in person to conclude the match. It was at last resolved, that he, attended with the Marquis of Buckingham, and Sir Francis Cottington, his secretary, and Endimion Porter, and Mr. Grimes, gentleman of the horse to the marquis, should pass in a disguised and private manner through France to Madrid; these five passing, though not without some difficulty, from Dover to Boulogne, where taking post horses, they came to Paris, and lodged at an inn in Rue St. Jacques, where it was advised amongst them whether they should send for me to attend them; after some dispute, it was concluded in the negative, since, as one there objected, if I came alone in the quality of a private person, I must go on foot through the streets; and because I was a person generally known, might be followed by some one or other, who would discover whither my private visit tended, besides, that those in the inn must needs take notice of my coming in that manner; on the other side, if I came publicly with my usual train, the gentlemen with me must needs take notice of the prince and Marquis of Buckingham, and consequently might divulge it, which was thought not to stand with the prince's safety, who endeavoured to keep his journey as secret as possible; howbeit, the prince spent the day following his arrival in seeing the French court, and city of Paris, without that any body did know his person, but a maid that had sold linen heretofore in London, who seeing him pass by, said, certainly this is the Prince of Wales, but withal suffered him to hold his way, and presumed not to follow him: the next day after, they took post horses, and held their way towards Bayonne, a city frontier to Spain.

I shall not enter into a narration of the passages occurring in the Spanish court, upon his highness's arrival thither, though they were well

known to me for the most part, by the information the French queen was pleased to give me, who, among other things, told me that her sister did wish well unto the prince.

New propositions being now made, and other counsels thereupon given, the prince taking his leave of the Spanish court, came to St. Andrews in Spain, where, shipping himself, with his train, arrived safely at Portsmouth, about the beginning of October, 1623; the news whereof being shortly brought into France, the Duke of Guise came to me, and said he found the Spaniards were not so able men as he thought, since they had neither married the prince in their country, nor done any thing to break his match elsewhere; I answered, that the prince was more dexterous than that any secret practice of theirs could be put upon him; and as for violence, I thought the Spaniard durst not offer it.

My book, *De veritate prout distinguitur à verisimili, et à falso*, having been begun by me in England, and formed there in all its principal parts, was, about this time finished, all the spare hours which I could get from my visits and negotiations, being employed to perfect this work, which was no sooner done, but that I communicated it to Hugo Grotius, that great scholar, who, having escaped his prison in the Low Countries, came into France, and was much welcomed by me and Monsieur Tieleners also, one of the greatest scholars of his time, who, after they had perused it, and given it more commendations than is fit for me to repeat, exhorted me earnestly to print and publish it; howbeit, as the frame of my whole book was so different from any thing which had been written heretofore, I found I must either renounce the authority of all that had written formerly concerning the method of finding out truth, and consequently insist upon my own way, or hazard myself to a general censure, concerning the whole argument of my book; I must confess it did not a little animate me, that the two great persons above mentioned did so highly value it, yet as I knew it would meet with much opposition, I did consider whether it was not better for me a while to suppress it. Being thus doubtful in my chamber, one fair day in the summer, my casement being opened towards the south, the sun shining clear, and no wind stirring, I took my book, *De Veritate*, in my hand, and, kneeling on my knees, devoutly said these words,

O thou eternal God, Author of the light which now shines upon me, and Giver of all inward illuminations, I do beseech thee, of thy infinite goodness, to pardon a greater request than a sinner ought to make; I am not satisfied enough whether I shall publish this book, *De Veritate*; if it be for thy glory, I beseech thee give me some sign from heaven; if not, I shall suppress it.

I had no sooner spoken these words, but a loud though yet gentle noise came from the heavens, for it was like nothing on earth, which did so comfort and cheer me, that I took my petition as granted, and that I had the sign I demanded, whereupon also I resolved to print my book.

And now I sent my book to be printed in Paris, at my own cost and charges, without suffering it to be divulged to others than to such as I thought might be worthy readers of it; though afterwards reprinting it in England, I not only dispersed it among the prime scholars of Europe, but was sent to not only from the nearest but furthest parts of Christendom, to desire the sight of my book, for which they promised any thing I should desire by way of return; but hereof more amply in its place.

The treaty of a match with France continuing still, it was thought fit for the concluding thereof, that the Earl of Carlisle and the Earl of Holland should be sent extraordinary ambassadors to France.

THE END.

MEMOIRS
OF
CAPTAIN GEORGE CARLETON,

AN ENGLISH OFFICER;

INCLUDING

ANECDOTES OF THE WAR IN SPAIN UNDER THE EARL OF PETER-
BOROUGH; AND MANY INTERESTING PARTICULARS RELATING
TO THE MANNERS OF THE SPANIARDS IN THE BEGINNING OF
THE LAST CENTURY.

WRITTEN BY HIMSELF.

LONDON:

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MEMOIRS

OF

CAPTAIN CARLETON.

IN the year 1672, war being proclaimed with Holland, it was looked upon, among nobility and gentry, as a blemish, not to attend the duke of York aboard the fleet, who was then declared admiral. With many others, I, at that time about twenty years of age, entered myself a volunteer on board the London, commanded by sir Edward Sprage, vice-admiral of the red.

The fleet set sail from the buoy off the Nore, about the beginning of May, in order to join the French fleet, then at anchor in St. Helen's road, under the command of the count de Estrée. But in executing this design, we had a very narrow escape; for de Ruyter, the admiral of the Dutch fleet, having notice of our intentions, waited to have intercepted us at the mouth of the river, but, by the assistance of a great fog, we passed Dover before he was aware of it; and thus he miscarried, with the poor advantage of taking only one small tender.

A day or two after the joining of the English and the French, we sailed directly towards the Dutch coast, where we soon got sight of their fleet; a sand called the Galloper lying between. The Dutch seemed willing there to expect an attack from us; but in regard the Charles man of war had been lost on those sands the war before, and that our ships drawing more water than those of the enemy, an engagement might be rendered very disadvantageous, it was resolved in a council of war, to avoid coming to a battle for the present, and to sail directly for Solebay, which was accordingly put in execution.

We had not been in Solebay above four or five days, when de Ruyter, hearing of it, made his signal for sailing, in order to surprise us; and he had certainly had his aim, had there been any breeze of wind to favour him. But though they made use of all their sails, there was so little air stirring, that we could see their fleet making towards us long before they came up; notwithstanding which, our admirals found difficulty enough to form their ships into a line of battle, so as to be ready to receive the enemy.

It was about four in the morning of the 28th of May, being Tuesday in Whitsun week, when we first made the discovery; and about eight the same morning, the blue squadron, under the command of the earl of Sandwich, began to engage with admiral Van Ghent, who commanded the Amsterdam squadron; and about nine the whole fleets were under a general engagement. The fight lasted till ten at night, and with equal fury on all sides, the French excepted, who appeared stationed there rather as spectators than parties, and as unwilling to be too much upon the offensive for fear of offending themselves.

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During the fight the English admiral had two ships disabled under him, and was obliged, about four in the afternoon, to remove himself a third time into the London, where he remained all the rest of the fight, and till next morning. Nevertheless, on his entrance upon the London, which was the ship I was in, and on our hoisting the standard, de Ruyter and her squadron seemed to double their fire upon her, as if they resolved to blow her out of the water. Notwithstanding all which, the duke of York remained all the time upon quarter-deck; and as the bullets plentifully whizzed around him, would often rub his hands, and cry, "Sprage, Sprage, they follow us still!" I am very sensible latter times have not been over favourable in their sentiments of that unfortunate prince's valour; yet I cannot omit the doing a piece of justice to his memory, in relating a matter of fact, of which my own eyes were witnesses, and saying, that if intrepidity and undauntedness may be reckoned any parts of courage, no man in the fleet better deserved the title of courageous, or behaved himself with more gallantry, than he did,

The English lost the Royal James, commanded by the earl of Sandwich, which about twelve (after the strenuous endeavours of her sailors to disengage her from two Dutch fire-ships placed on her, one athwart her hawsers, the other on her starboard side) took fire, blew up, and perished, and with her a great many brave gentlemen, as well as sailors; and amongst the rest the earl himself, concerning whom I shall further add, that in my passage from Harwich to the Brill, a year or two after, the master of the packet boat told me, that, having observed a great flock of gulls hovering in one particular part of the sea, he ordered his boat to make up to it, when, discovering a corpse, the sailors would have returned it to the sea, as the corpse of a Dutchman, but keeping it in his boat it proved to be that of the earl of Sandwich. There were found about him between twenty and thirty guineas, some silver, and his gold watch; restoring which to his lady, she kept the watch, but rewarded their honesty with all the gold and silver.

This was the only ship the English lost in this long engagement. For although the Katharine was taken, and her commander, sir John Chicheley, made prisoner, her sailors, soon after finding the opportunity they had watched for, seized all the Dutch sailors who had been put in upon them, and brought the ship back to our own fleet, together with all the Dutchmen, prisoners; for which, as they deserved, they were well rewarded. This is the same ship which the earl of Mulgrave (afterwards duke of Buckingham) commanded the next sea fight, and has caused to be painted in his house in St. James's park.

I must not omit one very remarkable occurrence which happened in the ship. There was a gentleman aboard her, a volunteer, of a very fine estate, generally known by the name of Hodge Vaughan. This person received, in the beginning of the fight, a

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considerable wound, which the great confusion during the battle would not give them leave to inquire into; so he was carried out of the way, and disposed of in the hold. They had some hogs aboard, which the sailor, under whose care they were, had neglected to feed; these hogs, hungry as they were, found out, and fell upon the wounded person, and between dead and alive, eat him up to his very skull, which, after the fight was over, and the ship retaken as before, was all that could be found of him.

Another thing, less to be accounted for, happened to a gentleman volunteer, who was aboard the same ship with myself. He was of known personal courage, in the vulgar notion of it, his sword never having failed him in many private duels; but notwithstanding all his land-mettle, it was observed of him at sea, that whenever the bullets whizzed over his head, or any way incommoded his ears, he immediately quitted the deck and ran down into the hold. At first he was gently reproached; but after many repetitions he was laughed at, and began to be despised. Sensible of which, as a testimonial of his valour, he made it his request to be tied to the main mast; but, had it been granted him, I cannot see any title he could have pleaded from hence to true magnanimity, since to be tied from running away can import nothing less than that he would have still continued these signs of cowardice, if he had not been prevented. There is a bravery of mind, which I fancy few of those gentlemen duellists are possessed of. True courage cannot proceed from what sir Walter Raleigh finely calls the art of philosophy of quarrel. No, it must be the issue of principle, and can have no other basis than a steady tenet of religion. This will appear more plain, if those artists in murder will give themselves leave coolly to consider, and answer me this question,—Why he who had ran so many risques at his sword's point should be so shamefully intimidated at the whiz of a cannon ball?

The names of those English gentlemen who lost their lives, as I remember, in this engagement:—commissioner Cox, captain of the *Royal Prince*, under the command of the admiral; Mr. Travanian, gentleman to the duke of York; Mr. Digby, captain of the *Henry*, second son to the earl of Bristol; sir Fletchville Hollis, captain of the *Cambridge*, who lost one of his arms in the war before, and his life in this; captain Saddleton, of the *Dartmouth*; lord Maidstone, son to the earl of Winchelsea, a volunteer on board the *Charles*, commanded by sir J. Harman, vice-admiral of the red; sir P. Carteret, Mr. Herbert, Mr. Cotterel, Mr. Poyton, and Mr. Gose, with several other gentlemen unknown to me, lost their lives with the earl of Sandwich, on board the *Royal James*; and Mr. Vaughan, on board the *Katherine*, commanded by sir John Chicheley.

In this engagement sir George Rook was youngest lieutenant to sir Edward Sprage; Mr. Russell, afterward earl of Orford, was captain of a small fifth rate, called the *Phoenix*; Mr. Herbert, af-

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terwards earl of Torrington, was captain of a small fourth rate, called the *Monck*; and sir Harry Dutton Colt, who was on board the *Victory*, commanded by the earl of Ossory, is the only man now living that I can remember was in this engagement.

But to proceed. The Dutch had one man of war sunk, though so near the shore, that I saw some part of her main mast remain above water; with their admiral Van Ghent, who was slain in the close engagement with the earl of Sandwich. This engagement lasted fourteen hours, and was looked upon as the greatest that ever was fought between the English and the Hollander.

I cannot here omit one thing, which, to some, may seem trifling, though, I am apt to think, our naturalists may have a different opinion of it, and find it afford their fancies no undiverting employment in more curious and less perilous reflections. We had, on board the *London*, where, as I have said, I was a volunteer, a great number of pigeons, of which our commander was very fond. These, on the first firing of our cannon, dispersed and flew away, and were seen no more near us during the fight. The next day it blew a brisk gale, and drove our fleet some leagues to the southward of the place where they forsook our ship, yet the day after they all returned safe aboard; not in one flock, but in small parties of four or five at a time. Some persons at that time aboard the ship, admiring at the manner of their return, and speaking of it with some surprise, sir Edward Sprage told them, that he brought those pigeons with him from the Straights; and that when, pursuant to his order, he left the *Revenge* man of war to go aboard the *London*, all those pigeons, of their own accord, and without the trouble and care of carrying, left the *Revenge* likewise, and removed with the sailors on board the *London*, where I saw them, all which many of the sailors afterwards confirmed to me. What sort of instinct this could proceed from, I leave to the curious.

Soon after this sea engagement, I left the fleet. And the parliament, the winter following, manifesting their resentments against two of the plenipotentiaries, viz. Buckingham and Arlington, who had been sent over into Holland, and expressing, withal, their great umbrage taken at the prodigious progress of the French arms in the United Provinces, and warmly remonstrating the inevitable danger attending England in their ruin; king Charles, from all this, and for want of the expected supplies, found himself under a necessity of clapping up a speedy peace with Holland.

This peace leaving those youthful spirits that had by the late naval war been raised into a generous ferment under a perfect inactivity at home, they found themselves, to avoid a sort of life that was their aversion, obliged to look out for one more active, and more suitable to their vigorous tempers, abroad.

I must acknowledge myself one of that number; and therefore,

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in the year 1674, I resolved to go into Flanders, in order to serve as volunteer in the army commanded by his highness the prince of Orange. I took my passage accordingly at Dover, for Calais, and so went by way of Dunkirk for Brussels.

Arriving at which place, I was informed that the army of the confederates lay encamped not far from Neville, and under the daily expectation of an engagement with the enemy. This news made me press forward to the service; for which purpose I carried along with me proper letters of recommendation to sir Walter Vane, who was at that time a major-general. Upon further inquiry, I understood, that a party of horse, which was to guard some wag-gons that were going to count Monterey's army, were to set out next morning; so I got an Irish priest to introduce me to the commanding officer, which he readily obliged me in; and they, as I wished them, arrived in the camp next day.

I had scarce been there an hour, when happened one of the most extraordinary accidents in life. I observed in the east a strange dusty coloured cloud, of a pretty large extent, riding (not before the wind, for it was a perfect calm) with such a precipitate motion that it was got over our heads almost as soon as seen. When the skirts of that cloud began to cover our camp, there suddenly arose such a terrible hurricané, or whirlwind, that all the tents were carried aloft with great violence into the air; and soldier's hats flew so high and thick, that my fancy can resemble it to nothing better than those flights of rooks, which, at dusk of evening, leaving the fields, seek their roosting places. Trees were torn up by the very roots, and the roofs of all the barns, &c. belonging to the prince's quarters, were blown quite away. This lasted for about half an hour, until the cloud was wholly passed over us, when as suddenly ensued the same pacific calm as before the cloud's approach. Its course was seemingly directed west, and yet, we were soon after informed, that the fine dome of the great church at Utrecht had greatly suffered by it the same day. And, if I am not much mistaken, sir William Temple, in his *Memoirs*, mentions somewhat of it which he felt at Lillo, on his return from the prince of Orange's camp, where he had been a day or two before.

As soon after this as I could get an opportunity, I delivered, at his quarters, my recommendatory letters to sir Walter Vane, who received me very kindly, telling me at the same time, that there were six or seven English gentlemen who had entered themselves volunteers in the prince's own company of guards; and added, that he would immediately recommend me to count Solmes, their colonel. He was not worse than his word, and I was entered accordingly. Those six gentlemen were as follows: — Clavers, who since was better known by the title of lord Dundee; Mr. Collier, now lord Portmore; Mr. Rook, since major-general; Mr. Hales, who lately died, and was a long time governor of Chel-

SUPPLEMENT TO

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sea hospital; Mr. Venner, son of that Venner remarkable for his being one of the fifth-monarchy men; and Mr. Boyce. The four first rose to be very eminent; but Fortune is not to all alike favourable.

In about a week's time after, it was resolved, in a council of war, to march towards Binch, a small walled town about four leagues from Neville; the better to cut off the provisions from coming to the prince of Condé's camp that way.

Accordingly, on the first day of August, being Saturday, we began our march; and the English volunteers had the favour of a baggage waggon appointed them. Count Souches, the imperial general, with the troops of that nation, led the van; the main body was composed of Dutch, under the prince of Orange, as generalissimo; and the Spaniards, under prince Vaudemont, with some detachments, made the rear guard.

As we were upon our march, I being among those detachments which made up the rear guard, observed a great party of the enemy's horse upon an ascent, which, I then imagined, as it after proved, to be the prince of Condé taking a view of our forces under march. There were many defiles, which our army must necessarily pass, through which that prince politically enough permitted the imperial and Dutch forces to pass unmolested. But when prince Vaudemont, with the Spaniards, and our detachments, thought to have done the like, the prince of Condé fell on our rear guard, and, after a long and sharp dispute, entirely routed them; the marquis of Assentar, a Spanish lieutenant-general, dying upon the spot.

Had the prince of Condé contented himself with this share of good fortune, his victory had been uncontested; but being pushed forward by a vehement heat of temper (which he was noted for), and flushed with this extraordinary success, he resolved to force the whole confederate army to a battle. In order to which he immediately led his forces between our second line and our line of baggage, by which means the latter was entirely cut off, and subjected to the will of the enemy, who fell directly to plunder, in which they were not a little assisted by the routed Spaniards themselves, who did not disdain at that time to share with the enemy in the plundering of their friends and allies.

The English volunteers had their share of this ill fortune with the rest; their waggon appointed them being among those intercepted by the enemy; and I, for my part, lost every thing but life, which yet was saved almost as unaccountably as my fellow-soldiers had lost theirs. The baggage, as I have said, being cut off, and at the mercy of the enemy, every one endeavoured to escape through or over the hedges. And, as in all cases of like confusion, one endeavours to save himself upon the ruin of others, so here, he that found himself stopped by another in getting over the gap or hedge, pulled him back to make way for himself, and,

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perhaps, met with the same fortune from a third, to the destruction of all. I was then in the vigour of my youth, and none of the least active, and perceiving how it had fared with some before me, I clapped my left leg upon the shoulder of one who was thus contending with another, and with a spring threw myself over both their heads and the hedge at the same time. By this means I not only saved my life (for they were all cut to pieces that could not get over), but from an eminence which I soon after attained, I had an opportunity of seeing and making my observations upon the remaining part of that glorious conflict.

It was from that advantageous situation that I presently discovered that the imperialists, who led the van, had now joined the main body. And, I confess, it was with an almost inexpressible pleasure that I beheld, about three o'clock, with what intrepid fury they fell upon the enemy. In short, both armies were universally engaged; and with great obstinacy disputed the victory till eleven at night; at which time the French, being pretty well surfeited, made their retreat. Nevertheless, to secure it by a stratagem, they left their lighted matches hanging in the hedges and waving with the air to conceal it from the confederate army.

About two hours after, the confederate forces followed the example of their enemies, and drew off; and though neither army had much reason to boast, yet, as the prince of Orange remained last in the field, and the French had lost what they before had gained, the glory of the day fell to the prince of Orange; who, although but twenty-four years of age, had the suffrage of friend and foe of having played the part of an old and experienced officer.

There were left that day on the field of battle, by a general computation, not less than eighteen thousand men on both sides, over and above those who died of their wounds; the loss being pretty equal, only the French carried off most prisoners. Prince Waldeck was shot through the arm, which I was near enough to be an eye witness of; and my much lamented friend, sir Walter Vane, was carried off dead. A wound in the arm was all the mark of honour that I as yet could boast of, though our cannon in the defiles had slain many near me.

The prince of Condé (as we were next day informed) lay all that night under a hedge, wrapped in his cloak; and, either from the mortification of being disappointed in his hopes of victory, or from a reflection of the disservice which his own natural over heat of temper had drawn upon him, was almost inconsolable many days after. And thus ended the famous battle of Senef.

But though common vogue has given it the name of a battle, in my weak opinion it might rather deserve that of a confused skirmish; all things having been forcibly carried on, without regularity, or even design enough to allow it any higher denomination: for, as I have said before, notwithstanding I was advantageously

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stationed for observation, I found it very often impossible to distinguish one party from another. And this was more remarkably evident on the part of the prince of Orange, whose valour and vigour having led him into the middle of the enemy, and being then sensible of his error, by a peculiar presence of mind, gave the word of command in French, which he spoke perfectly well. But the French soldiers, who took him for one of their own generals, making answer that their powder was all spent, it afforded matter of instruction to him to persist in his attack; at the same time that it gave him a lesson of caution to withdraw himself as soon as he could to his own troops.

However, the day after, the prince of Orange thought proper to march to Quarignan, a village within a league of Mons, where he remained some days, till he could be supplied from Brussels with those necessities which his army stood in need of.

From thence we marched to Valenciennes, where we again encamped, till we could receive things proper for a siege. Upon the arrival whereof, the prince gave orders to decamp, and marched his army with a design to besiege Aeth. But having intelligence on our march, that the mareschal de Humiers had reinforced that garrison, we marched directly to Oudenard, and immediately invested it.

This siege was carried on with such application and success, that the besiegers were in a few days ready for a storm; but the prince of Condé prevented them by coming up to its relief. Upon which the prince of Orange, pursuant to the resolution of a council of war the night before, drew off his forces in order to give him battle; and to that purpose, after the laborious work of filling up our lines of contravallation, that the horse might pass more freely, we lay upon our arms all night. Next morning we expected the imperial general, count Souches, to join us; but instead of that, he sent back some very frivolous excuses, of the inconveniency of the ground for a battle; and after that, instead of joining the prince, marched off quite another way; the prince of Orange, with the Dutch and Spanish troops, marched directly for Ghent; exclaiming publicly against the chicanery of Souches, and openly declaring, that he had been advertised of a conference between a French capuchin and that general, the night before. Certain it is, that that general lay under the displeasure of his master, the emperor, for that piece of management; and the count de Sporck was immediately appointed general in his place.

The prince of Orange was hereupon leaving the army in great disgust, till prevailed upon by the count de Monterey, for the general safety, to recede from that resolution. However, seeing no likelihood of any thing further to be done, while Souches was in command, he resolved upon a post of more action, though more dangerous; wherefore ordering ten thousand men to march before, he himself soon after followed to the siege of Grave.

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The Grave, a strong place, and of the first moment to the Hollanders, had been blocked up by the Dutch forces all the summer; the prince of Orange, therefore, leaving the main army under prince Waldeck at Ghent, followed the detachment he had made for the siege of that important place, resolving to purchase it at any rate. On his arrival before it, things began to find new motion; and as they were carried on with the utmost application and fury, the besieged found themselves, in a little time, obliged to change their summer note for one more suitable to the season.

The prince, from his first coming, having kept those within hotly plied with ball, both from cannon and mortars, monsieur Chamilly, the governor, after a few days, being weary of such warm work, desired to capitulate; upon which the hostages were exchanged, and articles agreed on next morning. Pursuant to which the garrison marched out with drums beating and colours flying, two days after, and were conducted to Charleroy.

By the taking this place, which made the prince of Orange the more earnest upon it, the French were wholly expelled their last year's astonishing conquests in Holland. And yet there was another consideration that rendered the surrender of it much more considerable. For the French being sensible of the great strength of this place, had there deposited all their cannon and ammunition, taken from their other conquests in Holland, which they never were able to remove or carry off, with tolerable prospect of safety, after that prince's army first took the field.

The enemy being marched out, the prince entered the town, and immediately ordered public thanksgivings for its happy reduction. Then having appointed a governor, and left a sufficient garrison, he put an end to that campaign, and returned to the Hague, where he had not been long before he fell ill of the small-pox. The consternation this threw the whole country into is not to be expressed: any one that had seen it would have thought that that the French had made another inundation greater than the former. But when the danger was over, their joy and satisfaction for his recovery was equally beyond expression.

The year 1675 yielded very little remarkable in our army.—Limburgh was besieged by the French, under the command of the duke of Enguien, which the prince of Orange having intelligence of, immediately decamped from his fine camp at Bethlem, near Louvain, in order to raise the siege. But as we were on a full march for that purpose, and had already reached Ruremond, word was brought that the place had surrendered the day before. Upon which advice, the prince, after a short halt, made his little army (for it consisted not of more than thirty thousand men) march back to Brabant. Nothing of moment after this occurred all that campaign.

In the year 1676, the prince of Orange having, in concert with the Spaniards, resolved upon the important siege of Maestricht

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(the only town in the Dutch provinces then remaining in the hands of the French), it was accordingly invested about the middle of June, with an army of twenty thousand men, under the command of his highness prince Waldeck, with the grand army covering the siege. It was some time before the heavy cannon, which we expected up the Maes, from Holland, arrived, which gave occasion to a piece of raillery of monsieur Calvo, the governor, which was as handsomely reparteed. That governor, by a messenger, intimating his sorrow to find we had pawned our cannon for ammunition bread; answer was made, that in a few days we hoped to give him a taste of the loaves, which he should find should be sent him into the town in extraordinary plenty. I remember another piece of raillery, which passed some days after between the Rhingrave and the same Calvo. The former sending word, that he hoped within three weeks to salute that governor's mistress within the place; Calvo replied, he would give him leave to kiss her all over, if he kissed her any where in three months.

But our long expected artillery being at last arrived, all this jest and merriment was soon converted into earnest. Our trenches were immediately opened towards the Dauphin bastion, against which were planted many cannon, in order to make a breach; myself, as a probationer, being twice put upon the forlorn hope to facilitate that difficult piece of service. Nor was it long before such a breach was effected, as was esteemed practicable, and therefore, very soon after, it was ordered to be attacked.

The disposition for the attack was thus ordered: two serjeants with twenty grenadiers, a captain with fifty men, myself one of the number; then a party carrying wool-sacks, and after them two captains with one hundred men more; the soldiers in the trenches to be ready to sustain them, as occasion should require.

The signal being given, we left our trenches accordingly, having about one hundred yards to run before we could reach the breach, which we mounted with some difficulty and loss; all our batteries firing at the same instant to keep our action in countenance, and favour our design. When we were in possession of the bastion, the enemy fired most furiously upon us with their small cannon through a thin brick wall, by which, and their hand grenadoes, we lost more men than we did in the attack itself.

But well had it been had our ill fortune stopped there; for as if disaster must needs be the concomitant of success, we soon lost what we had thus gotten, by a small, but very odd accident. Not being furnished with such scoops as our enemies made use of, in tossing their hand grenadoes some distance off, one of our soldiers aiming to throw one over the wall into the counterscarp among the enemy, it so happened, that he unfortunately missed his aim, and the grenade fell down again on our side the wall, very near the person who fired it. He starting back to save himself, and some others, who saw it fall, doing the like, those who knew nothing of the

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matter fell into a sudden confusion, and imagining some greater danger than there really was, every body was struck with a panic fear, and endeavoured to be first who should quit the bastion, and secure himself by a real shame from an imaginary evil. Thus was a bastion, that had been gloriously gained, inadvertently deserted; and that too, with the loss of almost as many men in the retreat as had been slain in the onset, and the enemy most triumphantly again took possession of it.

Among the slain, on our side, in this action, was an ensign of sir John Fenwick's regiment; and as an approbation of my services, his commission was bestowed upon me.

A few days after it was resolved again to storm that bastion, as before; out of three English and one Scotch regiments, then in the camp, a detachment was selected for a fresh attack. Those regiments were under the command of sir John Fenwick, who was afterwards beheaded, colonel Ralph Widdrington, and colonel Ashley, of the English; and sir Alexander Collier, father of the present lord Portmore, of the Scotch. Out of every of these four regiments, as before, were detached a captain, a lieutenant, and an ensign, with fifty men. Captain Anthony Barnwell, of sir John Fenwick's regiment, who was now my captain, commanding that attack.

At break of day the attack was begun with great resolution; and though vigorously maintained, was attended with the desired success. The bastion was again taken, and in it the commanding officer, who, in service to himself, more than to us, told us, that the centre of the bastion would soon be blown up, being to his knowledge undermined for that purpose. But this secret proved of no other use than to make us, by way of precaution, to keep as much as we could upon the rampart. In this attack captain Barnwell lost his life, and it happened my new commission was wetted, not, as too frequently is the custom, with a debauch, but with a bullet through my hand, and the breach of my collarbone with the stroke of a halbert.

After about half an hour's possession of the bastion, the mine under it, of which the French officer gave us warning, was sprung; the enemy at the same time making a furious sally upon us. The mine did a little, though the less, execution for being discovered; but the sally no way answered their end, for we beat them back, and immediately fixed our lodgment, which we maintained during the time of the siege. But to our double surprise, a few days after, they fired another mine under, or aside the former, in which they had placed a quantity of grenades, which did much more execution than the other; notwithstanding all which, a battery of guns was presently erected upon that bastion, which very considerably annoyed the enemy.

The breach for a general storm was now rendered almost practicable; yet before that could be advisably attempted, there was a

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strong horn-work to be taken. Upon this exploit the Dutch troops only were to signalize themselves; and they answered the confidence reposed in them; for, though they were twice repulsed, at the third onset they were more successful, and took possession, which they likewise kept to the raising of the siege.

There was a stratagem laid at this time, which, in its own merit, one would have thought, should not have failed of a good effect; but, to shew the vanity of the highest human wisdom, it miscarried. On the other side of the Maes, opposite to Maestricht, lies the strong fortress of Wyck, to which it is joined by a stone bridge of six fair arches. The design was, by a false attack on that regular fortification, to draw the strength of the garrison to its defence, which was but very natural to imagine would be the consequence. Ready to attend that well concerted false attack, a large flat-bottomed boat, properly furnished with barrels of gun-powder and other necessaries, was to fall down under one of the middle arches, and when fixed there, by firing the powder, to have blown up the bridge, and by that means to have prevented the return of the garrison, to oppose a real attack at that instant of time to be made upon the town of Maestricht by the whole army.

The false attack on Wyck was accordingly made, which, as proposed, drew the main of the garrison of Maestricht to its defence, and the boat so furnished fell down the river as projected; but unfortunately, before it could reach the arch, from the darkness of the night, running upon a shoal, it could not be got off; for which reason the men in the boat were glad to make a hasty escape for fear of being discovered, as the boat was, next morning, and the whole design laid open.

This stratagem thus miscarrying, all things were immediately got ready for a general storm, at the main breach in the town; and the rather, because the prince of Orange had received incontestible intelligence that duke Scromberg, at the head of the French army, was in full march to relieve the place: but before every thing could be rightly got ready for the intended storm, (though some there were who pretended to say, that a dispute raised by the Spaniards with the Dutch, about the propriety of the town, when taken, was the cause of that delay,) we heard at some distance several guns fired as signals of relief; upon which, we precipitately, and, as most imagined, shamefully drew off from before the place, and joined the grand army under prince Waldeck. But it was matter of greater surprise to most on the spot, that when the armies were so joined, we did not stay to offer the enemy battle. The well known courage of the prince, then generalissimo, was so far from solving this riddle, that it rather puzzled all who thought of it; however, the prevailing opinion was, that it was occasioned by some great misunderstanding between the Spaniards and the Dutch. And experience will evince that this was not the only

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disappointment of that nature, occasioned by imperfect understandings.

Besides the number of common soldiers slain in this attack, which was not inconsiderable, we lost here the brave Rhingrave, a person much lamented, on account of his many other excellent qualifications, as well as that of a general. Colonel Ralph Widdrington, and colonel Doleman (who had not enjoyed Widdrington's commission above a fortnight), captain Douglas, captain Barnwell, and captain Lee, were of the slain among the English; who, indeed, had borne the whole brunt of the attack upon the Dauphin's bastion.

I remember the prince of Orange, during the siege, received a shot through his arm; which giving an immediate alarm to the troops under his command, he took his hat off his head with the wounded arm, and smiling, waved it, to shew them there was no danger. Thus, after the most gallant defence against the most courageous onsets, ended the siege of Maestricht; and with it all that was material that campaign.

Early in the spring, in the year 1677, the French army, under the duke of Orleans, besieged at once, both Cambray and St. Omers. This last the prince of Orange seemed very intent and resolute to relieve. In order to which, well knowing, by sad experience, it would be to little purpose to wait the majestic motions of the Spaniards, that prince got together what forces he could, all in Dutch pay, and marching forward with all speed, resolved, even at the hazard of a battle, to attempt the raising the siege. Upon his appearing, the duke of Orleans, to whose particular conduct the care of that siege was committed, drew off from before the place, leaving scarce enough of his men to defend the trenches. The prince was under the necessity of marching his forces over a morass; and the duke, well knowing it, took care to attack him near mont Cassel, before half his little army were got over. The dispute was very sharp, but the prince being much out-numbered, and his troops not able, by the straightness of the passage, to engage all at once, was obliged at last to retreat, which he did in pretty good order. I remember the Dutch troops did not all alike do their duty; and the prince seeing one of the officers on his fullest speed, called to him over and over to halt; which the officer, in too much haste to obey, the prince gave him a slash over the face, saying, "By this mark I shall know you another time." Soon after this retreat of the prince, Saint Omers was surrendered.

Upon this retreat, the prince marching back, lay for some time among the boors, who, from the good discipline which he took care to make his troops observe, did not give us their customary boorish reception. And yet as secure as we might think ourselves, I met with a little passage that confirmed me in the notions, which the generality, as well as I, had imbibed of the private barbarity of those people, whenever an opportunity falls in their way.

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I was strolling at a distance from my quarters, all alone, when I found myself near one of their houses, into which, the doors being open, I ventured to enter. I saw nobody when I came in, though the house was, for that sort of people, well enough furnished, and in pretty decent order. I called, but, nobody answering, I had the curiosity to advance a little farther, when, at the mouth of the oven, which had not yet wholly lost its heat, I spied the corpse of a man so bloated, swoln, and parched, as left me little room to doubt, that the oven had been the scene of his destiny. I confess the sight struck me with horror; and as much courage and security as I entered with, I withdrew in haste, and with quite different sentiments, and could not fancy myself out of danger till I had reached our camp. A wise man should not frame an accusation on conjectures; but, on inquiry, I was soon made sensible, that such barbarous usage is too common among those people, especially if they meet with a straggler, of what nation soever.

This made me not very sorry when we decamped, and we soon after received orders to march and invest Charleroy; before which place we staid somewhat above a week, and then drew off. I remember very well, that I was not the only person then in the camp that was at a loss to dive into the reason of this investiture and decampment: but since I, at that time, among the politicians of the army, never heard a good one, I shall not venture to offer my sentiments at so great a distance.

We, after this, marched towards Mons; and, in our march, passed over the very grounds on which the battle of Seneff had been fought three years before. It was with no little pleasure that I re-surveyed a place, that had once been of so much danger to me; and where my memory and fancy now repeated back all those observations I had then made under some unavoidable confusion. Young as I was, both in years and experience, from my own reflections, and the sentiments of others, after the fight was over, methought I saw visibly before me the well ordered disposition of the prince of Condé; the inexpressible difficulties which the prince of Orange had to encounter with; while at the same moment I could not omit to pay my debt to the memory of my first patron, sir Walter Vane, who, there losing his life, left me a solitary wanderer to the wide world of fortune.

But these thoughts soon gave place to new objects, which every hour presented themselves in our continued march to Enghien, a place famous for the finest gardens in all Flanders, near which we encamped, on the very same ground which the French chose some years after at the battle of Steenkirk; of which I shall speak in its proper place. Here the prince of Orange left our army, as we afterwards found, to pass into England; where he married the princess Mary, daughter of the duke of York. And after his departure, that campaign ended without any thing further material.

Now began the year 1678, famous for the peace, and no less

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remarkable for an action previous to it, which has not failed to employ the talents of men, variously, as they stood affected. Our army, under the prince of Orange, lay encamped at Soignies, where it is whispered that the peace was concluded. Notwithstanding which, two days after, being Sunday, the 17th day of August, the army was drawn out, as most others as well as myself apprehended, in order to a *feu de joye*; but in lieu of that, we found our march ordered towards St. Dennis, where the duke of Luxemburg lay, as he imagined, safe in inaccessible entrenchments.

About three of the clock our army arrived there, when we received orders to make the attack. It began with the most vigorous spirit, that promised no less than the success which ensued. The three English and three Scotch regiments, under the command of the ever renowned earl of Ossory, together with the prince of Orange's guards, made their attack at a place called the Chateau, where the French took their refuge among a parcel of hop-poles; but their resource was as weak as their defence, and they were soon beaten out with a very great slaughter.

It was here that a French officer, having his pistol directed at the breast of the prince, monsieur d'Auverquerque interposed, and shot the officer dead upon the spot.

The fight lasted from three in the afternoon till nine at night; when, growing dark, the duke of Luxemburg forsook his entrenchments, into which we marched next morning. And, to see the sudden change of things! that very spot of ground, where nothing but fire and fury appeared the day before, the next saw solaced with the proclamation of a peace.

About an hour before the attack began, the duke of Monmouth arrived in the army, being kindly received by the prince of Orange, bravely fighting by his side all that day. The woods, and the unevenness of the ground, rendered the cavalry almost useless; yet I saw a standard among some others, which was taken from the enemy, being richly embroidered with gold and silver, bearing the sun in the zodiac, with these haughty words, *Nihil obstat eunte*. On the news of this unexpected victory, the states of Holland sent to congratulate the prince; and to testify how much they valued his preservation, they presented monsieur d'Auverquerque, who had so bravely rescued him, with a sword, whose hânde was of massy gold, set with diamonds. I forgot to mention, that this gentleman received a shot on his head at the battle of Seneff; and truly in all actions, which were many, he nobly distinguished himself by his bravery. He was father of this present earl of Grantham.

Names of the English officers whom I knew to be killed in this action:—lieutenant-colonel Archer, captain Carleton, captain Richardson, captain Fisher, captain Penfield, lieutenant Carleton, lieutenant Barton, and ensign Colville, with several others, whose names I have forgot.

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Lieutenant-colonel Babington, who began the attack, by beating the French out of the hop-garden, was taken prisoner. Colonel Hales, who was a long time governor of Chelsea college, being then a captain, received a shot on his leg, of which he went lame to his dying day.

The war thus ended by the peace of Nimeguen; the regiment in which I served was appointed to lie in garrison at the Grave. We lay there near four years, our soldiers being mostly employed about the fortifications. It was here, and by that means, that I imbibed the rudiments of fortification, and the practical part of an engineer, which, in my more advanced years, was of no small service to me.

Nevertheless, in the year 1684, our regiment received orders to march to Haren, near Brussels; where, with other forces, we encamped, till we heard that Luxemburg, invaded by the French, in a time of the profoundest peace, had surrendered to them. Then we decamped, and marched to Mechlin, where we lay in the field till near November. Not that there was any war proclaimed; but as not knowing, whether those who had committed such acts of hostility in time of peace might not take it in their heads to proceed yet further. In November we marched into that town, where count Nivelles was governor: the marquis de Grana at the same time governing the Netherlands in the jurisdiction of Spain.

Nothing of any moment happened after this, till the death of king Charles II. The summer after which, the three English and three Scotch regiments received orders to pass over into England, upon the occasion of Monmouth's rebellion; where, upon our arrival, we received orders to encamp on Hounslow heath. But that rebellion being soon stifled, and king James having no farther need of us, those regiments were ordered to return again to Holland, into the proper service of those who paid them.

Though I am no stiff adherer to the doctrine of predestination, yet to the full assurance of a Providence I never could fail to adhere. Thence came it that my natural desire to serve my own native country prevailed upon me to quit the service of another, though its neighbour and ally. Events are not always to direct the judgment; and therefore, whether I did best in following these fondling dictates of nature, I shall neither question nor determine.

However, it was not long after my arrival in England, before I had a commission given me by king James, to be a lieutenant in a new raised regiment under the command of colonel Tufton, brother to the earl of Thanet. Under this commission I sojourned out two peaceable campaigns on Hounslow heath; where I was an eye witness of one mock siege of Buda: after which, our regiment was ordered to Berwick, where I remained till the revolution.

King James having abdicated the throne, and the prince of Orange accepting the administration, all commissions were ordered to be renewed in his name. The officers of our regiment, as well as

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others, severally took out theirs accordingly, a very few excepted, of which number was our colonel, who, refusing a compliance, his commission was given to sir James Lesley.

The prince of Orange presently after was declared and proclaimed king, and his princess queen, with a conjunctive power. Upon which our regiment was ordered into Scotland, where affairs appeared under a face of disquietude. We had our quarters at Leith, till the time the castle of Edinburgh, then under the command of the duke of Gordon, had surrendered. After which, pursuant to fresh orders, we marched to Inverness, a place of no great strength, and as little beauty; though yet, I think I may say, without the least danger of an hyperbole, that it is as pleasant as most places in that country. Here we lay two long winters, perpetually harassed upon parties, and hunting of somewhat wilder than their wildest game, namely, the highlanders, who were, if not as nimble-footed, yet fully as hard to be found.

But general Mackay having received orders to build a fort at Inverlochy, our regiment, among others, was commanded to that service. The two regiments appointed on the same duty, with some few dragoons, were already on their march, which having joined, we marched together through Louquebar. This, sure, is the wildest country in the highlands, if not in the world. I did not see one house in all our march; and their economy, if I may call it such, is much the same with that of the Arabs or Tartars. Huts, or cabins, of trees and trash, are their places of habitation; in which they dwell, till their half-horned cattle have devoured the grass, and then remove, staying no where longer than that convenience invites them.

In this march, or rather, if you please, most dismal peregrination, we could but very rarely go two on a breast; and oftener, like geese in a string, one after another. So that our very little army had sometimes, or rather most commonly, an extent of many miles; our enemy, the highlanders, firing down upon us from their summits all the way. Nor was it possible for our men, or very rarely at least, to return their favours with any prospect of success; for, as they popped upon us always on a sudden, they never staid long enough to allow any of our soldiers a mark, or even time enough to fire: and, for our men to march, or climb up those mountains, which to them were natural champaign, would have been as dangerous, as it seemed to us impracticable. Nevertheless, under all these disheartening disadvantages, we arrived at Inverlochy, and there performed the task appointed, building a fort on the same spot where Cromwell had raised one before. And, which was not a little remarkable, we had with us one Hill, a colonel, who had been governor in Oliver's time, and who was now again appointed governor by general Mackay. Thus the work on which we were sent being effected, we marched back again by the way

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of Gilliecranky, where that memorable battle under Dundee had been fought the year before.

Some time after, sir Thomas Levingston, afterwards earl of Tiviot, having received intelligence that the highlanders intended to fall down into the lower countries, in a considerable body, got together a party of about five hundred (the dragoons called the Scotch Greys inclusive), with which he resolved, if possible, to give them a meeting. We left Inverness the last day of April, and encamped near a little town called Forrest, the place where, as tradition still confidently avers, the witches met Macbeth, and greeted him with their diabolical auspices. But this story is so naturally displayed in a play of the immortal Shakespeare, that I need not descend here to any farther particulars.

Here sir Thomas received intelligence, that the highlanders designed to encamp upon the Spey, near the laird of Grant's castle. Whereupon we began our march about noon, and the next day, about the break thereof, we came to that river, where we soon discovered the highlanders by their fires. Sir Thomas immediately, on sight of it, issued his orders for our fording the river, and falling upon them as soon after as possible. Both were accordingly performed, and with so good order, secrecy, and success, that Cannon and Balfour, their commanders, were obliged to make their escape naked.

They were about one thousand in number, of which were killed about three hundred; we pursued them till they got up Cromdale hill, where we lost them in a fog. And, indeed, so high is that hill, that they who perfectly knew it, assured me, that it never is without a little dark fog hanging over it. And to me, at that instant of time, they seemed rather to be people received up into clouds than flying from an enemy.

Near this there was an old castle, called Lethendy, into which about fifty of them made their retreat, most of them gentlemen, resolving there to defend themselves to the last. Sir Thomas sent a messenger to them, with an offer of mercy, if they would surrender; but they refused the proffered quarter, and fired upon our men, killing two of our grenadiers, and wounding another. During my quarters at the Grave, having learned to throw a grenado, I took three or four in a bag, and crept down by the side of a ditch, or dyke, to an old thatched house near the castle, imagining, on my mounting the same, I might be near enough to throw them, so as to do execution. I found all things answer my expectation; and the castle wanting a cover, I threw in a grenado, which put the enemy immediately into confusion. The second had not so good success, falling short; and the third burst as soon as it was well out of my hand, though without damage to myself. But throwing the fourth in at a window, it so increased the confusion, which the first had put them into, that they immediately called out to me, upon their parole of safety to come to them.

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Accordingly I went up to the door, which they had barricaded, and made up with great stones; when they told me they were ready to surrender, upon condition of obtaining mercy. I returned to sir Thomas, and telling him what I had done, and the consequences of it, and the message they had desired me to deliver (a great many of the highland gentlemen, not of this party, being with him), sir Thomas, in a high voice, and broad Scotch, best to be heard and understood, ordered me back to tell them, "He would cut them all to pieces for their murder of two of his grenadiers after his proffer of quarter."

I was returning, full of these melancholy tidings, when sir Thomas, advancing after me a little distance from the rest of the company, "Hark ye, sir," says he, "I believe there may be among them some of our old acquaintance (for we had served together in the service of the States in Flanders), therefore tell them they shall have good quarter." I very willingly carried back a message so much changed to my mind; and upon delivering of it, without the least hesitation, they threw down the barricado, opened the door, and out came one Brody, who, as he then told me, had had a piece of his nose taken off by one of my grenadoes. I carried him to sir Thomas, who, confirming my message, they all came out, and surrendered themselves prisoners. This happened on May day, in the morning; for which reason we returned to Inverness with our prisoners, and boughs in our hats; and the highlanders never held up their heads so high after this defeat.

Upon this success, sir Thomas wrote to court, giving a full account of the whole action. In which, being pleased to make mention of my behaviour, with some particulars, I had soon after a commission ordered me for a company in the regiment under the command of brigadier Tiffin.

My commission being made out, signed, and sent to me, I repaired immediately to Portsmouth, where the regiment lay in garrison. A few days after I had been there, admiral Russel arrived with the fleet, and anchored at St. Helen's, where he remained about a week. On the 18th of May the whole fleet set sail; and it being my turn the same day to mount the main guard, I was going the rounds very early, when I heard great shooting at sea. I went directly to acquaint the governor, and told him my sentiments, that the two contending fleets were actually engaged, which indeed proved true; for that very night a pinnace, which came from our fleet, brought news that admiral Russel had engaged the French admiral Turville; and, after a long and sharp dispute, was making after them to their own coasts.

The next day, towards evening, several other expresses arrived, one after another, all agreeing in the defeat of the French fleet, and in the particulars of the burning their *Rising Sun*, together with many other of their men of war, at La Hogue. All which

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expresses were immediately forwarded to court, by Mr. Gibson, our governor.

Abouts two months after this, our regiment, among many others, was, according to order, shipped off on a secret expedition, under the command of the duke of Leinster, no man knowing to what place we were going, or on what design; no, not the commander himself. However, when we were out at sea, the general, according to instructions, opening his commission, we were soon put out of our suspense, and informed, that our orders were to attack Dunkirk. But what was so grand a secret to those concerned in the expedition, having been entrusted to a female politician on land, it was soon discovered to the enemy: for which reason, our orders were countermanded, before we reached the place of action, and our forces received directions to land at Ostend.

Soon after this, happened that memorable battle at Steenkirk, which, as very few at that time could dive into the reason of, and mistaken accounts of it have passed for authentic, I will mention somewhat more particularly. The undertaking was bold, and, as many thought, bolder than was consistent with the character of the wise undertaker. Nevertheless, the French having taken Namur, and, as the malcontents alleged, in the very sight of a superior army, and nothing having been done by land of any moment, things were blown into such a dangerous fermentation, by a malicious and lying spirit, that king William found himself under a necessity of attempting something that might appease the murmurs of the people. He knew very well, though spoke in the senate, that it was not true, that his forces at the siege of Namur exceeded those of the enemy; no man could be more afflicted than he at the overflowing of the Melaigue, from the continual rains, which obstructed the relief he had designed for that important place; yet, since his maligners made an ill use of these false topics, to insinuate that he had no mind to put an end to the war, he was resolved to evince the contrary, by shewing them that he was not afraid to venture his life for the better obtaining what was so much desired.

To that purpose, receiving intelligence that the duke of Luxembourg lay strongly encamped at Steenkirk, near Enghien, though he was sensible he must pass through many defiles to engage him, and that the many thickets between the two armies would frequently afford him new difficulties, he resolved there to attack him. Our troops at first were forced to hew out their passage for the horse; and there was no one difficulty that his imagination had drawn, that was lessened by experience; and yet so prosperous were his arms at the beginning, that our troops had made themselves masters of several pieces of the enemy's cannon. But the farther he advanced, the ground growing straiter, so strait as not to admit his armies being drawn up in battalia, the troops behind could not give timely succour to those engaged, and the cannon

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we had taken was forcibly left behind, in order to make a good retreat. The French had lost all their courage in the onset; for though they had too fair an opportunity, they did not think fit to pursue it; or, at least, did it very languidly. However, the malcontents at home, I remember, grew very well pleased after this; for so long as they had but a battle for their money, like true Englishmen, lost or won, they were contented.

Several causes, I remember, were assigned for this miscarriage, as they called it. Some there were who were willing to lay it upon the Dutch; and allege a saying of one of their generals, who, receiving orders to relieve some English and Scotch that were overpowered, was heard to say, "Damn them, since they love fighting, let them have their bullies' full." But I should rather impute the disappointment to the great loss of so many of our bravest officers at the very first onset. General Mackay, colonel Lanier, the earl of Angus, with both his field-officers, sir Robert Douglas, colonel Hodges, and many others, falling, it was enough to put a very considerable army into confusion. I remember one particular action of sir Robert Douglas, that I should think myself to blame should I omit. Seeing his colours on the other side of the hedge, in the hands of the enemy, he leaped over, slew the officer that had them, and then threw them over the hedge to his company; redeeming his colours at the expense of his life. Thus the Scotch commander improved upon the Roman general; for the brave Posthumius cast his standard in the middle of the enemy, for his soldiers to retrieve; but Douglas retrieved his from the middle of the enemy, without any assistance, and cast it back to his soldiers to retain, after he had so bravely rescued it out of the hands of the enemy.

From hence our regiment received orders to march to Dixmuyd, where we lay some time employed in fortifying that place. While we were there, I had one morning stedfastly fixed my eyes upon some ducks that were swimming in a large water before me, when all on a sudden, in the midst of a perfect calm, I observed such a strange and strong agitation in the water, that prodigiously surprised me. I was at the same moment seized with such a giddiness in my head, that, for a minute or two, I was scarce sensible, and had much ado to keep on my legs. I had never felt any thing of an earthquake before, which, as I soon after understood from others, this was; and it left, indeed, very apparent marks of its force, in a great rent in the body of the great church, which remains to this day.

Having brought the intended fortifications into some tolerable order, we received a command out of hand to re-embark for England. And, upon our landing, directions met us to march for Ipswich, where we had our quarters all that winter. From thence we were ordered up to London to do duty in the Tower. I had not been there long before an accident happened, as little to be

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accounted for, without a divine providence, as some would make that providence to be, that only can account for it.

There was, at that time, as I was assured by my lord Lucas, constable of it, upwards of twenty thousand barrels of gun-powder, in that they call the White Tower, when all at once the middle flooring did not only give way, or shrink, but fell flat down upon other barrels of powder, together with many of the same combustible matter which had been placed upon it. It was a providence strangely neglected at that time, and hardly thought of since; but let any considerate man consult the consequences, if it had taken fire; perhaps to the destruction of the whole city, or, at least, as far as the bridge and parts adjacent. Let his thoughts proceed to examine why, or how, in that precipitate fall, not one nail, nor one piece of iron, in that large fabric, should afford one little spark to enflame that mass of sulphurous matter it was loaded with; and if he is at a loss to find a providence, I fear his friends will be more at a loss to find his understanding. But the battle of Landen happening while our regiment was here on duty, we were soon removed, to our satisfaction, from that pacific station to one more active in Flanders.

Notwithstanding that fatal battle the year preceeding, namely, A.D. 1694, the confederate army under king William lay encamped at mont St. André, an open place and much exposed, while the French were entrenched up to their very teeth, at Vignamont, a little distance from us. This afforded matter of great reflection to the politicians of those times, who could hardly allow that, if the confederate army suffered so much, as it really did in the battle of Landen, it could consist with right conduct to tempt, or rather dare, a new engagement. But those sage objectors had forgot the well known courage of that brave prince, and were as little capable of fathoming his designs. The enemy, who, to their sorrow, had by experience been made better judges, was resolved to traverse both; for which purpose they kept close within their entrenchments; so that after all his efforts, king William, finding that he could no way draw them to a battle, suddenly decamped, and marched directly to pont Espiers, by long marches, with a design to pass the French lines at that place.

But, notwithstanding our army marched in a direct line, to our great surprise, we found the enemy had first taken possession of it. They gave this the name of the *Long March*, and very deservedly; for though our army marched upon the string, and the enemy upon the bow, sensible of the importance of the post, and the necessity of securing it, by double horseing with their foot, and by leaving their weary and weak in their garrisons, and supplying their places with fresh men out of them, they gained their point in disappointing us. Though certain it is, that march cost them as many men and horses as a battle. However, their master, the French king, was so pleased with their indefatigable and aus-

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picious diligence, that he wrote, with his own hand, a letter of thanks to the officers for the great zeal and care they had taken to prevent the confederate army from entering into French Flanders.

King William, thus disappointed in that noble design, gave immediate orders for his whole army to march through Oudenard, and then encamped at Rosendale. After some little stay at that camp, we were removed to the Camerlins, between Newport and Ostend, once more to take our winter quarters there among the boors.

We were now in the year 1695, when the strong fortress of Namur, taken by the French in 1692, and since made by them much stronger, was invested by the earl of Athlone. After very many vigorous attacks, with the loss of many men, the town was taken, the garrison retiring into the castle; into which, soon after, notwithstanding all the circumspection of the besiegers, mareschal Boufflers found means, with some dragoons, to throw himself.

While king William was thus engaged in that glorious and important siege, prince Vandemont being posted at Watergaem, with about fifty battalions, and as many squadrons, the mareschal Villeroy laid a design to attack him with the whole French army. The prince imagined no less; therefore he prepared accordingly, giving us orders to fortify our camp, as well as the little time we had for it would permit. Those orders were pursued; nevertheless, I must confess, it was beyond the reach of my little reason to account for our so long stay in the sight of an army so much superior to ours. The prince, in the whole, could hardly muster thirty thousand; and Villeroy was known to value himself upon having one hundred thousand effective men. However, the prince provisionally sent away all our baggage that very morning to Ghent, and still made shew as if he resolved to defend himself to the last extremity, in our little entrenchments. The enemy on their side began to surround us; and in their motions for that purpose blew up little bags of gun-powder to give the readier notice how far they had accomplished it. Another captain, with myself, being placed on the right, with one hundred men, where I found monsieur Montal endeavouring, if possible, to get behind us, I could easily observe, they had so far attained their aim of encompassing us, as to the very fashion of a horse's shoe. This made me fix my eyes so intently upon the advancing enemy, that I never minded what my friends were doing behind me; though I afterwards found that they had been filing off so artfully and privately, by that narrow opening of the horse shoe, that when the enemy imagined us past a possibility of escape, our little army at once, and of a sudden, was ready to disappear. There was a large wood on the right of our army, through which lay the road to Ghent, not broader than to admit of more than four to march abreast. Down this the prince had slid his forces, except to that

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very small party which the captain and myself commanded, and which was designedly left to bring up the rear, Nor did we stir till captain Collier, then aide-de-camp to his brother, now earl of Portmore, came with the word of command for us to draw off.

When Villeroy was told of our retreat, he was much surprised, as thinking it a thing utterly impossible. However, at last, being sensible of the truth of it, he gave orders for our rear to be attacked; but we kept firing from ditch to ditch, and hedge to hedge, till night came upon us; and so our little army got clear of its gigantic enemy with very inconsiderable loss. However, the French failed not, in their customary way, to express the sense of their vexation at this disappointment with fire and sword in the neighbourhood round. Thus prince Vaudemont acquired more glory by that retreat than an entire victory could have given him; and it was not, I confess, the least part of satisfaction in life, that myself had a share of honour under him to bring off the rear at that his glorious retreat at Arseel.

However, in further revenge of this political chicane of the prince of Vaudemont, and to oblige, if possible, king William, to raise the siege from before Namur, Villeroy entered into the resolution of bombarding Brussels. In order to which, he encamped at Anderleck, and then made his approaches as near as was convenient to the town. There he caused to be planted thirty mortars, and raised a battery of ten guns to shoot hot bullets into the place.

But before they fired from either, Villeroy, in compliment to the duke of Bavaria, sent a messenger to know in what part of the town his duchess chose to reside, that they might, as much as possible, avoid incommoding her, by directing their fire to other parts. Answer was returned, that she was at her usual place of residence, the palace; and accordingly their fire from battery or mortars little incommoded them that way.

Five days the bombardment continued; and with such fury that the centre of that noble city was quite laid in rubbish. Most of the time of bombarding, I was upon the counterscarp, where I could best see and distinguish; and I have often counted in the air, at one time, more than twenty bombs; for they shot whole volleys out of their mortars all together. This, as it must needs be terrible, threw the inhabitants into the utmost confusion. Cart loads of nuns, that for many years before had never been out of the cloister, were now hurried about from place to place to find retreats of some security. In short, the groves and parts remote were all crowded; and the most spacious streets had hardly a spectator left to view the ruins. Nothing was to be seen like that dexterity of our people in extinguishing the fires; for where the red hot bullets fell, and raised new conflagrations, not burghers only, but the vulgar sort, stood staring, and, with their hands im-

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pocketed, beheld their houses gradually consume; and without offering prudent or charitable hand to stop the growing flames.

But after they had almost thus destroyed that late fair city, Villeroy, finding he could not raise the siege of Namur by that vigorous attack upon Brussels, decamped at last from before it, and put his army on the march towards Namur, to try if he could have better success by exposing to shew his pageant of one hundred thousand men. Prince Vaudemont had timely intelligence of the duke's resolution and motion; and resolved, if possible, to get there before him. Nor was the attempt fruitless: he fortunately succeeded, though with much fatigue, and no less difficulty, after he had put a trick upon the spies of the enemy, by pretending to encamp, and so soon as they were gone ordering a full march.

The castle of Namur had been all this time under the fire of the besiegers' cannon; and soon after our little army under the prince was arrived, a breach, that was imagined practicable, being made in the Terra Nova, which, as the name imports, was a new work, raised by the French, and added to the fortifications, since it fell into their hands in 1692, and which very much increased the strength of the whole—a breach, as I have said, being made in the Terra Nova, a storm, in a council of war, was resolved upon. Four entire regiments, in conjunction with some draughts made out of several others, were ordered for that work, myself commanding that part of them which had been drawn out of colonel Tiffin's. We were all to rendezvous at the abbey of Salsines, under the command of the lord Cutts; the signal, when the attack was to be made, being agreed to be the blowing up of a bag of gun-powder upon the bridge of boats that lay over the Sambre.

So soon as the signal was made, we marched up to the breach with a decent intrepidity, receiving, all the way we advanced, the full fire of the Cohorn fort. But as soon as we came near enough to mount, we found it vastly steep and rugged. Notwithstanding all which, several did get up and entered the breach; but not being supported as they ought to have been, they were all made prisoners; which, together with a wound my lord Cutts received, after we had done all that was possible for us, necessitated us to retire, with the loss of many of our men.

Villeroy all this time lay in sight, with his army of one hundred thousand men, without making the least offer to incommode the besiegers; or even without doing any thing more than make his appearance in favour of the besieged, and reconnoitering our encampment: and, at last, seeing, or imagining that he saw, the attempt would be to little purpose, with all the good manners in the world, in the night, he withdrew that terrible meteor, and relieved our poor horses from feeding on leaves, the only inconvenience he had put us to.

This retreat leaving the garrison without all hope of relief, they in the castle immediately capitulated. But after one of the gates

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had been, according to articles, delivered up, and count Guiscard was marching out at the head of the garrison, and Boufflers at the head of the dragoons, the latter was, by order of king William, arrested, in reprisal of the garrison of Dixmuyd, who, contrary to the cartel, had been detained prisoners, and remained under arrest till they were set free.

At the very beginning of the year 1696 was discovered a plot, fit only to have had its origin from hell or Rome; a plot which would have put Hottentots and Barbarians out of countenance. This was called the *Assassination Plot*, from the design of it, which was to have assassinated king William, a little before the usual time of his leaving England to head the army of the confederates in Flanders. And as nothing could give a nobler idea of the great character of that prince than such a nefarious combination against him; so, with all considerate men, nothing could more depreciate the cause of his inconsiderate enemies. If I remember what I have read, the sons of ancient Rome, though heathens, behaved themselves against an enemy in a quite different manner. Their historians afford us more instances than a few, of their generous intimations to kings and generals, under actual hostilities, of barbarous designs upon their lives. I proceed to this of our own countrymen.

Soon after the discovery had been made, by persons actually engaged in this inhuman design, the regiment in which I served, with some others then in Flanders, received orders, with all expedition to embark for England; though, on our arrival at Gravesend, fresh orders met us to remain on board the transports till we had further directions.

On my going to London a few days after, I was told, that two regiments only were now designed to come ashore, and that the rest would be remanded to Flanders, the danger apprehended being pretty well over. I was at Whitehall when I received this notice; where, meeting my lord Cutts (who had, ever since the storming of the Terra Nova at Namur, allowed me a share in his favour), he expressed himself in the most obliging manner; and at parting desired he might not fail of seeing me next morning at his house, for he had somewhat of an extraordinary nature to communicate to me.

At the time appointed I waited on his lordship, where I met Mr. Steel (now sir Richard, and at that time his secretary), who immediately introduced me. I found in company with him three gentlemen; and after common salutations, his lordship delivered into my hands an order from the king in council to go along with captain Porter, Mr. de la Rue, and Mr. George Harris (who proved to be those three with him), to search all the transports at Gravesend, in order to prevent any of the conspirators getting out of England that way. After answering, that I was ready to pay obedience, and receiving, in private, the further necessary instruc-

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tions, we took our leave, and oars soon after for Gravesend. It was in our passage down that I understood that they had all been of the conspiracy, but now reluctant were become witnesses.

When we came to Gravesend, I produced my authority to the commanding officer, who very readily paid obedience, and gave assistance. But after our most diligent search, finding nothing of what we looked for, we returned that very night to London.

Next day a proclamation was to come out for the apprehending three or four troopers, who were sent over by king James, with a thousand pounds reward for each. Mr. George Harris, who was the fourth, being the only evidence against the other three. No sooner were we returned from Gravesend but Harris had intelligence brought him, that Cassells, one of the three, was at Mr. Allen's, in the Savoy, under the name of Green. Upon which we went directly to the place, and, inquiring for Mr. Green, we were told he lodged there, and was in his room.

I was obliged by my order to go along with them and assist them; and very well was it that I was so: for, in consideration of the reward in the proclamation, which, as I have said, was to come out the next day, Harris and the rest were for deferring his seizure till the coming out of that proclamation; but making answer, that, in case of his escape that night, I must be responsible to my superiors, who, under the most favourable aspect, would construe it a neglect of duty, they were forced to comply; and so he was taken up, and his name that night struck out of the proclamation. It is very true, by this faithful discharge of my trust, I did save the government one thousand pounds; but it is equally so, that I never had of my governors one farthing consideration for what others termed an over-officious piece of service; though, in justice, it must be owned, a piece of exact and disinterested duty.

Some few days after, attending by direction at the secretary's office, with Mr. Harris, there came in a Dutchman, spluttering and making a great noise, that he was sure he could discover one of the conspirators; but the mien and the behaviour of the man would not give any body leave to give him any credit or regard. However, the man persisting in his assertions, I spoke to Mr. Harris to take him aside, and ask him what sort of a person he was: Harris did so; and the Dutchman describing him, says Harris, returning to me, "I'll be hanged if it be not Blackburn." Upon which we had him questioned somewhat more narrowly; when, having no room to doubt, and understanding where he was, colonel Rivet of the guards was sent for, and ordered to go along with us to seize him. We went accordingly; and it proving to be Blackburn, the Dutchman had five hundred pounds, and the colonel and others the remainder. Cassells and Blackburn, if still alive, are in Newgate, confined by act of parliament; one only witness, which was Harris, being producible against them.

When Blackburn was seized, I found in the chamber with him,

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one Davison, a watch-maker, living in Holbourn. I carried him along with me to the secretary of state; but nothing, on his examination, appearing against him, he was immediately discharged. He offered afterwards to present me with a fine watch of his own making, which I refused; and he long after owned the obligation.

So soon as the depth of this plot was fathomed, and the intended evil provided against as well as prevented, king William went over into Flanders, and our regiment thereupon received orders for their immediate return. Nothing of any moment occurred till our arrival at our own quarters, the Camerlins, where we lay dispersed among the country boors or farmers as heretofore. However, for our better security in those quarters, and to preserve us from the excursions of the neighbouring garrison of Furnes, we were obliged to keep an out-guard at a little place called Shoerbeck. This guard was every forty-eight hours changed, and remounted with a captain, a lieutenant, an ensign, and three-score men.

When it came to my turn to relieve that guard, and for that purpose I was arrived at my post, it appeared to me with the face of a place of debauch, rather than business; there being too visible tokens, that the hard duty of both officers and soldiers had been that of hard drinking, the foulest error that a soldier can commit, especially when on his guard.

To confirm my apprehensions, a little after I had taken possession of my guard, the man of the house related to me such passages, and so many of them, that satisfied me, that if ten sober men had made the attack, they might have fairly knocked all my predecessors of the last guard on the head, without much difficulty. However, his account administered matter of caution to me, and put me upon taking a narrower view of our situation. In consequence whereof, at night I placed a centinel a quarter of a mile in the rear, and such other centinels as I thought necessary and convenient in other places; with orders, that upon sight of an enemy the centinel near should fire; and that upon hearing that, all the other centinels, as well as he, should hasten in to strengthen our main guard.

What my jealousy, on my landlord's relation, had suggested, happened accordingly; for, about one in the morning, I was alarmed by the cry of one of my centinels, *Turn out, for God's sake!* which he repeated with vehemence three or four times over. I took the alarm, got up suddenly, and with no little difficulty got my men into the ranks, when the person who made the outcry came running in, almost spent, and out of breath. It was the centinel that I had luckily placed about a quarter of a mile off, who gave the alarm; and his musket flashing in the pan, without going off, he endeavoured to supply with his voice the defect of his piece. I had just got my men into their ranks, in order to receive the enemy, when, by the moon-light, I discovered a party

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advancing upon us. My out-centinel challenged them, and, as I had precautioned, they answered, Hispanioli; though I knew them to be French.

However, on my survey of our situation by day light, having marked in my mind a proper place for drawing up my men in case of an attack, which was too narrow to admit of more than two on a breast, and which would secure between us and the enemy a ditch of water; I resolved to put in practice what had entertained me so well in the theory. To that purpose I ordered my first rank to keep their post, stand still and face the enemy, while the other two ranks, stooping, should follow me to gain the intended station; which done, the first rank had orders to file off, and fall behind. All was performed in excellent order; and, I confess, it was with no little pleasure that I beheld the enemy, for the best part of an hour, in consultation, whether they should attack us or no. The result, nevertheless, of that consultation, ended in this; that, seeing us so well upon our guard, it was most advisable to draw off. They soon put their resolution into practice, which I was very glad to see; on examination a little before, having found that my predecessor, as in other things, had failed of conduct in leaving me a garrison without ammunition. Next morning I was very pleasantly surprised with a handsome present of wine, and some other necessary refreshments. At first I made a little scruple and hesitation whether or no to receive them, till the bearer assured me, that they were sent me from the officers of the next garrison, who had made me a visit the night before, as a candid acknowledgment of my conduct and good behaviour. I returned their compliment, that I hoped I should never receive men of honour otherwise than like a man of honour; which mightily pleased them. Every of which particulars the *Ghent Gazetteer* the week after published.

We had little to do except marching and counter-marching all the campaign after; till it was resolved, in a council of war, for the better preserving of Brussels from such insult as it had before sustained from the French during the siege of Namur, to fortify Anderlech; upon which our regiment, as well as others, were commanded from our more pacific posts to attend that work. Our whole army was under movement to cover that resolution; and the train fell to my care and command in the march. There accompanied the train, a fellow, seemingly ordinary, yet very officious and courteous, being ready to do any thing for any person, from the officer to the common soldier. He travelled along, and moved with the train, sometimes on foot, and sometimes getting a ride in some one or other of the waggons; but ever full of his chit-chat and stories of humour. By these insinuating ways he had screwed himself into the general good opinion; but the waggoners, especially, grew particularly fond of him. At the end of our march, all our powder-waggons were placed breast-abreast, and so close that one miscarrying would leave little doubt of the

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fate of all the rest. This, in the camp, we commonly call the park; and here it was that our new guest, like another Phæton, though under pretence of weariness, not ambition, got leave of the very last carter to the train to take a nap in his waggon. One who had entertained a jealousy of him, and had watched him, gave information against him; upon which he was seized and brought to me as captain of the guard. I caused him to be searched; and, upon search, finding match, touchwood, and other dangerous materials, upon him, I sent him and them away to the provoe. Upon the whole, a council of war was called, at which, upon a strict examination, he confessed himself a hired incendiary; and as such received his sentence to be burnt in the face of the army. The execution was a day or two after; when, on the very spot, he further acknowledged, that on sight or noise of the blow, it had been concerted that the French army should fall upon the confederates under those lamentable circumstances.

The peace of Riswick soon after taking place, put an end to all incendiaries of either sort; so that nothing of a military kind, which was now become my province, happened of some years after. Our regiment was first ordered into England, and, presently after into Ireland; but as these memoirs are not designed for the low amusement of a tea-table, but rather of the cabinet, a series of inglorious inactivity can furnish but very little towards them.

Yet, as little as I admired a life of inactivity, there are some sorts of activity to which a wise man might always give supineness the preference: such is that of barely encountering elements and waging war with nature; and such, in my opinion, would have been the spending my commission, and very probably my life with it, in the West Indies. For though the climate (as some would urge) may afford a chance for a very speedy advance in honour, yet, upon revolving in my mind, that those rotations in the wheel of fortune are often so very quick, as well as uncertain, that I myself might as well be the first as the last; the whole of the debate ended in somewhat like that couplet of the excellent Hudibras:—

“Then he that ran away and fled
Must lie in honour’s truckle-bed.”

However, my better planets soon disannulled those melancholy ideas, which a rumour of our being sent into the West Indies had crowded my head and heart with: for, being called over into England, upon the very affairs of the regiment, I arrived there just after the orders for their transportation went over; by which means the choice of going was put out of my power, and the danger of refusing, which was the case of many, was very likely avoided.

It being judged, therefore, impossible for me to return soon enough to gain my passage, one in power proposed to me, that I

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should resign to an officer then going over; and with some other contingent advantages, to my great satisfaction, I was put upon the half-pay list. This was more agreeable, for I knew, or at least imagined myself wise enough to foretel, from the over-hot debate of the house of commons upon the partition treaty, that it could not be long before the present peace would at least require patching.

Under this sort of uncertain settlement I remained with the patience of a Jew, though not with judaical absurdity, a faithful adherer to my expectation. Nor did the consequence fail of answering—a war was apparent, and soon after proclaimed. Thus, waiting for an opportunity, which I flattered myself would soon present, the little diversions of Dublin, and the moderate conversation of that people, were not of temptation enough to make my stay in England look like a burden.

But though the war was proclaimed, and preparations accordingly made for it, the expectations from all received a sudden damp by the as sudden death of king William. That prince, who had stared death in the face in many sieges and battles, met with his fate in the midst of his diversions, who seized his prize in an hour, to human thought, the least adapted to it. He was a-hunting (his customary diversion), when, by an unhappy trip of his horse, he fell to the ground, and in the fall displaced his collar-bone. The news of it immediately alarmed the court, and all around, and the sad effects of it soon after gave all Europe the like alarm. France only, who had not disdained to seek it sooner by ungenerous means, received new hope, from what gave others motives for despair. He flattered himself, that that long-lived obstacle to his ambition thus removed, his successor would never fall into those measures which he had wisely concerted for the liberties of Europe; but he, as well as others of his adherents, was gloriously deceived—that god-like queen, with a heart entirely English, prosecuted her royal predecessor's counsels; and, to remove all the very faces of jealousy, immediately on her accession dispatched to every court of the great confederacy persons adequate to the importance of the message, to give assurances thereof.

This gave new spirit to a cause that at first seemed to languish in its founder, as it struck its great opposers with a no less mortifying terror: and well did the great successes of her arms answer the prayers and efforts of that royal soul of the confederacies; together with the wishes of all, that, like her, had the good as well as the honour of their country at heart, in which the liberties of Europe were included. The first campaign gave a noble earnest of the future. Bon, Keyserwaert, Venlo, and Ruremond, were found forerunners only of Donawert, Hoelstet, and Plesheim. Such a march of English forces to the support of the tottering empire, as it gloriously manifested the ancient genius of

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a warlike people, so was it happily celebrated with a success answerable to the glory of the undertaking, which concluded in statues and princely donatives to an English subject from the then only emperor in Europe. A small tribute, it is true, for ransomed nations and captive armies, which justly enough inverted the exclamations of a Roman emperor to the French monarch, who deprecated his legions lost pretty near the same spot ; but to a much superior number, and on a much less glorious occasion.

But my good fortune not allowing me to participate in those glorious appendages of the English arms in Flanders, nor on the Rhine, I was resolved to make a push for it the first opportunity, and waste my minutes no longer on court attendances. And my lord Cutts returning with his full share of laurels for his never to be forgotten services at Venlo, Ruremond, and Hochstet, found his active genius now to be reposed, under the less agreeable burden of unhazardous honour, where quiet must provide a tomb for one already past any danger of oblivion ; deep wounds and glorious actions having anticipated all that could be said in epitaphs or literal inscriptions. Soon after his arrival from Germany, he was appointed general of all her majesty's forces in Ireland : upon which, going to congratulate him, he was pleased to inquire of me several things relating to that country ; and, particularly, in what part of Dublin I would recommend his residence — offering at the same time, if I would go over with him, all the services that should fall in his way.

But inactivity was a thing I had too long lamented ; therefore, after I had, as decently as I could, declined the latter part, I told his lordship, that as to a place of residence, I was master of a house in Dublin, large enough, and suitable to his great quality, which should be at his service, on any terms he thought fit ; adding, withal, that I had a mind to see Spain, where my lord Peterborow was now going, and that if his lordship would favour me with a recommendation, it would suit my present inclinations much better than any further tedious recess. His lordship was so good as to close with both my overtures ; and spoke so effectually in my favour, that the earl of Peterborow, then general of all the forces ordered on that expedition, bade me speedily prepare myself ; and so, when all things were ready, I embarked with that noble lord for Spain, to pursue his well-concerted undertaking ; which, in the event, will demonstrate to the world that little armies, under the conduct of auspicious generals, may sometimes produce prodigious effects.

The Jews, in whatever part of the world, are a people industrious in the increasing of Mammon ; and, being accustomed to the universal methods of gain, are always esteemed best qualified for any undertaking where that bears a probability of being a perquisite. Providing bread and other requisites for an army

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was ever allowed to carry along with it a profit answerable; and Spain was not the first country where that people had engaged in such an undertaking. Besides, on any likely appearance of great advantage, it is in the nature as well as practice of that race strenuously to assist one another, and that with the utmost confidence and prodigious alacrity. One of that number, both competent and willing enough to carry on an undertaking of that kind, fortunately came at that juncture to solicit the earl of Peterborow to be employed as proveditor to the army and troops, which were or should be sent into Spain.

It will easily be admitted, that the earl, under his present exigences, did not decline to listen; and a very considerable sum being offered, by way of advance, the method common in like cases was pursued, and the sum proposed accepted, by which means the earl of Peterborow found himself put into the happy capacity of proceeding upon his first concerted project. The name of the Jew who signed the contract was Curtisos; and he and his friends, with great punctuality, advanced the expected sum of one hundred thousand pounds sterling, or very near it, which was immediately ordered into the hands of the paymaster of the forces: for though the earl took money of the Jews, it was not for his own but public use. According to agreement, bills were drawn for the value from Lisbon upon the lord Godolphin (then lord-treasurer), all which were, on that occasion, punctually complied with.

The earl of Peterborow having thus fortunately found means to supply himself with money, and by that with some horse, after he had obtained leave of the lord Galloway to make an exchange of two regiments of foot, received the archduke and all those who would follow him aboard the fleet; and, at his own expense, transported him and his whole retinue to Barcelona: for all which prodigious charge, as I have been very lately informed from very good hands, that noble earl never to this day received any consideration from the government, or any person whatsoever.

We sailed from Lisbon, in order to join the squadron under sir Cloudsley Shovel; meeting with which at the appointed station off Tangier, the men of war and transports thus united made the best of their way for Gibraltar. There we staid no longer than to take aboard two regiments out of that garrison, in lieu of two out of our fleet. Here we found the prince of Hesse, who immediately took a resolution to follow the archduke in this expedition. He was a person of great gallantry, and, having been viceroy of Catalonia, was received on board the fleet with the utmost satisfaction, as being a person capable of doing great service in a country where he was well known, and as well beloved.

Speaking Latin then pretty fluently, it gave me frequent opportunities of conversing with the two father confessors of the duke of Austria; and upon that account I found myself honoured with

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some share in the favour of the archduke himself. I mention this, not to gratify any vain humour, but as a corroborating circumstance, that my opportunities of information, in matters of consequence, could not thereby be supposed to be lessened; but that I might more reasonably be imagined to arrive at intelligence that not very often, or at least not so soon, came to the knowledge of others.

From Gibraltar we sailed to the bay of Altea, not far distant from the city of Valencia, in the road of which we continued for some days. While we were there, as I was very credibly informed, the earl of Peterborow met with some fresh disappointment; but what it was, neither I nor any body else, as far as I could perceive, could ever dive into: neither did it appear by any outward tokens in that noble general that it lay so much at his heart as those about him seemed to assure me it did.

However, while we lay in Altea bay, two bomb vessels and a small squadron were ordered against Denia, which had a small castle, but rather fine than strong; and accordingly, upon our offer to bring to bear with our cannon, and preparing to fix our bomb vessels, in order to bombard the place, it surrendered, and acknowledged the archduke as lawful king of Spain, and so proclaimed him. From this time, therefore, speaking of that prince, it shall be under that title. General Ramos was left commander here, a person who afterwards acted a very extraordinary part in the war carried on in the kingdom of Valencia.

But notwithstanding no positive resolutions had been taken for the operations of the campaign, before the archduke's departure from Lisbon, the earl of Peterborow, ever solicitous of the honour of his country, had premeditated another enterprise, which, had it been embraced, would, in all probability, have brought that war to a much more speedy conclusion, and at the same time have obviated all those difficulties, which were but too apparent in the siege of Barcelona. He had justly and judiciously weighed, that there were no forces in the middle parts of Spain, all their troops being in the extreme parts of the kingdom, either on the frontiers of Portugal, or in the city of Barcelona; that with king Philip and the royal family at Madrid there were only some few horse, and those in a bad condition, and which only served for guards; if, therefore, as he rightly projected within himself, by the taking of Valencia, or any sea-port town, that might have secured his landing, he had marched directly for Madrid, what could have opposed him? But I shall have occasion to dilate more upon this head a few pages hence; and therefore shall here only say, that though that project of his might have brought about a speedy and wonderful revolution, what he was by his orders afterwards obliged against his inclinations to pursue contributed much more to his great reputation, as it put him under a frequent necessity of over-

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coming difficulties, which, to any other general, would have appeared insurmountable.

Valencia is a city towards the centre of Spain, to the seaward, seated in a rich and most populous country, just fifty leagues from Madrid : it abounds in horses and mules ; by reason of the great fertility of its lands, which they can, to great advantage, water when and as they please. This city and kingdom was as much inclined to the interest of king Charles as Catalonia itself ; for, even on our first appearance, great numbers of people came down to the bay of Altea, with not only a bare offer of their services, but loaded with all manner of provisions, and loud acclamations of *Viva Carlos tercero, Viva*. There were no regular troops in any of the places round about it, or in the city itself. The nearest were those few horse in Madrid, one hundred and fifty miles distant ; nor any foot nearer than Barcelona, or the frontiers of Portugal.

On the contrary, Barcelona is one of the largest and most populous cities in all Spain, fortified with bastions ; one side thereof is secured by the sea, and the other by a strong fortification, called Monjouick. The place is of so large a circumference, that thirty thousand men would scarce suffice to form the lines of circumvallation. It once resisted for many months an army of that force ; and is almost at the greatest distance from England of any place belonging to that monarchy.

This short description of these two places will appear highly necessary, if it be considered, that no person without it would be able to judge of the design which the earl of Peterborow intended to pursue, when he first took the archduke aboard the fleet. Nevertheless, the earl now found himself under a necessity of quitting that noble design, upon his receipt of orders from England, while he lay in the bay of Altea, to proceed directly to Catalonia ; to which the archduke, as well as many sea and land officers, were most inclined ; and the prince of Hesse more than all the rest.

On receiving those orders, the earl of Peterborow seemed to be of opinion, that from an attempt, which he thought under a probability of success, he was condemned to undertake what was next to an impossibility of effecting : since nothing appeared to him so injudicious as an attempt upon Barcelona. A place at such a distance from receiving any reinforcement or relief ; the only place in which the Spaniards had a garrison of regular forces, and those in number rather exceeding the army he was to undertake the siege with, was enough to cool the ardour of a person of less penetration and zeal than what the earl had on all occasions demonstrated. Whereas, if the general, as he intended, had made an immediate march to Madrid, after he had secured Valencia and the towns adjacent, which were all ready to submit and declare for king Charles ; or, if otherwise inclined, had it

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not in their power to make any considerable resistance; to which, if it be added, that he could have had mules and horses immediately provided for him, in what number he pleased, together with carriages necessary for artillery, baggage, and ammunition, in few days he could have forced king Philip out of Madrid, where he had so little force to oppose him; and as there was nothing in his way to prevent or obstruct his marching thither, it is hard to conceive any other part king Philip could have acted in such an extremity than to retire either towards Portugal or Catalonia: in either of which cases he must have left all the middle part of Spain open to the pleasure of the enemy, who, in the mean time, would have had it in their power to prevent any communication of those bodies at such opposite extremes of the country as were the frontiers of Portugal and Barcelona, where only, as I said before, were any regular troops.

And on the other side, as the forces of the earl of Peterborow were more than sufficient for an attempt where there was so little danger of opposition, so if their army on the frontiers of Portugal should have marched back upon him into the country, either the Portuguese army could have entered into Spain without opposition, or, at worst, supposing the general had been forced to retire, his retreat would have been easy and safe into those parts of Valencia and Andalusia which he previously had secured. Besides Gibraltar, the strongest place in Spain, if not in the whole world, was already in our possession, and a great fleet at hand ready to give assistance in all places near the sea. From all which it is pretty apparent, that in a little time the war on our side might have been supported without entering the Mediterranean; by which means all reinforcements would have been much nearer at hand, and the expenses of transporting troops and ammunition very considerably diminished.

But none of these arguments, though every one of them is founded on solid reason, were of force enough against the prevailing opinion for an attempt upon Catalonia. Mr. Crow, agent for the queen in those parts, had sent into England most positive assurances, that nothing would be wanting, if once our fleet made an invasion amongst the Catalans. The prince of Hesse likewise abounded in mighty offers and prodigious assurances, all which enforced our army to that part of Spain, and that gallant prince to those attempts in which he lost his life: very much against the inclination of our general, who foresaw all those difficulties, which were no less evident afterwards to every one, and the sense of which occasioned those delays and that opposition to any effort upon Barcelona which ran through so many successive councils of war.

However, pursuant to his instructions from England, the repeated desires of the archduke, and the importunities of the prince of Hesse, our general gave orders to sail from Altea towards

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the bay of Barcelona, the chief city of Catalonia. Nevertheless, when we arrived there, he was very unwilling to land any of the forces till he saw some probability of that assistance and succour so much boasted of and so often promised. But as nothing appeared but some small numbers of men, very indifferently armed, and without either gentlemen or officers at the head of them, the earl of Peterborow was of opinion, this could not be deemed sufficient encouragement for him to engage in an enterprise which carried so poor a face of probability of success along with it. In answer to this it was urged, that till a descent was made, and the affair thoroughly engaged in, it was not to be expected that any great numbers would appear, or that persons of condition would discover themselves. Upon all which it was resolved the troops should be landed.

Accordingly, our forces were disembarked, and immediately encamped; notwithstanding which, the number of succours increased very slowly, and that after the first straggling manner. Nor were those that did appear any way to be depended on; coming when they thought fit, going away when they pleased, and not to be brought under any regular discipline. It was then pretended, that until they saw the artillery landed as well as forces they would not believe any siege actually intended. This brought the general under a sort of necessity of complying in that also; though certainly so to do must be allowed a little unreasonable, while the majority in all councils of war declared the design to be impracticable, and the earl of Peterborow had positive orders to proceed according to such majorities.

At last the prince of Hesse was pleased to demand pay for those stragglers as officers and soldiers; endeavouring to maintain, that it could not be expected that men should venture their lives for nothing. Thus, we came to Catalonia upon assurances of universal assistance; but found, when we came there, that we were to have none unless we paid for it. And as we were sent thither without money to pay for any thing, it had certainly been for us more tolerable to have been in a country where we might have taken by force what we could not obtain any other way.

However, to do the Miquelets all possible justice, I must say, that, notwithstanding the number of them, which hovered about the place, never much exceeded fifteen hundred men; if sometimes more, oftener less; and though they never came under any command, but planted themselves where and as they pleased, yet did they considerable service in taking possession of all the country houses and convents that lay between the hills and the plain of Barcelona; by means whereof they rendered it impossible for the enemy to make any sorties or sallies at any distance from the town.

And now began all those difficulties to bear, which long before by the general had been apprehended. The troops had continued

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under a state of inactivity for the space of three weeks, all which was spent in perpetual contrivances and disputes amongst ourselves, not with the enemy. In six several councils of war the siege of Barcelona, under the circumstances we then lay, was rejected as a madness and impossibility. And though the general and brigadier Stanhope (afterward earl Stanhope) consented to some effort, yet it was rather that some effort should be made to satisfy the expectation of the world than with any hopes of success. However, no consent at all could be obtained from any council of war; and the Dutch general in particular declared, that he would not obey even the commands of the earl of Peterborough, if he should order the sacrifice of the troops under him in so unjustifiable a manner, without a consent of a council of war.

And yet all those officers, who refused their consent to the siege of Barcelona, offered to march into the country, and attempt any other place that was not provided with so strong and numerous a garrison; taking it for granted, that no town in Catalonia, Barcelona excepted, could make long resistance; and in case the troops in that garrison should pursue them, they then might have an opportunity of fighting them at less disadvantage in the open field than behind the walls of a place of such strength. And, indeed, should they have issued out on any such design, a defeat of those troops would have put the province of Catalonia, together with the kingdoms of Arragon and Valencia, into the hands of king Charles more effectually than the taking of Barcelona itself.

Let it be observed, *en passant*, that by those offers of the land officers in a council of war, it is easy to imagine what would have been the success of our troops, had they marched directly from Valencia to Madrid: for, if after two months' alarm, it was thought reasonable, as well as practicable, to march into the open country rather than attempt the siege of Barcelona, where forces equal, if not superior in number, were ready to follow us at the heels, what might not have been expected from an invasion by our troops when and where they could meet with little opposition? But, leaving the consideration of what might have been, I shall now endeavour, at least with great exactness, to set down some of the most remarkable events, from our taking to the relief of Barcelona.

The repeated refusals of the councils of war for undertaking the siege of so strong a place, with a garrison so numerous, and those refusals grounded upon such solid reasons, against a design so rash, reduced the general to the utmost perplexity. The court of king Charles was immersed in complaint; all belonging to him lamenting the hard fate of that prince, to be brought into Catalonia only to return again, without the offer of any one effort in his favour. On the other hand, our own officers and soldiers were highly dissatisfied that they were reproached, because not disposed to enter upon and engage themselves in impossibilities. And, indeed, in the manner that the siege was proposed and insisted upon by the prince of Hesse, in every of the

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several councils of war, after the loss of many men, thrown away to no other purpose but to avoid the shame (as the expression ran) of coming like fools and going away like cowards, it could have ended in nothing but a retreat at last.

It afforded but small comfort to the earl to have foreseen all these difficulties, and to have it in his power to say, that he would never have taken the archduke on board, nor have proposed to him the hopes of a recovery of the Spanish monarchy from king Philip, if he could have imagined it probable, that he should not have been at liberty to pursue his own design, according to his own judgment. It must be allowed very hard for him, who had undertaken so great a work, and that without any orders from the government, and by so doing, could have had no justification but by success; I say, it must be allowed to be very hard (after the undertaking had been approved in England), that he should find himself to be directed in this manner by those at a distance, upon ill grounded and confident reports from Mr. Crow; and compelled, as it were, though general, to follow the sentiments of strangers, who either had private views of ambition, or had no immediate care or concern for the troops employed in this expedition.

Such were the present unhappy circumstances of the earl of Peterborow in the camp before Barcelona. Impossibilities proposed; no expedients to be accepted; a court reproaching; councils of war rejecting; and the Dutch general refusing the assistance of the troops under his command; and, what surmounted all, a despair of bringing such animosities and differing opinions to any tolerable agreement. Yet all these difficulties, instead of discouraging the earl, set every faculty of his more afloat; and, at last, produced a lucky thought, which was happily attended with events extraordinary, and scenes of success much beyond his expectation; such as the general himself was heard to confess, it had been next to folly to have looked for; as certainly, in *prima facie*, it would hardly have borne proposing, to take by surprise a place much stronger than Barcelona itself. True it is, that his only hope of succeeding consisted in this,—that no person could suppose such an enterprise could enter into the imagination of man; and, without doubt, the general's chief dependence lay upon what he found true in the sequel; that the governor and garrison of Monjouick, by reason of their own security, would be very negligent, and very little upon their guard.

However, to make the experiment, he took an opportunity, unknown to any person but an aide-de-camp that attended him, and went out to view the fortifications; and there being no horse in that strong fortress, and the Miquelets being possessed of all the houses and gardens in the plain, it was not difficult to give himself that satisfaction, taking his way by the foot of the hill. The observation he made of the place itself, the negligence and supineness of the garrison, together with his own uneasy circumstances, soon brought the earl to a resolution of putting his first conceptions in execution;

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satisfied, as he was, from the situation of the ground between Monjouick and the town, that if the first was in our possession, the siege of the latter might be undertaken with some prospect of success.

From what has been said, some may be apt to conclude, that the siege afterward succeeding, when the attack was made from the side of Monjouick, it had not been impossible to have prevailed, if the effort had been made on the east side of the town, where our forces were at first encamped, and where only we could have made our approaches, if Monjouick had not been in our power. But a few words will convince any of common experience, of the utter impossibility of success upon the east part of the town, although many almost miraculous accidents made us succeed, when we brought our batteries to bear upon that part of Barcelona towards the west. The ground to the east was a perfect level for many miles, which would have necessitated our making our approaches in a regular way; and consequently our men must have been exposed to the full fire of their whole artillery. Besides, the town is on that side much stronger than any other; there is an out-work just under the walls of the town, flanked by the courtin and the faces of two bastions, which might have cost us half our troops to possess, before we could have raised a battery against the walls. Or supposing, after all, a competent breach had been made, what a wise piece of work must it have been to have attempted a storm against double the number of regular troops within?

On the contrary, we were so favoured by the situation, when we made the attack from the side of Monjouick, that the breach was made, and the town taken without opening of trenches, or without our being at all incommoded by any sallies of the enemy; as, in truth, they made not one during the whole siege. Our great battery, which consisted of upwards of fifty heavy cannon, supplied from the ships, and managed by the seamen, were placed upon a spot of rising ground, just large enough to contain our guns, with two deep hollow ways on each side the field, at each end whereof we had raised a little redoubt, which served to preserve our men from the shot of the town. Those little redoubts, in which we had some field-pieces, flanked the battery, and rendered it entirely secure from any surprise of the enemy. There were several other smaller batteries raised upon the hills adjacent, in places not to be approached, which, in a manner, rendered all the artillery of the enemy useless, by reason their men could not ply them, but with the utmost danger; whereas, ours were secure, very few being killed, and those mostly by random shot.

But, to return to the general. Forced, as he was, to take this extraordinary resolution, he concluded, the readiest way to surprise his enemies was to elude his friends. He therefore called a council of war ashore, of the land officers; and aboard, of the admirals and sea-officers: in both which it was resolved, that in case the siege of Barcelona was judged im-

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practicable, and that the troops should be reembarked by a day appointed, an effort should be made upon the kingdom of Naples. Accordingly, the day affixed being come, the heavy artillery, landed for the siege, was returned aboard the ships, and every thing, in appearance, prepared for a reembarkment. During which, the general was obliged to undergo all the reproaches of a dissatisfied court; and, what was more uneasy to him, the murmurings of the sea-officers, who, not so competent judges in what related to sieges, were one and all inclined to a design upon Barcelona; and the rather, because, as the season was so far spent, it was thought altogether improper to engage the fleet in any new undertaking. However, all things were so well disguised by our seeming preparations for a retreat, that the very night our troops were in march towards the attack of Monjouick, there were public entertainments and rejoicings in the town for the raising of the siege.

The prince of Hesse had taken large liberties in complaining against all the proceedings in the camp before Barcelona; even to insinuations, that though the earl gave his opinion for some effort in public, yet used he not sufficient authority over the other general officers to incline them to comply; throwing out withal some hints, that the general, from the beginning, had declared himself in favour of other operations, and against coming to Catalonia; the latter part whereof was nothing but fact. On the other side, the earl of Peterborow complained, that the boasted assistance was no way made good; and, that in failure thereof, his troops were to be sacrificed to the humours of a stranger; one who had no command, and whose conduct might bear a question whether equal to his courage. These reproaches of one another had bred so much ill blood between those two great men, that, for above a fortnight, they had no correspondence, nor ever exchanged one word.

The earl, however, having made his proper dispositions, and delivered out his orders, began his march in the evening, with twelve hundred foot and two hundred horse, which, of necessity, were to pass by the quarters of the prince of Hesse. That prince, on their appearance, was told, that the general was come to speak with him; and, being brought into his apartment, the earl acquainted him, that he had at last resolved upon an attempt against the enemy; adding, that now, if he pleased, he might be a judge of their behaviour, and see whether his officers and soldiers had deserved that character which he had so liberally given them. The prince made answer, that he had always been ready to take his share; but could hardly believe, that troops marching that way could make any attempt against the enemy to satisfaction. However, without further discourse, he called for his horse.

By this we may see what share Fortune has in the greatest events. In all probability, the earl of Peterborow had never engaged in such a dangerous affair in cold blood and unprovoked; and if such an enterprise had been resolved on in a regular way, it is very likely he might have given the com-

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mand to some of the general officers ; since it is not usual, nor hardly allowable, for one that commands in chief to go in person on such kind of services. But here we see the general and prince, notwithstanding their late indifferent harmony, engaged together in this most desperate undertaking.

Brigadier Stanhope and Mr. Methuen were the general's particular friends, and those he most consulted and most confided in ; yet he never imparted this resolution of his to either of them ; for he was not willing to engage them in a design so dangerous, and where there was so little hope of success ; rather choosing to reserve them as persons most capable of giving advice and assistance in the confusion, great enough already, which yet must have been greater, if any accident had happened to himself. And I have very good reason to believe, that the motive, which mainly engaged the earl of Peterborow in this enterprise, was to satisfy the prince of Hesse and the world, that his diffidence proceeded from his concern for the troops committed to his charge, and not for his own person. On the other hand, the great characters of the two gentlemen just mentioned are so well known, that it will easily gain credit, that the only way the general could take to prevent their being of the party was to conceal it from them, as he did from all mankind, even from the archduke himself. And certainly there never was a more universal surprise, than when the firing was heard next morning from Monjouick.

But I now proceed to give an exact account of this great action ; of which no person that I have heard of ever yet took upon him to deliver to posterity the glorious particulars ; and yet the consequences and events, by what follows, will appear so great and so very extraordinary ; that few, if any, had they had it in their power, would have denied themselves the pleasure or the world the satisfaction of knowing it.

The troops, which marched all night along the foot of the mountains, arrived two hours before day under the bill of Monjouick, not a quarter of a mile from the outward works. For this reason, it was taken for granted, whatever the design was which the general had proposed to himself, that it would be put in execution before day light ; but the earl of Peterborow was now pleased to inform the officers of the reasons why he chose to stay till the light appeared. He was of opinion that any success would be impossible, unless the enemy came into the outward ditch under the bastions of the second inclosure ; but that, if they had time allowed them to come thither, there being no palisadoes, our men, by leaping in upon them, after receipt of their first fire, might drive them into the upper works ; and following them close, with some probability, might force them, under that confusion, into the inward fortifications.

Such were the general's reasons then and there given ; after which, having promised ample rewards to such as discharged their duty well, a lieutenant, with thirty men, was ordered to advance towards the bastion nearest the

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town; and a captain, with fifty men, to support him. After the enemy's fire, they were to leap into the ditch; and their orders were to follow them close, if they retired into the upper works: nevertheless not to pursue them farther, if they made into the inner fort, but to endeavour to cover themselves within the gorge of the bastion.

A lieutenant, and a captain, with the like number of men, and the same orders, were commanded to a demi-bastion, at the extremity of the fort towards the west, which was above musket shot from the inward fortification. Towards this place the wall, which was cut into the rock, was not faced for about twenty yards; and here our own men got up, where they found three pieces of cannon upon a platform, without any men to defend them.

Those appointed to the bastion towards the town were sustained by two hundred men; with which the general and prince went in person. The like number, under the directions of colonel Southwell, were to sustain the attack towards the west; and about five hundred men were left under the command of a Dutch colonel, whose orders were to assist, where, in his own judgment, he should think most proper; and these were drawn up between the two parties appointed to begin the assault. My lot was on the side where the prince and earl were in person; and where we sustained the only loss from the first fire of the enemy.

Our men, though quite exposed, and though the glacis was all escarped upon the live rock, went on with an undaunted courage; and, immediately after the first fire of the enemy, all that were not killed or wounded leaped in, *pel-mel*, amongst the enemy; who, being thus boldly attacked and seeing others pouring in upon them, retired in great confusion; and some one way, some another, ran into the inward works.

There was a large port in the flank of the principal bastion towards the north-east, and a covered way, through which the general and the prince of Hesse followed the flying forces; and by that means became possessed of it. Luckily enough, here lay a number of great stones in the gorge of the bastion, for the use of the fortification; with which we made a sort of breast-work, before the enemy recovered of their amaze, or made any considerable fire upon us from their inward fort, which commanded the upper part of that bastion.

We were afterwards informed, that the commander of the citadel, expecting but one attack, had called off the men from the most distant and western part of the fort to that side which was next to the town: upon which our men got into a demi-bastion in the most extreme part of the fortification. Here they got possession of three pieces of cannon, with hardly any opposition; and had leisure to cast up a little entrenchment, and to make use of the guns they had taken, to defend it. Under this situation, the enemy, when drove into the inner fort, were exposed to our fire from those places we were possessed of, in case they offered to make any sally, or other attempt against

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us. Thus we every moment became better and better prepared against any effort of the garrison. And, as they could not pretend to assail us without evident hazard, so nothing remained for us to do till we could bring up our artillery and mortars. Now it was that the general sent for the thousand men under brigadier Stanhope's command, which he had posted at a convent half way between the town and Monjouick.

There was almost a total cessation of fire, the men on both sides being under cover. The general was in the upper part of the bastion; the prince of Hesse below, behind a little work at the point of the bastion, whence he could only see the heads of the enemy over the parapet of the inward fort. Soon after an accident happened, which cost that gallant prince his life.

The enemy had lines of communication between Barcelona and Monjouick. The governor of the former, upon hearing the firing from the latter, immediately sent four hundred dragoons on horseback, under orders, that two hundred dismounting should reinforce the garrison, and the other two hundred should return with their horses back to the town.

When those two hundred dragoons were accordingly got into the inward fort, unseen by any of our men, the Spaniards, waving their hats over their heads, repeating over and over, *Viva el rey, viva*. This the prince of Hesse unfortunately took for a signal of their desire to surrender. Upon which, with too much warmth and precipitancy, calling to the soldiers following, "They surrender, they surrender!" he advanced, with near three hundred men (who followed him without any orders from their general), along the curtain which led to the ditch of the inward fort. The enemy suffered them to come into the ditch, and there surrounding them, took two hundred of them prisoners, at the same time making a discharge upon the rest, who were running back the way they came. This firing brought the earl of Peterborow down from the upper part of the bastion, to see what was doing below. When he had just turned the point of the bastion, he saw the prince of Hesse retiring, with the men that had so rashly advanced. The earl had exchanged a few words with him, when, from a second fire, that prince received a shot in the great artery of the thigh, of which he died immediately, falling down at the general's feet, who instantly gave orders to carry off the body to the next convent.

Almost the same moment, an officer came to acquaint the earl of Peterborow, that a great body of horse and foot, at least three thousand, were on their march from Barcelona towards the fort. The distance is near a mile, all uneven ground; so that the enemy was either discoverable, or not to be seen, just as they were marching on the hills, or in the vallies. However, the general directly got on horseback, to take a view of those forces from the rising ground without the fort, having left all the posts, which were already taken, well secured with the allotted number of officers and soldiers.

But the event will demonstrate of what consequence the absence or pre-

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sence of one man may prove on great occasions. No sooner was the earl out of the fort, the care of which he had left under the command of the lord Charlemont (a person of known merit and undoubted courage, but somewhat too flexible in his temper), when a panic fear, though the earl, as I have said, was only gone to take a view of the enemy, seized upon the soldiery, which was a little too easily complied with by the lord Charlemont, then commanding officer. True it is, for I heard an officer, ready enough to take such advantages, urge to him, that none of all those posts we were become masters of were tenable; that to offer at it would be no better than wilfully sacrificing human lives to caprice and humour; and just like a man knocking his head against stone walls to try which was hardest. Having overheard this piece of lip oratory, and finding by the answer that it was too likely to prevail, and that all I was like to say would avail nothing, I slipped away as fast as I could to acquaint the general with the danger impending.

As I passed along, I took notice that the panic was upon the increase; the general rumour affirming, that we should be all cut off by the troops that were come out of Barcelona, if we did not immediately gain the hills, or the houses possessed by the Miquelets. Officers and soldiers, under this prevailing terror, quitted their posts; and in one united body (the lord Charlemont at the head of them) marched, or rather hurried out of the fort, and were come half way down the hill before the earl of Peterborough came up to them; though, on my acquainting him with the shameful and surprising accident, he made no stay, but answering with a good deal of vehemence, "Good God, is it possible?" hastened back as fast as he could.

I never thought myself happier than in this piece of service to my country. I confess I could not but value it, as having been therein more than a little instrumental in the glorious successes which succeeded; since immediately upon this notice from me, the earl gallowed up the hill, and lighting when he came to lord Charlemont, he took his half pike out of his hand, and turning to the officers and soldiers, told them, if they would not face about and follow him, they should have the scandal and eternal infamy upon them of having deserted their posts and abandoned their general.

It was surprising to see with what alacrity and new courage they faced about and followed the earl of Peterborow. In a moment they had forgot their apprehensions; and, without doubt, had they met with any opposition, they would have behaved themselves with the greatest bravery. But as these motions were unperceived by the enemy, all the posts were regained, and anew possessed in less than half an hour, without any loss; though, had our forces marched half a musket-shot further, their retreat would have been perceived, and all the success attendant on this glorious attempt must have been entirely blasted.

Another incident which attended this happy enterprise was this. The two hundred men which fell into the hands of the enemy, by the unhappy mistake

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of the prince of Hesse, were carried directly into the town. The marquis of Risburg, a lieutenant-general, who commanded the three thousand men, which were marching from the town to the relief of the fort, examined the prisoners as they passed by; and they all agreeing that the general and the prince of Hesse were in person with the troops that made the attack on Monjouick, the marquis gave immediate orders to retire to the town; taking it for granted, that the main body of the troops attended the prince and general; and that some design therefore was on foot to intercept his return, in case he should venture too far. Thus, the unfortunate loss of two hundred men turned to our advantage, in preventing the advance of the enemy, which must have put the earl of Peterborow to inconceivable difficulties.

The body of one thousand, under brigadier Stanhope, being come up to Monjouick, and no interruption given us by the enemy, our affairs were put into very good order on this side; while the camp on the other side was so fortified that the enemy, during the siege, never made one effort against it. In the mean time, the communication between the two camps was secure enough; although our troops were obliged to a tedious march along the foot of the hills, whenever the general thought fit to relieve those on duty on the side of the attack, from those regiments encamped on the west side of Barcelona.

The next day after the earl of Peterborow had taken care to secure the first camp to the eastward of the town, he gave orders to the officers of the fleet to land the artillery and ammunition behind the fortress to the westward. Immediately upon the landing whereof, two mortars were fired; from both which we plied the fort of Monjouick furiously with our bombs. But the third or fourth day, one of our shells fortunately lighting on their magazine of powder blew it up; and with it the governor, and many of the principal officers, who were at dinner with him. The blast, at the same instant, threw down a face of one of the smaller bastions; which the vigilant Miquelets, ready enough to take all advantages, no sooner saw (for they were under the hill, very near the place), but they readily entered, while the enemy were under the utmost confusion. If the earl, no less watchful than they, had not at the same moment thrown himself in with some regular troops, and appeased the general disorder, in all probability the garrison had been put to the sword. However, the general's presence not only allayed the fury of the Miquelets, but kept his own troops under the strictest discipline: so that, in a happy hour for the frightened garrison, the general gave officers and soldiers quarters, making them prisoners of war.

How critical was that minute wherein the general met his retreating commander! A very few steps farther had excluded us our own conquests, to the utter loss of all those greater glories which ensued. Nor would that have been the worst; for, besides the shame attending such an ill concerted

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retreat from our assaults on Monjouick, we must have felt the accumulative disgrace of infamously retiring aboard the ships that brought us; but heaven reserved for our general amazing scenes both of glory and mortification.

I cannot here omit one singularity of life, which will demonstrate men's different way of thinking, if not somewhat worse. When many years after, to one in office, who seemed a little too deaf to my complaints, and by that means irritating my human passions, in justice to myself, as well as cause, I urged this piece of service, by which I not only preserved the place, but the honour of my country; that *minister petite*, to mortify my expectations and baffle my plea, with a grimace as odd as his logic, returned, that, in his opinion, the service pretended was a disservice to the nation; since perseverance had cost the government more money than all the conquests were worth, could we have kept them. So irregular are the corruptions of man; when even great actions thwart the bent of an interested will.

The fort of Monjouick, being thus surprisingly reduced, furnished a strange vivacity to men's expectation, and as extravagantly flattered their hopes; for, as success never fails to excite weaker minds to pursue their good fortune, though many times to their own loss; so is it often too apt to push on more elevated spirits to renew the encounter for achieving new conquests, by hazarding too rashly all their former glory. Accordingly, every body now began to make his utmost efforts, and looked upon himself as a drone, if he was not employed in doing something or other towards pushing forward the siege of Barcelona itself, and raising proper batteries for that purpose. But, after all, it must, in justice, be acknowledged, that notwithstanding this prodigious success that attended this bold enterprise, the land forces, of themselves, without the assistance of the sailors, could never have reduced the town. The commanders and officers of the fleet had always evinced themselves favourers of this project upon Barcelona. A new undertaking so late in the year, as I have said before, was their utter aversion, and what they hated to hear of. Elated, therefore, with a beginning so auspicious, they gave a more willing assistance than could have been asked or judiciously expected. The admirals forgot their element, and acted as general officers at land. They came every day from their ships, with a body of men formed into companies, and regularly marshalled, and commanded by captains and lieutenants of their own. Captain Littleton, in particular, one of the most advanced captains in the whole fleet, offered, of himself, to take care of the landing and conveyance of the artillery to the camp. And answerable to that, his first zeal was his vigour all along; for, finding it next to an impossibility to draw the cannon and mortars up such vast precipices by horses, if the country had afforded them, he caused harnesses to be made for two hundred men, and by that means, after a prodigious fatigue and labour, brought the cannon and mortars necessary for the siege up to the very batteries.

In this manner was the siege begun; nor was it carried on with any less

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application; the approaches being made by an army of besiegers, that very little, if at all, exceeded the number of the besieged; not altogether in a regular manner, our few forces would not admit it, but yet with regularity enough to secure to our two little camps, and preserve a communication between both not to be interrupted or incommoded by the enemy. We had soon erected three several batteries against the place, all on the west side of the town, viz. one of nine guns, another of twelve, and the last of upwards of thirty. From all which we plied the town incessantly, and with all imaginable fury; and very often in whole volleys.

Nevertheless, it was thought not only advisable, but necessary, to erect another battery upon a lower piece of ground under a small hill; which, lying more within reach, and opposite to those places where the walls were imagined weakest, would annoy the town the more; and being designed for six guns only might soon be perfected. A French engineer had the direction; and, indeed, very quickly perfected it. But, when it came to be considered which way to get the cannon to it, most were of opinion that it would be absolutely impracticable, by reason of the vast descent; though, I believe, they might have added a stronger reason, and perhaps more intrinsic, that it was extremely exposed to the fire of the enemy.

Having gained some little reputation in the attack of Monjouick, this difficulty was at last to be put upon me; and as some, not my enemies, supposed, more out of envy than good will. However, when I came to the place, and had carefully taken a view of it, though I was sensible enough of the difficulty, I made my main objection as to the time for accomplishing it; for it was then between nine and ten, and the guns were to be mounted by day-light. Neither could I at present see any other way to answer their expectations than by casting the cannon down the precipice, at all hazards, to the place below, where that fourth battery was erected.

This wanted not objections to; and therefore, to answer my purpose, as to point of time, sixty men more were ordered me, as much as possible to facilitate the work by numbers; and, accordingly, I set about it. Just as I was setting all hands to work, and had given orders to my men to begin some paces back, to make the descent more gradual, and thereby render the task a little more feasible, major Collier, who commanded the train, came to me, and perceiving the difficulties of the undertaking, in a fret told me I was imposed upon, and vowed he would go and find out brigadier Petit, and let him know the impossibility, as well as the unreasonableness, of the task I was put upon. He had scarce uttered those words, and turned himself round to perform his promise, when an unlucky shot with a musket-ball wounded him through the shoulder; upon which he was carried off, and I saw him not till some considerable time after.

By the painful diligence and the additional complement of men, however, I so well succeeded (such was my great good fortune), that the way was

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gnade, and the guns, by the help of fascines, and other lesser preparations below, safely let down and mounted; so that the fourth battery began to play upon the town before break of day, and with all the success that was proposed.

In short the breach, in a very few days after, was found wholly practicable, and all things were got ready for a general storm; which don Valasco, the governor, being sensible of, immediately beat a parley; upon which it was, among other articles, concluded, that the town should be surrendered in three days; and the better to ensure it, the bastion, which commanded the port St. Angelo, was directly put into our possession.

But before the expiration of the limited three days, a very unexpected accident fell out, which hastened the surrender. Don Valasco, during his government, had behaved himself very arbitrarily, and thereby procured, as the consequence of it, a large proportion of ill will, not only among the townsmen but among the Miquelets, who had, in their zeal to king Charles, flocked from all parts of Catalonia to the siege of their capital; and who, on the signing of the articles of surrender, had found various ways, being well acquainted with the most private avenues, to get by night into the town; so that early in the morning they began to plunder all that they knew enemies to king Charles, or thought friends to the prince his competitor.

Their main design was upon Valasco the governor, whom, if they could have got into their hands, it was not to be questioned, but, as far as his life and limbs would have served, they would have sufficiently satiated their vengeance upon. He expected no less, and therefore concealed himself, till the earl of Peterborow could give orders for his more safe and private conveyance by sea to Alicant.

Nevertheless, in the town all was in the utmost confusion; which the earl of Peterborow, at the very first hearing, hastened to appease. With his usual alacrity he rode all alone to Port St. Angelo, where, at that time, myself happened to be, and demanded to be admitted, the officer of the guard, under fear and surprise, opened the wicket, through which the earl entered, and I after him.

Scarce had we gone a hundred paces when we saw a lady of apparent quality and indisputable beauty in a strange but most affecting agony, flying from the apprehended fury of the Miquelets; her lovely hair was all flowing about her shoulders, which, and the consternation she was in, rather added to than any thing diminished from the charms of an excess of beauty. She, as is very natural to people in distress, made up directly to the earl, her eyes satisfying her he was a person likely to give her all the protection she wanted; and as soon as ever she came near enough, in a manner that declared her quality before she spoke, she craved that protection, telling him, the better to secure it, who it was that asked it. But the generous earl presently convinced her he wanted no intreaties, having, before he knew her to be the

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duchess of Popoli, taken her by the hand, in order to convey her through the wicket which he entered at, to a place of safety without the town.

I staid behind, while the earl conveyed the distressed duchess to her requested asylum; and I believe it was much the longest part of an hour before he returned. But as soon as ever he came back, he and myself, at his command, repaired to the place of most confusion, which the extraordinary noise full readily directed us to, and which happened to be on the parade before the palace. There it was that the Miquelets were making their utmost efforts to get into their hands the almost sole occasion of the tumult, and the object of their raging fury, the person of don Valasco, the late governor.

It was here that the earl preserved that governor from the violent but perhaps too just resentments of the Miquelets; and, as I said before, conveyed him by sea to Alicant. And, indeed, I could little doubt the effect, or be any thing surprised at the easiness of the task, when I saw, that wherever he appeared the popular fury was in a moment allayed, and that every dictate of that general was assented to with the utmost cheerfulness and deference. Valasco, before his embarkation, had given orders, in gratitude to his preserver, for all the gates to be delivered up, though short of the stipulated term; and they were accordingly so delivered, and our troops took possession so soon as ever that governor was aboard the ship that was to convey him to Alicant.

During the siege of Barcelona, brigadier Stanhope ordered a tent to be pitched as near the trenches as possibly could be with safety, where he not only entertained the chief officers who were upon duty, but likewise the Catalonian gentlemen, who brought Miquelets to our assistance. I remember I saw an old cavalier, having his only son with him, who appeared a fine young gentleman, about twenty years of age, go into the tent, in order to dine with the brigadier; but whilst they were at dinner, an unfortunate shot came from the bastion of St. Antonio, and entirely struck off the head of the son. The father immediately rose up, first looking down upon his headless child, and then lifting up his eyes to heaven, whilst the tears ran down his cheeks, he crossed himself, and only said, *Fiat voluntas tua!* and bore it with a wonderful patience. It was a sad spectacle, and truly it affects me now whilst I am writing.

The earl of Peterborow, though for some time after the revolution he had been employed in civil affairs, returned to the military life with great satisfaction, which was ever his inclination. Brigadier Stanhope, who was justly afterwards created an earl, did well deserve this motto, "*Tam Marte quam Mercurio;*" for truly he behaved, all the time he continued in Spain, as if he had been inspired with conduct; for the victory at Almanar was entirely owing to him; and likewise at the battle of Saragosa he distinguished himself with great bravery. That he had not success at Bruhaga was not

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his fault, for no man can resist fate ; for it was decreed by heaven that Philip should remain king of Spain, and Charles to be emperor of Germany. Yet each of these monarchs have been ungrateful to the instruments which the Almighty made use of to preserve them upon their thrones ; for one had not been king of Spain but for France, and the other had not been emperor but for England.

Barcelona, the chief place in Catalonia, being thus in our hands, as soon as the garrison, little inferior to our army, had marched out with drums beating, colours flying, &c. according to the articles, Charles the third made his public entry, and was proclaimed king, and received with the general acclamations, and all other demonstrations of joy suitable to that great occasion.

Some days after which, the citizens, far from being satiated with their former demonstrations of their duty, sent a petition to the king, by proper deputies for that purpose appointed, desiring leave to give more ample instances of their affections in a public cavalcade. The king granted their request, and the citizens, pursuant thereto, made their preparations.

On the day appointed, the king, placed in a balcony belonging to the house of the earl of Peterborow, appeared ready to honour the show. The ceremonial, to speak nothing figuratively, was very fine and grand : those of the first rank made their appearance in decent order, and upon fine horses ; and others under arms, and in companies, marched with native gravity and grandeur, all saluting his majesty as they passed by, after the Spanish manner, which that prince returned with the movement of his hand to his mouth ; for the kings of Spain are not allowed to salute, or return a salute, by any motion to or of the hat.

After these followed several pageants ; the first of which was drawn by mules, set off to the height with stateliest feathers, and adorned with little bells. Upon the top of this pageant appeared a man dressed all in green, but in the likeness of a dragon. The pageant making a stop just over against the balcony where the king sat, the dragonical representative diverted him with great variety of dancings ; the earl of Peterborow all the time throwing out dollars by handfuls among the populace, which they as constantly received with the loud acclamation, and repeated cries of *Viva, Viva, Carlos Terceros ! Viva la Cassa d'Austria !*

When that had played its part, another pageant, drawn as before, made a like full stop before the same balcony. On this was placed a very large cage or aviary, the cover of which, by springs contrived for that purpose, immediately flew open, and out of it a surprising flight of birds of various colours. These, all amazed at their sudden liberty, which I took to be the emblem intended, hovered a considerable space of time over and about their place of freedom, chirping, singing, and otherwise testifying their mighty joy for their so unexpected enlargement.

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There were many other pageants ; but having little in them very remarkable I have forgot the particulars. Nevertheless, every one of them was dismissed with the like acclamations of *Viva, Viva!* the whole concluding with bonfires and illuminations, common on all such occasions.

I cannot here omit one very remarkable instance of the catholic zeal of that prince, which I was soon after an eye-witness of. I was at that time in the fruit market, when the king passing by in his coach, the host, (whether by accident or contrivance I cannot say,) was brought, at that very juncture, out of the great church, in order, as I after understood, to a poor sick woman's receiving the sacrament. On sight of the host, the king came out of his coach, kneeled down in the street, which at that time proved to be very dirty, till the host passed by; then rose up, and taking the lighted flambeau from him who bore it, he followed the priest up a strait nasty alley, and there up a dark ordinary pair of stairs, where the poor sick woman lay. There he staid till the whole ceremony was over, when, returning to the door of the church, he very faithfully restored the lighted flambeau to the fellow he had taken it from, the people all the while crying out, *Viva, Viva!* an acclamation, we may imagine, intended to his zeal as well as his person.

Another remarkable accident, of a much more moral nature, I must, in justice to the temperance of that, in this truly inimitable people, recite. I was one day walking in one of the most populous streets of that city, where I found an uncommon concourse of people of all sorts got together; and imagining so great a crowd could not be assembled on a small occasion, I pressed in among the rest; and, after a good deal of struggling and difficulty, reached into the ring and centre of that mixed multitude. But how did I blush, with what confusion did I appear, when I found one of my own countrymen, a drunken grenadier, the attractive loadstone of all the high and low mob, and the butt of all their merriment! It will be easily imagined to be a thing not a little surprising to one of our country, to find that a drunken man should be such a wonderful sight: however, the witty sarcasms that were then by high and low thrown upon that senseless creature, and, as I interpreted matters, me in him, were so pungent, that if I did not curse my curiosity, I thought it best to withdraw myself as fast as legs could carry me away.

Barcelona being now under king Charles, the towns of Gironne, Tarragona, Tortosa, and Lerida, immediately declared for him; to every one of which engineers being ordered, it was my lot to be sent to Tortosa. This town is situated on the side of the river Ebro, over which there is a fair and famous bridge of boats. The waters of this river are always of a dirty red colour, somewhat fouler than our moorish waters; yet it is the only water the inhabitants drink or covet to drink; and every house providing for its own convenience cisterns to preserve it in, by a few hours standing it becomes as clear as the clearest rock water, but as soft as milk. In short,

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for softness, brightness, and pleasantness of taste, the natives prefer it to all the waters in the world. And I must declare in favour of their opinion, that none ever pleased me like it.

This town was of the greater moment to our army, as opening a passage into the kingdom of Valencia on one side, and the kingdom of Arragon on the other: and being of itself tolerably defensible, in human appearance might probably repay a little care and charge in its repair and improvement. Upon this employ was I appointed, and thus was I busied, till the arrival of the earl of Peterborow with his little army, in order to march to Valencia, the capital of that province. Here he left in garrison colonel Hans Hamilton's regiment; the place, nevertheless, was under the command of a Spanish governor, appointed by king Charles.

While the earl staid a few days at this place, under expectation of the promised succours from Barcelona, he received a *proprio* (or express) from the king of Spain, full of excuses, instead of forces. And yet the very same letter, in a paradoxical manner, commanded him at all events to attempt the relief of Santo Mattheo, where colonel Jones commanded, and which was then under siege by the Conde de los Torres (as was the report), with upwards of three thousand men. The earl of Peterborow could not muster above one thousand foot, and about two hundred horse; a small force to make an attempt of that nature upon such a superior power: yet the earl's vivacity (as will be occasionally further observed in the course of these memoirs) never much regarded numbers, so there was but room, by any stratagem, to hope for success. True it is, for his greater encouragement and consolation, the same letter intimated, that a great concourse of the country people being up in arms, to the number of many thousands, in favour of king Charles, and wanting only officers, the enterprise would be easy, and unattended with much danger. But, upon mature inquiry, the earl found that great body of men all *in nubibus*; and that the Conde, in the plain truth of the matter, was much stronger than the letter at first represented.

Santo Mattheo was a place of known importance, from its situation, which cut off all communication between Catalonia and Valencia; and, consequently, should it fall into the hands of the enemy, the earl's design upon the latter must inevitably have been postponed. It must be granted, the commands for attempting the relief of it were pressing and peremptory; nevertheless, the earl was very conscious to himself, that as the promised reinforcements were suspended, his officers would not approve of the attempt upon the foot of such vast inequalities; and their own declared sentiments soon confirmed the dictates of the earl's reason. He therefore addresses himself to those officers in a different manner: He told them, he only desired they would be passive, and leave it to him to work his own way. Accordingly, the earl found out and hired two Spanish spies, for whose fidelity (as his great precaution always led him to do) he took sufficient security; and dispatched

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them with a letter to colonel Jones, governor of the place, intimating his readiness as well as ability to relieve him; and, above all, exhorting him to have the Miquelets in the town ready, on sight of his troops, to issue out, pursue; and plunder; since that would be all they would have to do, and all he would expect at their hands. The spies were dispatched accordingly; and, pursuant to instructions, one betrayed and discovered the other who had the letter in charge to deliver to colonel Jones. The earl, to carry on the feint, having in the mean time, by dividing his troops, and marching secretly over the mountains, drawn his men together, so as to make their appearance on the height of a neighbouring mountain, little more than cannon-shot from the enemy's camp. The tale of the spies was fully confirmed, and the Conde, though an able general, marched off with some precipitation with his army; and by that means the earl's smaller number of twelve hundred had liberty to march into the town without interruption. I must not let slip an action of colonel Jones's just before the earl's delivery of them. The Conde, for want of artillery, had set his miners to work, and the colonel, finding they had made some dangerous advances, turned the course of a rivulet, that ran through the middle of the town, in upon them, and made them quit a work they thought was brought to perfection.

Santo Mattheo being relieved, as I have said, the earl, though he had so far gained his ends, left not the flying enemy without a feint of pursuit; with such caution, nevertheless, that in case they should happen to be better informed of his weakness, he might have a resource either back again to Santo Mattheo, or to Vinaros on the sea side; or some other place, as occasion might require. But having just before received fresh advice, that the reinforcements he expected were anew countermanded; and that the duke of Anjou had increased his troops to twelve thousand men; the officers, not enough elated with the last success to adventure upon new experiments, resolved, in a council of war, to advise the earl, who had just before received a discretionary commission in lieu of troops, so to post the forces under him, as not to be cut off from being able to assist the king in person; or to march to the defence of Catalonia, in case of necessity.

Pursuant to this resolution of the council of war, the earl of Peterborow, though still intent upon his expedition into Valencia (which had been afresh countermanded, even while his supplies were countermanded), orders his foot, in a truly bad condition, by tedious marches day and night over the mountains, to Vinaros; and with his two hundred horse set out to prosecute his pretended design of pursuing the flying enemy; resolved, if possible, notwithstanding all seemingly desperate circumstances, to perfect the security of that capital.

To that purpose, the earl, with his small body of patrols, went on frightening the enemy, till they came under the walls of Nules, a town fortified with the best walls, regular towers, and in the best repair of any in that kingdom.

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But even here, upon the appearance of the earl's forlorn, (if they might not properly at that time all have passed under that character,) under the same panic they left that fencible town, with only one thousand of the town's people, well armed, for the defence of it. Yet was it scarce to be imagined, that the earl, with his small body of two hundred horse, should be able to gain admission; or, indeed, under such circumstances, to attempt it. But, bold as the undertaking was, his good genius went along with him; and so good a genius was it, that it rarely left him without a good effect. He had been told the day before, that the enemy, on leaving Nules, had got possession of Villa Real, where they put all to the sword. What would have furnished another with terror, inspired his lordship with a thought as fortunate as it was successful. The earl rides up to the very gates of the town, at the head of his party, and peremptorily demands the chief magistrate or a priest immediately to be sent out to him; and that under penalty of being all put to the sword, and used as the enemy had used those at Villa Real the day or two before. The troops that had so lately left the place had left behind them more terror than men; which, together with the peremptory demand of the earl, soon produced some priests to wait upon the general. By their readiness to obey, the earl very justly imagined fear to be the motive; wherefore, to improve their terror, he only allowed them six minutes time to resolve upon a surrender, telling them, that otherwise, so soon as his artillery was come up, he would lay them under the utmost extremities. The priests returned with this melancholy message into the place; and in a very short time after the gates were thrown open. Upon the earl's entrance, he found two hundred horse, which were the original of his lordship's forming that body of horse which afterwards proved the saving of Valencia.

The news of the taking of Nules soon overtook the flying enemy; and so increased the apprehensions of their danger, that they renewed their march the same day; though what they had taken before would have satisfied them much better without it. On the other hand, the earl was so well pleased with his success, that, leaving the enemy to fly before their fears, he made a short turn towards Castillon de la Plana, a considerable but open town, where his lordship furnished himself with four hundred horses more; and all this under the assurance, that his troops were driving the enemy before them out of the kingdom. Hence he sent orders to colonel Pierce's regiment at Vinaros to meet him at Oropesa, a place at no great distance; where, when they came, they were pleasingly surprised at their being well mounted, and furnished with all accoutrements necessary. After which, leaving them cantoned in walled towns, where they could not be disturbed without artillery, that indefatigable general, leaving them full orders, went on his way towards Tortosa.

At Vinaros the earl met with advice, that the Spanish militia of the kingdom of Valencia were assembled, and had already advanced a day's march at least into that country. Upon which, collecting, as fast as he could, the

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whole corps together, the earl resolved to penetrate into Valencia directly; notwithstanding this whole collected body would amount to no more than six hundred horse and two thousand foot.

But there was a strong pass over a river, just under the walls of Molviedro, which must be first disputed and taken. This, brigadier Mahoni, by the orders of the duke of Arcos, who commanded the troops of the duke of Anjou in the kingdom of Valencia, had taken care to secure. Molviedro, though not very strong, is a walled town, very populous of itself; and had in it, besides a garrison of eight hundred men, most of Mahoni's dragoons. It lies at the very bottom of a high hill; on the upper part whereof they show the ruins of the once famous Saguntum; famous sure to eternity, if letters shall last so long, for an inviolable fidelity to a negligent confederate, against an implacable enemy. Here yet appear the visible vestigia of awful antiquity, in half standing arches, and the yet unlevelled walls and towers of that once celebrated city. I could not but look upon all these with the eyes of despite, in regard to their enemy Hannibal; with those of disdain, in respect to the uncommon and unaccountable sapineness of its confederates, the Romans; but with those of veneration, as to the memory of a glorious people, who, rather than stand reproached with a breach of faith, or the brand of cowardice, chose to sacrifice themselves, their wives, children, and all that was dear to them, in the flames of their expiring city.

In Molviedro, as I said before, Mahoni commanded, with eight hundred men, besides inhabitants; which, together with our having but little artillery, induced the officers under the earl of Peterborow reasonably enough to imagine and declare, that there could be no visible appearance of surmounting such difficulties. The earl, nevertheless, instead of indulging such despondencies, gave them hope, that what strength served not to accomplish, art might possibly obtain. To that purpose he proposed an interview between himself and Mahoni; and accordingly sent an officer with a trumpet to intimate his desire. The motion was agreed to; and the earl having previously stationed his troops to advantage, and his little artillery at a convenient distance, with orders they should appear on a slow march on the side of a rising hill, during the time of conference, went to the place appointed; only, as had been stipulated, attended with a small party of horse. When they were met, the earl first offered all he could to engage Mahoni to the interest of king Charles; proposing some things extravagant enough, as Mahoni himself some time after told me, to stagger the faith of a catholic; but all to little purpose; Mahoni was inflexible, which obliged the earl to new measures.

Whereupon the earl frankly told him, that he could not, however, but esteem the confidence he had put in him, and therefore, to make some retaliation, he was ready to put it in his power to avoid the barbarities lately executed at Villa Real. "My relation to you," continued the general, "in-

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clines me to spare a town under your command. You see how near my forces are; and can hardly doubt our soon being masters of the place: what I would therefore offer you," said the earl, "is a capitulation, that my inclination may be held in countenance by my honour. Barbarities, however justified by example, are my utter aversion, and against my nature; and to testify so much, together with my good will to your person, was the main intent of this interview."

This frankness so far prevailed on Mahoni, that he agreed to return an answer in half an hour. Accordingly, an answer was returned by a Spanish officer, and a capitulation agreed upon; the earl at the same time endeavouring to bring over that officer to king Charles, on much the same topics he used with Mahoni. But finding this equally fruitless, whether it was that he tacitly reproached the officer with a want of consideration in neglecting to follow the example of his commander, or what else, he created in that officer such a jealousy of Mahoni, that was afterwards very serviceable to him in his further design.

To forward which to a good issue, the earl immediately made choice of two dragoons, who, upon promise of promotion, undertook to go as spies to the duke of Arcos, whose forces lay not far off, on the other side a large plain, which the earl must unavoidably pass, and which would inevitably be attended with almost insuperable dangers, if there attacked by a force so much superior. Those spies, according to instructions, were to discover to the duke, that they overheard the conference between the earl and Mahoni; and at the same time saw a considerable number of pistoles delivered into Mahoni's hands, large promises passing at that instant reciprocally. But, above all, that the earl had recommended to him the procuring the march of the duke over the plain between them. The spies went and delivered all according to concert; concluding, before the duke, that they would ask no reward, but undergo any punishment, if Mahoni did not very soon send to the duke a request to march over the plain, in order to put the concerted plot into execution. It was not long after this pretended discovery, before Mahoni did send indeed an officer to the duke, desiring the march of his forces over the plain; but, in reality, to obstruct the earl's passage, which he knew very well must be that and no other way. However, the duke, being prepossessed by the spies, and what those Spanish officers that at first escaped had before infused, took things in their sense; and as soon as Mahoni, who was forced to make the best of his way over the plain before the earl of Peterborow, arrived at his camp, he was put under arrest, and sent to Madrid. The duke having thus imbibed the venom, and taken the alarm, immediately decamped in confusion, and took a different route than first he intended, leaving that once formidable plain open to the earl, without an enemy to obstruct him. In some little time after he arrived at Madrid, Ma-

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Ioni made his innocence appear, and was created a general, while the duke of Arcos was recalled from his post of honour.

The day after we arrived at Valencia; the gates of which fine city were set open to us with the highest demonstrations of joy. I called it a fine city; but sure it richly deserves a brighter epithet; since it is a common saying among the Spaniards, that "the pleasures of Valencia would make a Jew forget Jerusalem." It is most sweetly situated in a very beautiful plain, and within half a league of the Mediterranean sea. It never wants any of the fragrances of nature, and always has something to delight the most curious eye. It is famous to a proverb for fine women; but as infamous, and only in that so, for the race of bravoos, the common companions of the ladies of pleasure in this country. These wretches are so case-hardened they will commit a murder for a dollar, though they run their country for it when they have done. Not that other parts of this nation are uninfested with this sort of animals; but here their numbers are so great, that if a catalogue was to be taken of those in other parts of the country, perhaps nine in ten would be found by birth to be of this province.

But to proceed. Though the citizens, and all sorts of people, were redundant in their various expressions of joy for an entry so surprising, and utterly lost to their expectation, whatever it was to their wishes, the earl had a secret concern for the public, which lay gnawing at his heart, and which yet he was forced to conceal. He knew that he had not four thousand soldiers in the place, and not powder or ammunition for those; nor any provisions laid in for any thing like a siege. On the other hand, the enemy without were upwards of seven thousand, with a body of four thousand more, not fifteen leagues off, on their march to join them. Add to this, the mareschal de Thesse was no farther off than Madrid, a very few days march from Valencia; a short way indeed for the earl (who, as was said before, was wholly unprovided for a siege, which was reported to be the sole end of the mareschal's moving that way). But the earl's never failing genius resolved again to attempt that by art, which the strength of his forces utterly disallowed him.

And, in the first place, his intelligence telling him that sixteen twenty-four pounders, with stores and ammunition answerable for a siege, were shipped off for the enemy's service at Alicant, the earl forthwith lays a design, and, with his usual success, intercepts them all, supplying that way his own necessities at the expense of the enemy.

The four thousand men ready to reinforce the troops near Valencia were the next point to be undertaken; but, *hic labor, hoc opus*; since the greater body under the conde de las Torres (who, with Mahoni, was now reinstated in his post) lay between the earl and those troops intended to be dispersed. And what enhanced the difficult, the river Xucar must be passed in almost the face of the enemy. Great disadvantages as these were, they did not dis-

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courage the earl. He detached by night four hundred horse and eight hundred foot, who marched with such hasty silence, that they surprised that great body, routed them, and brought into Valencia six hundred prisoners very safely, notwithstanding they were obliged, under the same night-covert, to pass very near a body of three thousand of the enemy's horse. Such a prodigious victory would hardly have gained credit in that city, if the prisoners brought in had not been living witnesses of the action as well as the triumph. The conde de las Torres, upon those two military rebuffs, drew off to a more convenient distance, and left the earl a little more at ease in his new quarters.

Here the earl of Peterborow made his residence for some time. He was extremely well beloved; his affable behaviour exacted as much from all; and he preserved such a good correspondence with the priests and the ladies, that he never failed of the most early and best intelligence; a thing by no means to be slighted in the common course of life; but much more commendable and necessary in a general, with so small an army, at open war, and in the heart of his enemy's country.

The earl by this means, some small time after, receiving intelligence that king Philip was actually on his march to Barcelona, with an army of upwards of 25,000 men, under the command of a mareschal of France, began his march towards Catalonia, with all the troops that he could gather together, leaving in Valencia a small body of foot, such as in that exigence could best be spared. The whole body thus collected made very little more than 2000 foot and 600 horse; yet resolutely with these he sets out for Barcelona, in the neighbourhood of which, as soon as he arrived, he took care to post himself and his diminutive army in the mountains which environ that city, where he not only secured them against the enemy, but found himself in a capacity of putting them under perpetual alarms. Nor was the mareschal, with his great army, capable of returning the earl's compliment of disturbance, since he himself, every six or eight hours, put his troops into such a varying situation, that always when most ardently sought he was farthest off from being found. In this manner the general bitterly harassed the troops of the enemy, and by these means struck a perpetual terror into the besiegers. Nor did he only this way annoy the enemy; the precautions he had used, and the measures he had taken in other places, with a view to prevent their return to Madrid, though the invidious endeavoured to bury them in oblivion, having equally contributed to the driving of the mareschal of France, and his catholic king, out of the Spanish dominions.

But to go on with the siege. The breaches in the walls of that city, during its siege by the earl, had been put into tolerable repair; but those of Monjouick, on the contrary, had been as much neglected. However, the garrison made shift to hold out a battery of twenty-three days, with no less than fifty pieces of cannon; when, after a loss of the enemy of upwards of three

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thousand men (a moiety of the army employed against it when the earl took it), they were forced to surrender at discretion. And this cannot but merit our observation, that a place which the English general took in little more than an hour, and with very inconsiderable loss, afforded the mareschal of France a resistance of twenty-three days.

Upon the taking of fort Monjouick, the mareschal de Thesse gave immediate orders for batteries to be raised against the town. Those orders were put in execution with all expedition; and at the same time his army fortified themselves with such entrenchments, as would have ruined the earl's former little army to have raised, or his present much lesser army to have attempted the forcing them. However, they sufficiently demonstrated their apprehensions of that watchful general, who lay hovering over their heads upon the mountains. Their main effort was to make a breach between port St. Antonio and that breach which our forces had made the year before; to effect which, they took care to ply them very diligently both from cannon and mortars, and in some few days their application was answered with a practicable breach for a storm; which, however, was prudently deferred for some time, and that through fear of the earl's falling on the back of them whenever they should attempt it, which, consequently, they were sensible might put them into some dangerous disorder.

And now it was that the earl of Peterborow resolved to put in practice the resolution he had some time before concerted within himself. About nine or ten days before the raising of the siege, he had received an express from brigadier Stanhope (who was aboard sir John Leake's fleet appointed for the relief of the place, with the reinforcements for England,) acquainting the earl, that he had used all possible endeavours to prevail on the admiral to make the best of his way to Barcelona; but that the admiral, however, persisted in a positive resolution not to attempt the French fleet before that place under the count de Tholouse till the ships were joined him which were expected from Ireland, under the command of sir George Bing. True it was, the fleet under admiral Leake was of equal strength with that under the French admiral; but, jealous of the informations he had received, and too ready to conclude that people in distress were apt to make representations too much in their own favour, he held himself, in point of discretion, obliged not to hazard the queen's ships, when a reinforcement of both cleaner and larger were under daily expectation.

This unhappy circumstance (notwithstanding all former glorious deliverances) had almost brought the earl to the brink of despair; and, to increase it, the earl every day received such commands from the king within the place as must have sacrificed his few forces, without the least probability of succeeding. Those all tended to his forcing his way into the town; when, in all human appearance, not one man of all that should make the attempt could have done it with any hope or prospect of surviving. The French

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were strongly encamped at the foot of the mountains, distant two miles from Barcelona : towards the bottom of those hills, the avenues into the plain were possessed and fortified by great detachments from the enemy's army ; from all which it will be evident, that no attempt could be made without giving the enemy time to draw together what body of foot they pleased ; or, supposing it feasible, under all these difficult circumstances, for some of them to have forced their passage, the remainder, that should have been so lucky to have escaped their foot, would have found themselves exposed in open field to a pursuit of 4000 horse and dragoons, and that for two miles together ; when, in case of their inclosing them, the bravest troops in the world, under such a situation, would have found it their best way to have surrendered themselves prisoners of war.

Nevertheless, when brigadier Stanhope sent that express to the earl, which I just now mentioned, he assured him in the same, that he would use his utmost diligence, both by sea and land, to let him have timely notice of the conjunction of the fleets, which was now all they had to depend upon : adding, withal, that if the earl should at any time receive a letter, or paper, though directed to nobody, and with nothing in it but a half sheet of paper, cut in the middle he, the earl, might certainly depend upon it, that the two fleets were joined, and making the best of their way for Barcelona. It will easily be imagined the express was to be well paid ; and being made sensible that he ran little or no hazard in carrying a piece of blank paper, he undertook it, and as fortunately arrived with it to the earl, at a moment when chagrin and despair might have hurried him to some resolution that might have proved fatal. The messenger himself, however, knew nothing of the joining of the fleets, or the meaning of his message.

As soon as the earl of Peterborow received this welcome message from brigadier Stanhope, he marched the very same night, with his whole little body of forces, to a town on the sea shore, called Sigeth. No person guessed the reason of his march, or knew any thing of what the intent of it was. The officers, as formerly, obeyed without enquiry, for they were led to it by so many unaccountable varieties of success, that affiance became a second nature, both in officer and soldier.

The town of Sigeth was about seven leagues to the westward of Barcelona ; where, as soon as the earl with his forces arrived, he took care to secure all the small fishing-boats, feluccas, and sattées ; nay, in a word, every machine in which he could transport any of his men ; so that in two days' time he had got together a number sufficient for the conveyance of all his foot.

But a day or two before the arrival of the English fleet off Sigeth, the officers of his troops were under a strange consternation at a resolution their general had taken. Impatient of delay, and fearful of the fleets passing by without his knowledge, the earl summoned them together a little before night, at which time he discovered to the whole assembly, that he himself was

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obliged to endeavour to get aboard the English fleet; and that, if possible, before the French scouts should be able to make any discovery of their strength; that, finding himself of no further use on shore, having already taken the necessary precautions for their transportation and security, they had nothing to do but to pursue his orders, and make the best of their way to Barcelona, in the vessels which he had provided for them; that they might do this in perfect security when they saw the English fleet pass by; or if they should pass by in the night, an engagement with the French, which would be an inevitable consequence, would give them sufficient notice what they had to do further.

This declaration, instead of satisfying, made the officers ten times more curious; but when they saw their general going, with a resolution to lie out all night at sea in an open boat, attended with only one officer, and understood that he intended to row out in his felucca five or six leagues distance from the shore, it is hardly to be expressed what amazement and concern surprised them all. Mr. Crow, the queen's minister, and others, expressed a particular dislike and uneasiness; but all to no purpose, the earl had resolved upon it. Accordingly, at night, he put out to sea in his open felucca, all which he spent five leagues from shore, with no other company than one captain and his rowers.

In the morning, to the great satisfaction of all, officers and others, the earl came again to land; and immediately began to put his men into the several vessels which lay ready in port for that purpose. But at night their amaze was renewed, when they found their general ready to put in execution his old resolution, in the same equipage, and with the same attendance. Accordingly, he again feluccaed himself; and they saw him no more till they were landed on the mole in Barcelona.

When the earl of Peterborow first engaged himself in the expedition to Spain, he proposed to the queen and her ministry, that admiral Shovel might be joined in commission with him in the command of the fleet. But this year, when the fleet came through the Straits, under vice-admiral Leake, the queen had sent a commission to the earl of Peterborow for the full command, whenever he thought fit to come aboard in person. This it was that made the general endeavour, at all hazards, to get aboard the fleet by night; for he was apprehensive, and the sequel proved his apprehensions too well grounded, that admiral Leake would make his appearance with the whole body of the fleet, which made near twice the number of the ships of the enemy; in which case it was natural to suppose, that the count de Tholouse, as soon as ever the French scouts should give notice of our strength, would cut his cables, and put out to sea, to avoid an engagement. On the other hand, the earl was very sensible, that if a part of his ships had kept astern, that the superiority might have appeared on the French side; or rather if they had bore away in the night towards the coast of Africa, and fallen to the

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eastward of Barcelona the next day, a battle had been inevitable, and a victory equally certain; since the enemy, by this means, had been tempted into an engagement, and their retreat being cut off, and their whole fleet surrounded with almost double their number, there had hardly been left for any of them a probability of escaping.

Therefore, when the earl of Peterborow put to sea again the second evening, fearful of losing such a glorious opportunity, and impatient to be aboard to give the necessary orders, he ordered his rowers to obtain the same station, in order to discover the English fleet. And according to his wishes he did fall in with it; but unfortunately the night was so far advanced, that it was impossible for him then to put his project into practice. Captain Price, a gentleman of Wales, who commanded a third rate, was the person he first came aboard of. But how amazed was he to find, in an open boat, at open sea, the person who had commission to command the fleet! So soon as he was entered the ship, the earl sent the ship's pinnace with letters to admiral Leake, to acquaint him with his orders and intentions; and to brigadier Stanhope, with a notification of his safe arrival; but the darkness of the night proved so great an obstacle, that it was a long time before the pinnace could reach the admiral. When day appeared, it was astonishing to the whole fleet to see the the union flag waving at the main-top-mast head. No body could trust his own eyes, or guess at the meaning, till better certified by the account of an event so singular and extraordinary. When we were about six leagues distance from Barcelona, the port we aimed at, one of the French scouts gave the alarm, who making the signal to another, he communicated it to a third, and so on, as we afterward sorrowfully found, and as the earl had before apprehended. The French admiral being thus made acquainted with the force of our fleet, hoisted sail and made the best of his way from us, either pursuant to orders, or under the plausible excuse of a retreat.

This favourable opportunity thus lost, there remained nothing to do but to land the troops with all expedition; which was executed accordingly. The regiments which the earl of Peterborow embarked the night before, being the first that got into the town. Let the reader imagine how pleasing such a sight must be to those in Barcelona, reduced as they were to the last extremity. In this condition, to see an enemy's fleet give way to another with reinforcements from England, the sea at the same instant covered with little vessels crowded with greater succours; what was there wanting to complete the glorious scene, but what the general projected, a fight at sea, under the very walls of the invested city, and the ships of the enemy sinking, or towed in by the victorious English. But night, and a few hours, defeated the latter part of that well-intended landscape.

King Philip, and the mareschal of France, had not failed to push on the siege with all imaginable vigour; but this retreat of the count de Tholouse,

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and the news of those reinforcements, soon changed the scene. Their courage without was abated proportionably as theirs within was elated. In these circumstances, a council of war being called, it was unanimously resolved to raise the siege. Accordingly, next morning, the 1st of May, 1706, while the sun was under a total eclipse, in a suitable hurry and confusion, they broke up, leaving behind them most of their cannon and mortars, together with vast quantities of all sorts of ammunition and provisions, scarce stopping to look back till they had left all but the very verge of the disputed dominion behind them.

King Charles looked with new pleasure upon this lucky effort of his old deliverers. Captivity is a state no way desirable to persons however brave, of the most private station in life; but for a king, within two days of falling into the hands of his rival, to receive so seasonable and unexpected a deliverance; must be supposed, as it really did, to open a scene to universal rejoicing among us too high for any words to express, or any thoughts to imagine, to those that were not present and partakers of it. He forthwith gave orders for a medal to be struck suitable to the occasion; one of which, set round with diamonds, he presented to sir John Leake, the English admiral. The next orders were for re-casting all the damaged brass cannon which the enemy had left; upon every one of which was, by order, a sun eclipsed, with this motto under it, "*Magna parvis obscurantur.*"

I have often wondered that I never heard any body curious enough to inquire what could be the motives to the king of Spain's quitting his dominions upon the raising of this siege; very certain it is, that he had a fine army, under the command of a mareschal of France, not very considerably decreased either by action or desertion: but all this would rather increase the curiosity than abate it. In my opinion, then, though men might have curiosity enough, the question was purposely evaded, under an apprehension that an honest answer must inevitably give a higher idea of the general than their inclinations led them to. At first view, this may carry the face of a paradox; yet, if the reader will consider, that in every age virtue has had its shades or maligners, he will himself easily solve it, at the same time that he finds himself compelled to allow, that those who found themselves unable to prevent his great services were willing, in a more subtle manner, to endeavour at the annulling of them by silence and concealment.

This will appear more than bare supposition, if we compare the present situation, as to strength, of the two contending powers. The French, at the birth of the siege, consisted of five thousand horse and dragoons, and twenty-five thousand foot, effective men. Now, grant that their killed and wounded, together with their sick in the hospitals, might amount to five thousand, yet as their body of horse was entire, and in the best condition, the remaining will appear to be an army of twenty-five thousand at least. On the other side, all the forces in Barcelona, even with their reinforcements, amounted to

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no more than seven thousand foot, and four hundred horse. Why, then, when they raised their siege, did not they march back into the heart of Spain with their so much superior army; or, at least, towards their capital? The answer can be this, and this only: Because the earl of Peterborough had taken such provident care to render all secure, that it was thereby rendered next to an impossibility for them so to do. That general was satisfied, that the capital of Catalonia must, in course, fall into the hands of the enemy, unless a superior fleet removed the count de Tholouse, and threw in timely succours into the town. And as that could not depend upon him but others, he made it his chief care and assiduous employment to provide against those strokes of fortune to which he found himself again likely to be exposed, as he often had been; and, therefore, had he recourse to that vigilance and precaution which had often retrieved him, when to others his circumstances seemed to be most desperate.

The generality of mankind, and the French in particular, were of opinion, that the taking Barcelona would prove a decisive stroke, and put a period to the war in Spain; and yet, at that very instant, I was inclined to believe, that the general flattered himself it would be in his power to give the enemy sufficient mortification, even though the town should be obliged to submit to king Philip. The wise measures taken induced me so to believe, and the sequel approved it; for the earl had so well expended his caution, that the enemy, on the disappointment, found himself under a necessity of quitting Spain; and the same would have put him under equal difficulties had he carried the place. The French could never have undertaken that siege without depending on their fleet, for their artillery, ammunition, and provisions, since they must be inevitably forced to leave behind them the strong towns of Tortosa, Lerida, and Taragona. The earl, therefore, whose perpetual difficulties seemed rather to render him more sprightly and vigorous, took care himself to examine the whole country between the Ebro and Barcelona; and, upon his doing so, was pleasingly as well as sensibly satisfied, that it was practicable to render their return into the heart of Spain impossible, whether they did or did not succeed in the siege they were so intent to undertake.

There were but three ways they could attempt it; the first of which was by the sea-side, from Taragona towards Tortosa, the most barren, and consequently the most improper country in the universe to sustain an army; and yet to the natural the earl had added such artificial difficulties, as rendered it absolutely impossible for an army to subsist or march that way.

The middle way lay through a better country indeed, yet only practicable by the care which had been taken to make the road so; and even here there was a necessity of marching along the side of a mountain, where, by vast labour and industry, a highway had been cut for two miles, at least, out of the main rock. The earl, therefore, by somewhat of the same labour, soon

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made it impassable. He employed to that end many thousands of the country people; under a few of his own officers and troops, who, cutting up twenty several places, made so many precipices, perpendicular almost as a wall, which rendered it neither safe, or even to be attempted by any single man in his wits, much less by an army. Besides a very few men, from the higher cliffs of the mountain, might have destroyed an army with the arms of nature only, by rolling down large stones and pieces of the rock upon the enemy passing below.

The last and uppermost way lay through the hilly part of Catalonia, and led to Lerida, towards the head of the Ebro, the strongest place we had in all Spain, and which was as well furnished with a very good garrison. Along this road there lay many old castles and little towns in the mountains, naturally strong, all which would not only have afforded opposition, but at the same time have entertained an enemy with variety of difficulties; and especially as the earl had given orders, and taken care that all cattle, and every thing necessary to sustain an army, should be conveyed into places of security, either in the mountains or thereabouts. These three ways thus pre-cautiously secured, what had the earl to apprehend but the safety of the archduke, which yet was through no default of his, if in any danger from the siege?

For I well remember, on receipt of an express from the duke of Savoy (as he frequently sent such to inquire after the proceedings in Spain), I was shewed a letter, wrote about this time by the earl of Peterborow to that prince, which raised my spirits, though then at a very low ebb. It was too remarkable to be forgot; and the substance of it was, that his highness might depend upon it, that he (the earl) was in much better circumstances than he was thought to be; that the French officers, knowing nothing of the situation of the country, would find themselves extremely disappointed, since, in case the siege was raised, their army should be obliged to abandon Spain; or, in case the town was taken, they should find themselves shut up in that corner of Catalonia, and under an impossibility of forcing their way back, either through Arragon or Valencia; that by this means all Spain, to the Ebro, would be open to the lord Galway, who might march to Madrid, or any where else, without opposition; that he had no other uneasiness or concern upon him but for the person of the archduke, whom he had nevertheless earnestly solicited not to remain in the town on the very first appearance of the intended siege.

Barcelona being thus relieved, and king Philip forced out of Spain by these cautious steps taken by the earl of Peterborow, before we bring him to Valencia it will be necessary to intimate, that as it always was the custom of that general to settle, by a council of war, all the measures to be taken, whenever he was obliged for the service to leave the archduke,—a council of war was now accordingly held, where all the general officers, and those in

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greatest employment at court, assisted. Here every thing was in the most solemn manner concerted and resolved upon; here garrisons were settled for all the strong places, and governors appointed. But the main article then agreed upon was, that king Charles should immediately begin his journey to Madrid, and that by the way of Valencia. The reason assigned for it was, because that kingdom being in his possession, no difficulties could arise which might occasion delay, if his majesty took that route. It was likewise agreed in the same council, that the earl of Peterborow should embark all the foot, not in garrisons, for their more speedy as well as more easy conveyance to Valencia. The same council of war agreed, that all the horse in that kingdom should be drawn together, the better to insure the measures to be taken for the opening and facilitating his majesty's progress to Madrid.

Accordingly, after these resolutions were taken, the earl of Peterborow embarks his forces and sails for Valencia, where he was doubly welcomed by all sorts of people, upon account of his safe arrival, and the news he brought along with it. By the joy they expressed, one would have imagined that the general had escaped the same danger with the king; and, in truth, had their king arrived with him in person, the most loyal and zealous would have found themselves at a loss how to have expressed their satisfaction in a more sensible manner.

Soon after his landing, with his customary vivacity, he applied himself to put in execution the resolutions taken in the councils of war at Barcelona; and, a little to improve upon them, he raised an entire regiment of dragoons, bought them horses, provided them clothes, arms, and accoutrements, and in six weeks' time had them ready to take the field; a thing, though hardly to be paralleled, is yet scarce worthy to be mentioned among so many nobler actions of his; yet, in regard to another general, it may merit notice, since, while he had Madrid in possession near four months, he neither augmented his troops nor laid up any magazines, neither sent he all that time any one express to concert any measures with the earl of Peterborow, but lay under a perfect inactivity, or which was worse, negotiating that unfortunate project of carrying king Charles to Madrid, by the round-about and ill-concerted way of Arragon; a project not only contrary to the solemn resolutions of the councils of war, but which, in reality, was the root of all our succeeding misfortunes, and that only for the wretched vanity of appearing to have had some share in bringing the king to his capital; but how minute a share it was will be manifest, if it be considered that another general had first made the way easy by driving the enemy out of Spain, and that the French only staid at Madrid till the return of those troops which were, in a manner, driven out of Spain.

And yet that transaction, doughty as it was, took up four most precious months, which most certainly might have been much better employed in

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rendering it impossible for the enemy to re-enter Spain; nor had there been any great difficulty in so doing, but the contrary, if the general at Madrid had thought convenient to have joined the troops under the earl of Peterborow, and then to have marched directly towards Pampelona, or the frontiers of France. To this the earl of Peterborow solicited the king, and these about him; he advised, desired, and intreated him to lose no time, but to put in execution those measures resolved on at Barcelona. A council of war in Valencia renewed the same application; but all to no purpose, his route was ordered him, and that to meet his majesty on the frontiers of Arragon. There, indeed, the earl did meet the king, and the French general and army, which, by virtue of a decrepid intelligence, he never saw or heard of till he fled from it to his camp at Guadaliva. Inexpressible was the confusion in this fatal camp: the king from Arragon, the earl of Peterborow from Valencia, arriving in it the same day, almost the same hour that the earl of Galway entered, under a hasty retreat before the French army.

But to return to order, which a zeal of justice has made me somewhat anticipate. The earl had not been long at Valencia before he gave orders to major-general Windham to march with all the forces he had, which were not above 2000 men, and lay siege to Requina, a town ten leagues distant from Valencia, and in the way to Madrid. The town was not very strong nor very large, but sure the oddest fortified that ever was. The houses in a circle connectively composed the wall; and the people, who defended the town, instead of firing from horaworks, counterescarps, and bastions, fired out of the windows of their houses.

Notwithstanding all which, general Windham found much greater opposition than he at first imagined; and therefore, finding he would want ammunition, he sent to the earl of Peterborow for a supply, at the same time assigning as a reason for it the unexpected obstinacy of the town. So soon as the earl received the latter he sent for me, and told me I must repair to Requina, where they would want an engineer, and that I must be ready next morning, when he should order a lieutenant, with thirty soldiers and two matrosses, to guard some powder for that service. Accordingly the next morning we set out, the lieutenant, who was a Dutchman, and commander of the convoy, being of my acquaintance.

We had reached Saint Jago, a small village about midway between Valencia and Requina, when the officer, just as he was got without the town, resolving to take up his quarters on the spot, ordered the mules to be unloaded. The powder, which consisted of forty-five barrels, was piled up in a circle, and covered with oil-cloth to preserve it from the weather; and though we had agreed to sup together at my quarters within the village, yet, being weary and fatigued, he ordered his field-bed to be put up near the powder, and so lay down to take a short nap. I had scarce been at my quarters

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an hour, when a sudden shock attacked the house so violently, that it threw down tiles, windows, chimneys, and all. It presently came into my head what was the occasion; and, as my fears suggested, so it proved,—for, running to the door, I saw a cloud ascending from the spot I left the powder pitched upon: in haste making up to which, nothing was to be seen but the bare circle upon which it had stood. The bed was blown quite away, and the poor lieutenant all to pieces, several of his limbs being found separate, and at a vast distance from each other, and particularly an arm, with a ring on one of the fingers. The matrosses were, if possible, in a yet worse condition, that is, as to manglement and laceration. All the soldiers who were standing, and any thing near, were struck dead. Only such as lay sleeping on the ground escaped, and of those one assured me, that the blast removed him several feet from his place of repose. In short, enquiring into this deplorable disaster, I had this account: that a pig running out of the town, the soldiers endeavoured to intercept its return; but driving it upon the matrosses, one of them, who was jealous of its getting back into the hauds of the soldiers, drew his pistol to shoot it, which was the source of this miserable catastrophe. The lieutenant carried along with him a bag of dollars to pay the soldiers' quarters, of which the people, and the soldiers that were saved, found many, but blown to an inconceivable distance.

With those few soldiers that remained alive I proceeded, according to my orders, to Requira, where, when I arrived, I gave general Windham an account of the disaster at St. Jago. As such it troubled him, and not a little, on account of the disappointment. However, to make the best of a bad market he gave orders for the forming of a mine, under an old castle, which was part of the wall. As it was ordered, so it was begun, more in *terrorem* than with any expectation of success from it as a mine. Nevertheless, I had scarce began to frame the oven of the mine when those within the town desired to capitulate. This being all we could aim at, under the miscarriage of our powder at St. Jago (none being yet arrived to supply that defect), articles were readily granted them, pursuant to which, that part of the garrison which was composed of Castilian gentry had liberty to go wherever they thought best, and the rest were made prisoners of war. Requira being thus reduced to the obedience of Charles III. a new-raised regiment of Spaniards was left in garrison, the colonel of which was appointed governor; and our supply of powder having at last got safe to us, general Windham marched his little army to Cuenca.

Cuenca is a considerable city, and a bishopric; therefore, to pretend to sit down before it with such a company of foragers, rather than an army, must be placed among the hardy influences of the earl of Peterborow's auspicious administration. On the out part of Cuenca there stood an old castle, from which, upon our approach, they played upon us furiously; but as soon as we could bring two pieces of our cannon to bear, we answered their

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fire with so good success, that we soon obliged them to retire into the town. We had raised a battery of twelve guns against the city, on their rejection of the summons sent them to come under the obedience of king Charles; going to which, from the old castle reduced, I received a shot on the toe of one of my shoes, which carried that part of the shoe entirely away, without any further damage.

When I came to that battery we plied them warmly (as well as from three mortars) for the space of three days, their nights included; but observing that in one particular house they were remarkably busy, people thronging in and out below, and those above firing perpetually out of the windows, I was resolved to have one shot at that window, and made those officers about me take notice of it. True it was, the distance would hardly allow me to hope for success; yet, as the experiment could only be attended with the expense of a single ball, I made it. So soon as the smoke of my own cannon would permit it, we could see clouds of dust issuing from out of the window, which, together with the people's crowding out of doors, convinced the officers, whom I had desired to take notice of it, that I had been no bad marksman.

Upon this, two priests were sent out of the place with proposals; but they were so triflingly extravagant, that as soon as ever the general heard them, he ordered their answer in a fresh renewal of the fire of both cannon and mortars. And it happened to be with so much havoc and execution, that they were soon taught reason, and sent back their divines with much more moderate demands. After the general had a little modelled these last, they were accepted; and according to the articles of capitulation, the city was that very day surrendered into our possession. The earl of Duncannon's regiment took guard of all the gates; and king Charles was proclaimed in due form.

The earl of Peterborow, during this expedition, had left Valencia, and was arrived at my lord Galway's camp at Guadalaxara; who, for the confederates, and king Charles in particular, unfortunately was ordered from Portugal, to take the command from a general, who had all along been almost miraculously successful, and by his own great actions paved the way for a safe passage to that of his supplanter.

Yet, even in this fatal place, the earl of Peterborow made some proposals, which, had they been embraced, might, in all probability, have secured Madrid from falling into the hands of the enemy: but, in opposition thereto, the lord Galway, and all his Portuguese officers, were for forcing the next day the enemy to battle. The almost only person against it was the earl of Peterborow; who then and there took the liberty to evince the impossibility of coming to an engagement. This the next morning too evidently made apparent, when, upon the first motion of our troops towards the river, which they pretended to pass, and must pass, before they could engage, they were

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so warmly saluted from the batteries of the enemy, and their small shot, that our regiments were forced to retire in confusion to their camp. By which rebuff, all heroical imaginations were at present laid aside, to consider how they might make their retreat from Valencia.

The retreat being at last resolved on, and a multiplicity of generals rendering our bad circumstances much worse, the earl of Peterborow met with a fortunate reprieve, by solicitations from the queen, and desires tantamount to orders, that he would go with the troops left in Catalonia to the relief of the duke of Savoy. It is hardly to be doubted, that that general was glad to withdraw from those scenes of confusion, which were but too visible to eyes even less discerning than his. However, he forbore to prepare himself to put her majesty's desires in execution, as they were not peremptory, till it had been resolved by the unanimous consent of a council of war, where the king, all the generals and ministers, were present, that it was expedient for the service that the earl of Peterborow, during the winter season, should comply with her majesty's desires and go for Italy; since he might return before the opening of the campaign, if it should be necessary. And return indeed he did before the campaign opened, and brought along with him one hundred thousand pounds from Genoa, to the great comfort and support of our troops, which had neither money nor credit. But, on his return, that noble earl found the lord Galway had been near as successful against him as he had been unsuccessful against the enemy. Thence was the earl of Peterborow recalled to make room for an unfortunate general, who, the next year, suffered himself to be decoyed into that fatal battle of Almanza.

The earl of Peterborow, on his leaving Valencia, had ordered his baggage to follow him to the camp at Guadalaxara; and it arrived in our little camp so far safe in its way to the greater at Guadalaxara. I think it consisted of seven loaded waggons; and general Windham gave notice for a small guard to escort it; under which they proceeded on their journey. But, about eight leagues from Cuenca, at a pretty town called Huette, a party from the duke of Berwick's army, with boughs in their hats, the better to appear what they were not (for the bough in the hat is the badge of the English, as white paper is the badge of the French), came into the town, crying all the way, "*Viva Carlos Tercero viva!*" With these acclamations in their mouths, they advanced up to the very waggons; when, attacking the guards, who had too much deluded themselves with appearances, they routed them, and immediately plundered the waggons of all that was valuable, and then marched off.

The noise of this soon reached the ears of the earl of Peterborow at Guadalaxara; when, leaving my lord Galway's camp, pursuant to the resolutions of the council of war, with a party only of fourscore of Killegrew's dragoons, he met general Windham's little army within a league of Huette, the place where his baggage had been plundered. The earl had strong motives of suspicion, that the inhabitants had given intelligence to the enemy; and, as is

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very natural, giving way to the first dictates of resentment, he resolved to have laid the town in ashes ; but when he came near it, the clergy and magistrates, upon their knees, disavowing the charge, and asserting their innocence, prevailed on the good nature of that generous earl, without any great difficulty, to spare the town, at least not to burn it.

We marched, however, into the town, and that night took up our quarters there ; and the magistrates, under the dread of our avenging ourselves, on their part took care that we were well supplied. But when they were made sensible of the value of the loss which the earl had sustained, and that on a moderate computation it amounted to at least eight thousand pistoles, they voluntarily presented themselves next morning, and, of their own accord, offered to make his lordship full satisfaction, and that, in their own phrase, *de contado*, in ready money. The earl was not displeased at their offer, but generously made answer, that he was just come from my lord Galway's camp at Chincon, where he found they were in a likelihood of wanting bread, and as he imagined it might be easier to them to raise the value in corn than in ready money, if they would send to that value in corn to the lord Galway's camp, he would be satisfied. Thus they with joy embraced, and immediately complied with.

I am apt to think the last century (and I very much fear the current will be as deficient) can hardly produce a parallel instance of generosity and true public spiritedness ; and the world will be of my opinion, when I have corroborated this with another passage some years after. The commissioners for stating the debts due to the army, meeting daily for that purpose, at their house in Darby-court, in Channel-row, I there mentioned to Mr. Read, gentleman to his lordship, this very just and honourable claim upon the government, as moneys advanced for the use of the army ; who told me, in a little time after, that he had mentioned it to his lordship, but with no other effect than to have it rejected with a generous disdain.

While we staid at Huette, there was a little incident in life which gave me great diversion. The earl, who had always maintained a good correspondence with the fair sex, hearing from one of the priests of the place, that, on the alarm of burning the town, one of the finest ladies in all Spain had taken refuge in the nunnery, was desirous to speak with her.

The nunnery stood upon a small rising hill within the town, and, to obtain the view, the earl had presently in his head this stratagem : he sends for me, as engineer, to have my advice how to raise a proper fortification upon that hill, out of the nunnery. I waited upon his lordship to the place, where, declaring the intent of our coming, and giving plausible reasons for it, the train took, and immediately the lady abbess and the fair lady came out to make intercession, that his lordship would be pleased to lay aside that design. The divine oratory of one, and the beautiful charms of the other, prevailed ; so his lordship left the fortification to be the work of some future generation.

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From Huette the earl of Peterborow marched forwards for Valencia, with only those fourscore dragoons which came with him from Chincon, leaving general Windham pursuing his own orders to join his forces to the army, then under the command of the lord Galway; but stopping at Campilio, a little town in our way, his lordship had information of a most barbarous act committed that very morning by the Spaniards, at a small villa about a league distant, upon some English soldiers.

A captain of the English guards (whose name has slipped my memory, though I well knew the man), marching in order to join the battalion of the guards then under the command of general Windham, with some of his soldiers that had been in the hospital, took up his quarters in that little villa; but on his marching out of it next morning, a shot in the back laid that officer dead upon the spot, and, as it had been before concerted, the Spaniards of the place at the same time fell upon the poor weak soldiers, killing several, not even sparing their wives. This was but a prelude to their barbarity; their savage cruelty was only whetted not glutted. They took the surviving few, hurried and dragged them up a hill, a little without the villa. On the top of this hill there was a hole or opening, somewhat like the mouth of one of our coal-pits; down this they cast several, who, with hideous shrieks and cries, made more hideous by the echoes of the chasm, there lost their lives.

This relation was thus made to the earl of Peterborow, at his quarters at Campilio, who immediately gave orders for to sound to horse. At first we were all surprised, but were soon satisfied that it was for revenge, or rather to do justice on, this barbarous action.

As soon as we entered the villa, we found that most of the inhabitants, but especially the most guilty, had withdrawn themselves on our approach. We found, however, many of the dead soldiers' clothes, which had been conveyed into the church, and there hid; and a strong accusation being laid against a person belonging to the church, and full proof made that he had been singularly industrious in the execution of that horrid piece of barbarity on the hill, his lordship commanded him to be hanged up at the knocker of his door.

After this piece of military justice, we were led up to the fatal pit or hole, down which many had been cast headlong. There we found one poor soldier alive, who, upon his throwing in, had caught fast hold of some impending bushes, and saved himself on a little jutting within the concavity. On hearing us talk English he cried out, and ropes being let down, in a little time he was drawn up, when he gave us an ample detail of the whole villainy. Among other particulars, I remember he told me of a very narrow escape he had in that obscure recess: a poor woman, one of the wives of the soldiers, who was thrown down after him, struggled and roared so much, that they could not, with all their force, throw her cleverly in the middle, by which means falling near the side, in her fall she almost bent him from his place of security.

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Upon the conclusion of this tragical relation of the soldier thus saved, his lordship gave immediate orders for the firing of the villa, which was executed with due severity; after which his lordship marched back to his quarters at Campilio, from whence, two days after, we arrived at Valencia, where the first thing presented to that noble lord was all the papers taken in the plunder of his baggage, which the duke of Berwick had generously ordered to be returned to him, without waste or opening.

It was too manifest, after the earl's arrival at that city, that the alteration in the command of the English forces, which before was only received as a rumour, had deeper grounds for belief than many of his friends in that city would have wished. His lordship had gained the love of all by a thousand engaging condescensions; even his gallantries, being no way prejudicial, were not offensive; and though his lordship did his utmost to conceal his chagrin, the sympathy of those around him made such discoveries upon him as would have disappointed a double portion of his caution. They had seen him unelated under successes that were so near being unaccountable, that, in a country of less superstition than Spain, they might almost have passed for miraculous; they knew full well that nothing but that series of successes had paved a passage for the general that was to supersede him, those only having removed all the difficulties of his march from Portugal to Madrid; they knew him the older general, and, therefore, not knowing that in the court he came from intrigue was the soul of merit, they could not but be amazed at a change which his lordship was unwilling any body should perceive by himself.

It was upon this account that, as formerly, he treated the ladies with balls, and, to pursue the dons in their own humour, ordered a tawdore or bull-feast. In Spain no sort of public diversions are esteemed equal with this; but the bulls provided at Valencia not being of the right breed, nor ever initiated in the mysteries, did not acquit themselves at all masterly, and consequently did not give the diversion or satisfaction expected. For which reason I shall omit giving a description of this bull-feast, and desire my reader to suspend his curiosity till I come to some, which, in the Spanish sense, were much more entertaining, that is, attended with much greater hazards and danger.

But though I have said the gallantries of the general were mostly political, at least very inoffensive, yet there happened about this time, and in this place, a piece of gallantry that gave the earl a vast deal of offence and vexation, as a matter that in its consequences might have been fatal to the interest of king Charles, if not to the English nation in general, and which I the rather relate in that it may be of use to young officers and others, pointing out to them the danger, not to say folly, of inadvertent and precipitate engagements, under unruly passions.

I have said before that Valencia is famous for fine women: it indeed

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abounds in them, and among those are great numbers of courtizans, not inferior in beauty to any. Nevertheless, two of our English officers, not caring for the common road, however safe, resolved to launch into the deeper seas, though attended with much greater danger. Amours, the common failing of that fair city, was the occasion of this accident, and two nuns the objects. It is customary in that country for young people in an evening to resort to the grates of the nunneries, there to divert themselves and the nuns with a little pleasant and inoffensive chit-chat: for, though I have heard some relate a world of nauseous passages at such conversations, I must declare that I never saw or heard any thing unseemly; and therefore, whenever I have heard any such from such fabulists, I never so much wronged my judgment as to afford them credit.

Our two officers were very assiduous at the grates of a nunnery in this place, and having there pitched upon two nuns, prosecuted their amours with such vigour, that, in a little time, they had made a very great progress in their affections, without in the least considering the dangers that must attend themselves and the fair. They had exchanged vows, and prevailed upon the weaker vessels to endeavour to get out to their lovers; to effect which, soon after, a plot was laid, the means, the hour, and every thing agreed upon.

It is the custom of that nunnery, as of many others, for the nuns to take their weekly courses in keeping the keys of all the doors. The two lovesick ladies giving notice to their lovers at the grate that one of their turns was come, the night and hour was appointed, which the officers punctually observing, carried off their prey without either difficulty or interruption.

But next morning, when the nuns were missing, what an uproar was there over all the city. The ladies were both of quality, and therefore the tidings were first carried to their relations. They received the news with vows of utmost vengeance; and, as is usual in that country, put themselves in arms for that purpose. There needed no great canvassing for discovering who were the aggressors: the officers had been too frequent and too public in their addresses to leave any room for question. Accordingly they were complained of and sought for; but sensible at last of their past temerity, they endeavoured, and with a great deal of difficulty perfected their escape.

Less fortunate were the two fair nuns; their lovers, in their utmost exigency, had forsaken them, and they, poor creatures, knew not where to fly. Under this sad dilemma they were taken, and, as in like offences, condemned directly to the punishment of immuring. And what greater punishment is there on earth than to be confined between four narrow walls, only open at the top, and thence to be half supported with bread and water, till the offenders gradually starve to death?

The earl of Peterborow, though highly exasperated at the proceedings of his officers, in compassion to the unhappy fair, resolved to interpose by all

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the moderate means possible. He knew very well that nothing could so much prejudice the Spaniards against him as the countenancing such an action, wherefore he inveighed against the officers, at the same time that he endeavoured to mitigate in favour of the ladies; but all was in vain. It was urged against those charitable intercessions, that they had broke their vows, and, in that, had broke in upon the laws of the nunnery and religion; the consequence of all which could be nothing less than the punishment appointed to be inflicted; and, which was the hardest of all, the nearest of their relations most opposed all his generous mediations; and those who, according to the common course of nature, should have thanked him for his endeavours to be instrumental in rescuing them from the impending danger, grew more and more enraged, because he opposed them in their design of a cruel revenge.

Notwithstanding all which the earl persevered, and after a deal of labour, first got the penalty suspended; and, soon after, by the dint of a very considerable sum of money (a most powerful argument, which prevails in every country), saved the poor nuns from immuring; and at last, though with great reluctance, he got them received again into the nunnery. As to the warlike lovers, one of them was the year after slain at the battle of Almanza; the other is yet living, being a brigadier in the army.

While the earl of Peterborow was here with his little army of great heretics, neither priests nor people were so open in their superstitious fopperies as I at other times found them. For which reason I will make bold, and, by an antichronism, in this place, a little anticipate some observations that I made some time after the earl left it. And as I have not often committed such a transgression, I hope it may be the more excusable now, and no way blemish my memoirs, that I break in upon the series of my journal.

Valencia is a handsome city, and a bishoprick; and is considerable, not only for the pleasantness of its situation and beautiful ladies, but (which at some certain times, and on some occasions, to them is more valuable than both those put together) for being the birth-place of Saint Vincent, the patron of the place; and next, for its being the place where Santo Domingo, the first institutor of the Dominican order, had his education. Here, in honour of the last, is a spacious and splendid convent of the Dominicans. Walking by which, I one day observed over the gate a figure of a man in stone; and near it, a dog, with a lighted torch in his mouth. The image I rightly enough took to intend that of the saint; but inquiring of one of the order at the gate the meaning of the figures near it, he very courteously asked me to walk in, and then entertained me with the following relation:

“When the mother of Santo Domingo,” said that religious, “was with child of that future saint, she had a dream which very much afflicted her. She dreamt that she heard a dog bark in her belly; and inquiring (at what oracle is not said) the meaning of her dream, she was told, ‘that that child should

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bark out the gospel,' (excuse the bareness of the expression, it may run better in Spanish; though, if I remember right, Erasmus gives it in Latin much the same turn,) 'which should thence shine out like that lighted torch.' And this is the reason, that wherever you see the image of that saint, a dog and a lighted torch is in the group."

He told me at the same time, that there had been more popes and cardinals of that order than of any if not all the other; to confirm which he led me into a large gallery, on each side whereof he shewed me the pictures of all the popes and cardinals that had been of that order, among which I particularly took notice of that of cardinal Howard, great uncle to the present duke of Norfolk. But after many encomiums of their society, with which he interspersed his discourse, he added one that I least valued it for, that the sole care and conduct of the inquisition was intrusted with them.

Finding me attentive, or not so contradictory as the English humour generally is, he next brought me into a fair and large cloister, round which I took several turns with him; and indeed the place was too delicious to tire under a conversation less pertinent or courteous than that he entertained me with. In the middle of the cloister was a small but pretty and sweet grove of orange and lemon trees; these bore fruit ripe and green, and flowers, altogether on one tree, and their fruit was so very large and beautiful, and their flowers so transcendently odoriferous, that all I had ever seen of the like kind in England could comparatively pass only for beauty in epitome, or nature imitated in wax-work. Many flocks also of pretty little birds, with their cheerful notes, added not a little to my delight. In short, in life I never knew or found three of my senses at once so exquisitely gratified.

Not far from this St. Vincent, the patron, as I said before, of this city, has a chapel dedicated to him. Once a year they do him honour in a sumptuous procession. Then are their streets all strewed with flowers, and their houses set off with their richest tapestries. Every one strives to excel his neighbour in distinguishing himself by the honour he pays to that saint; and he is the best catholic, as well as the best citizen, in the eye of the religious, who most exerts himself on this occasion.

The procession begins with a cavalcade of all the friars of all the convents in and about the city; these walk two and two with folded arms, and eyes cast down to the very ground, and with the greatest outward appearance of humility imaginable; nor, though the temptation from the fine women that filled their windows, or the rich tapestries that adorned the balconies, might be allowed sufficient to attract, could I observe that any one of them all ever moved them upwards.

After the friars, is borne, upon the shoulders of twenty men at least, an image of that saint, of solid silver, large as the life. It is placed in a great chair of silver likewise; the staves that bear him up, and upon which they

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bear him, being of the same metal. The whole is a most costly and curious piece of workmanship, such as my eyes never before or since beheld.

The magistrates follow the image and its supporters, dressed in their richest apparel, which is always on this day and on this occasion particularly sumptuous and distinguishing. Thus is the image, in the greatest splendour, borne and accompanied round that fine city, and at last conveyed to the place from whence it came; and so concludes that annual ceremony.

The Valencians, as to the exteriors of religion, are the most devout of any in Spain, though in common life you find them amorous, gallant, and gay, like other people; yet on solemn occasions there shines outright such a spirit, as proves them the very bigots of bigotry: as a proof of which assertion, I will now give some account of such observations as I had time to make upon them during two Lent seasons while I resided there.

The week before the Lent commences, commonly known by the name of Carnival time, the whole city appears a perfect Bartholomew fair; the streets are crowded, and the houses empty; nor is it possible to pass along without some gambol or jack-pudding trick offered to you. Ink, water, and sometimes ordure, are sure to be hurled at your face or clothes; and if you appear concerned or angry they rejoice at it, pleased the more, the more they displease, for all other resentment is at that time out of season, though at other times few in the world are fuller of resentment or more captious.

The younger gentry or dons, to express their gallantry, carry about them egg-shells, filled with orange or other sweet water, which they cast at ladies in their coaches, or such other of the fair sex as they happen to meet in the streets.

But, after all, if you would think them extravagant to day, as much transgressing the rules of common civility, and neither regarding decency to one another, nor the duty they owe to almighty God; yet when Ash-Wednesday comes you will imagine them more unaccountable in their conduct, being then as much too excessive in all outward indications of humility and repentance. Here you shall meet one bare-footed, with a cross on his shoulder, a burden rather fit for somewhat with four feet, and which his poor two are ready to sink under, yet the vain wretch bears and sweats, and sweats and bears, in hope of finding merit in an ass's labour.

Others you shall see naked to their waists, whipping themselves with scourges made for the purpose till the blood follows every stroke; and no man need be at a loss to follow them by the very tracks of gore they shed in this frantic perambulation. Some who, from the thickness of their hides, or other impediments, have not power by their scourgings to fetch blood of themselves, are followed by surgeons with their lancets, who, at every turn, make use of them to evince the extent of their patience and zeal by the smart of their folly; while others, mingling amour with devotion, take particular care to present themselves all macerated before the windows of their mis-

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tresses, and, even in that condition, not satisfied with what they have barbarously done to themselves, they have their operators at hand, to evince their love by the number of their gashes and wounds; imagining the more blood they lose, the more love they shew, and the more they shall gain. There are generally devotos of quality; though the tenet is universal, that he that is most bloody is most devout.

After these street-exercises, these ostentatious castigations, are over, these self-sacrificers repair to the great church, the bloodier the better; there they throw themselves in a condition too vile for the eye of a female before the image of the virgin Mary; though I defy all their race of fathers, and their infallible holy father into the bargain, to produce any authority to fit it for belief, that she ever delighted in such sanguinary holocausts.

During the whole time of Lent, you will see in every street some priest or friar, upon some stall or stool, preaching up repentance to the people; and, with violent blows on his breast, crying aloud, "*Mia culpa, mia maxima culpa*," till he extract reciprocal returns from the hands of his auditors on their own breasts.

When Good-Friday is come, they entertain it with the most profound shew of reverence and religion, both in their streets and in their churches. In the last, particularly, they have contrived about twelve o'clock suddenly to darken them, so as to render them quite gloomy. This they do, to intimate the eclipse of the sun, which at that time happened. And to signify the rending of the veil of the temple, you are struck with a strange artificial noise at the very same instant.

But when Easter-day appears, you find it in all respects with them a day of rejoicing; for, though abstinence from flesh with them, who at no time eat much, is not so great a mortification as with those of the same persuasion in other countries, who eat much more, yet there is a visible satisfaction darts out at their eyes, which demonstrates their inward pleasure in being set free from the confinement of mind to the dissatisfaction of the body. Every person you now meet greets you with a *resurrexit Jesus*; a good imitation of the primitive Christians, were it the real effect of devotion. And all sorts of the best music (which here, indeed, is the best in all Spain) proclaim an auspicious valediction to the departed season of superficial sorrow and stupid superstition. But enough of this; I proceed to weightier matters.

While we lay at Valencia, under the vigilance and care of the indefatigable earl, news was brought, that Alicant was besieged by general Gorge by land, while a squadron of men of war battered it from the sea; from both which the besiegers played their parts so well, and so warmly plied them with their cannon, that an indifferent practicable breach was made in a little time.

Mahoni commanded in the place, being again received into favour; and cleared, as he was, of those political insinuations before intimated, he now seemed resolved to confirm his innocence by a resolute defence. However,

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perceiving that all preparations tended towards a storm, and knowing full well the weakness of the town, he withdrew his garrison into the castle, leaving the town to the defence of its own inhabitants.

Just as that was doing, the sailors, not much skilled in sieges, nor at all times capable of the coolest consideration, with a resolution natural to them, stormed the walls to the side of the sea; where, not meeting with much opposition (for the people of the town apprehended the least danger there), they soon got into the place, and, as soon as they got in, began to plunder.

This obliged the people, for the better security of themselves, to open their gates, and seek a refuge under one enemy, in opposition to the rage of another.

General Gorge, as soon as he entered the town, with a good deal of seeming lenity, put a stop to the ravages of the sailors, and ordered proclamation to be made throughout the place, that all the inhabitants should immediately bring in their best effects into the great church for their better security. This was, by the mistaken populace, as readily complied with; and neither friend nor foe at all disputing the command, or questioning the integrity of the intention, the church was presently crowded with riches of all sorts and sizes; yet, after some time remaining there, they were all taken out and disposed of by those who had as little property in them as the sailors they were pretended to be preserved from.

The earl of Peterborough, upon the very first news of the siege, had left Valencia and taken shipping for Alicaut, where he arrived soon after the surrender of the town, and that outcry of the goods of the townsmen. Upon his arrival, Mahoni, who was blocked up in the castle, and had experienced his indefatigable diligence, being in want of provisions, and without much hope of relief, desired to capitulate. The earl granted him honourable conditions, upon which he delivered up the castle, and Gorge was made governor.

Upon his lordship's taking ship at Valencia, I had an opportunity of marching with those dragoons which escorted him from Castile, who had received orders to march into Murcia. We quartered the first night at Alciria, a town that the river Segra almost surrounds, which renders it capable of being made a place of vast strength, though now of small importance.

The next night we lay at Xativa, a place famous for its steadiness to king Charles. General Basset, a Spaniard, being governor, it was besieged by the forces of king Philip; but, after a noble resistance, the enemy were beat off, and the siege raised; for which effort, it is supposed, that on the retirement of king Charles out of this country, it was deprived of its old name Xativa, and is now called San Felippo; though to this day the people thereabout much disallow by their practice that novel denomination.

We marched next morning by Monteza, which gives name to the famous title of knights of Monteza. It was at the time that colonel O'Guaza, an Irishman, was governor, besieged by the people of the country, in favour of

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king Charles ; but very ineffectually, so it never changed its sovereign. That night we quartered at Fonte de las Figuras, within one league of Almanza, where that fatal and unfortunate battle, which I shall give an account of in its place, was fought the year after, under the lord Galway.

On our fourth day's march we were obliged to pass Villena, where the enemy had a garrison. A party of Mahoni's dragoons made a part of that garrison, and they were commanded by major O'Roirk, an Irish officer, who always carried the reputation of a good soldier and a brave gentleman.

I had all along made it my observation, that captain Matthews, who commanded those dragoons that I marched with, was a person of much more courage than conduct ; and he used as little precaution here, though just marching under the eye of the enemy, as he had done at other times. As I was become intimately acquainted with him, I rode up to him and told him the danger which, in my opinion, attended our present march. I pointed out to him just before Villena a jutting hill, under which we must unavoidably pass, at the turning whereof I was apprehensive the enemy might lie, and either by ambuscade or otherwise surprise us ; I therefore intreated we might either wait the coming of our rear guard, or at least march with a little more leisure and caution. But he, taking little notice of all I said, kept on his round march ; seeing which, I pressed forward my mule, which was a very good one, and rid as fast as her legs could carry her, till I had got on the top of the hill. When I came there, I found both my expectation and my apprehensions answered, for I could very plainly discern three squadrons of the enemy ready drawn up, and waiting for us at the very winding of the hill.

Hereupon I hastened back to the captain with the like speed, and told him the discovery I had made, who nevertheless kept on his march, and it was with a good deal of difficulty that I at last prevailed on him to halt till our rear guard of twenty men had got up to us. But those joining us, and a new troop of Spanish dragoons, who had marched towards us that morning, appearing in sight, our captain, as if he was afraid of their rivalling him in his glory, at the very turn of the hill, rode in a full gallop, with sword in hand, up to the enemy. They stood their ground till we were advanced within two hundred yards of them, and then in confusion endeavoured to retire into the town.

They were obliged to pass over a small bridge, too small to admit of such a company in so much haste ; their crowding upon which obstructed their retreat, and left all that could not get over to the mercy of our swords, which spared none. However, narrow as the bridge was, captain Matthews was resolved to venture over after the enemy ; on doing which, the enemy made a halt, till the people of the town, and the very priests, came out to their relief with fire arms. On so large an appearance, captain Matthews thought it not advisable to make any farther advances ; so, driving a very great flock of

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sheep from under the walls, he continued his march towards Elda. In this action we lost captain Topham and three dragoons.

I remember we were not marched very far from the place where this rencontre happened, when an Irish dragoon overtook the captain, with a civil message from major O'Roirk, desiring that he would not entertain a mean opinion of him for the defence that was made; since, could he have got the Spaniards to have stood their ground, he should have given him good reason for a better. The captain returned a complimentary answer, and so marched on. This major O'Roirk, or O'Rook, was the next year killed at Alkay, being much lamented; for he was much esteemed both for his courage and conduct one of the best of the Irish officers in the Spanish service. I was likewise informed that he was descended from one of the ancient kings of Ireland. The mother of the honourable colonel Paget, one of the grooms of the bedchamber to his present majesty, was nearly related to this gallant gentleman.

One remarkable thing I saw in that action, which affected and surprised me,—a Scotch dragoon, of but a moderate size, with his large basket-hilted sword struck off a Spaniard's head at one stroke, with the same ease, in appearance, as a man would do that of a puppy.

When we came to Elda, a town much in the interest of king Charles, and famous for its fine situation, and the largest grapes in Spain, the inhabitants received us in a manner as handsome as it was peculiar, all standing at their doors with lighted torches, which, considering the time we entered, was far from an unwelcome or disagreeable sight.

The next day several requested to be the messengers of the action at Villena to the earl of Peterborow at Alicant; but the captain returned this answer to all, that, in consideration of the share that I might justly claim in that day's transaction, he could not think of letting any other person be the bearer; so, giving me his letters to the earl, I the next day delivered them to him at Alicant. At the delivery, colonel Killegrew, whose dragoons they were, being present, he expressed a deal of satisfaction at the account, and his lordship was pleased at the same time to appoint me sole engineer of the castle of Alicant.

Soon after which, that successful general embarked for Genoa, according to the resolutions of the council of war at Guadalaxara, on a particular commission from the queen of England, another from Charles king of Spain, and charged at the same time with a request of the marquis das Minas, general of the Portuguese forces, to negotiate bills for one hundred thousand pounds for the use of his troops. In all which, though he was (as ever) successful, yet it may be said, without a figure, that his departure in a good measure determined the success of the confederate forces in that kingdom. True it is, the general returned again with the fortunate fruits of those negotiations, but never to act in his old auspicious sphere; and therefore, as I

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am now to take leave of this fortunate general, let me do it with justice, in an appeal to the world of the not to be paralleled usage (in these latter ages at least) that he met with for all his services; such a vast variety of enterprises, all successful, and which had set all Europe in amaze; services that had given occasion to such solemn and public thanksgivings in our churches, and which had received such very remarkable approbations both of sovereign and parliament, and which had been represented in so lively a manner, in a letter wrote by the king of Spain, under his own hand, to the queen of England, and communicated to both houses in the terms following:

“MADAM, MY SISTER,

“I should not have been so long ere I did myself the honour to repeat the assurances of my sincere respects to you, had I not waited for the good occasion which I now acquaint you with, that the city of Barcelona is surrendered to me by capitulation. I doubt not but you will receive this great news with entire satisfaction, as well because this happy success is the effect of your arms, always glorious, as from the pure motives of that bounty and maternal affection you have for me, and for every thing which may contribute to the advancement of my interest.

“I must do this justice to all the officers and common soldiers, and particularly to my lord Peterborow, that he has shown in this whole expedition a constancy, bravery, and conduct, worthy of the choice that your majesty has made of him, and that he could no ways give me better satisfaction than he has, by the great zeal and application which he has equally testified for my interest and for the service of my person. I owe the same justice to brigadier Stanhope, for his great zeal, vigilance, and very wise conduct, which he has given proofs of upon all occasions; as also to all your officers of the fleet, particularly to your worthy admiral, Shovel, assuring your majesty, that he has assisted me in this expedition with an inconceivable readiness and application, and that no admiral will be ever better able to render me greater satisfaction than he has done. During the siege of Barcelona, some of your majesty's ships, with the assistance of the troops of the country, have reduced the town of Tarragona, and the officers are made prisoners of war. The town of Girona has been taken at the same time by surprise by the troops of the country. The town of Lerida has submitted, as also that of Tortosa upon the Ebro; so that we have taken all the places of Catalonia except Rosas. Some places in Arragon, near Saragosa, have declared for me, and the garrison of the castle of Denia in Valencia have maintained their post, and repulsed the enemy. Four hundred of the enemy's cavalry have entered into our service, and a great number of their infantry have deserted.

“This, madam, is the state that your arms and the inclination of the people have put my affairs in. It is unnecessary to tell you what stops the course of these conquests; it is not the season of the year, nor the enemy;

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these are no obstacles to your troops, who desire nothing more than to act under the conduct that your majesty has appointed them. The taking of Barcelona with so small a number of troops is very remarkable, and what has been done in this siege is almost without example, that with seven or eight thousand men of your troops, and two hundred Miquelets, we should surround and invest a place that thirty thousand French could not block up.

“ After a march of thirteen hours, the troops climbed up the rocks and precipices to attack a fortification stronger than the place, which the earl of Peterborow has sent you a plan of; two generals, with the grenadiers, attacked it sword in hand. In which action the prince of Hesse died gloriously, after so many brave actions. I hope his brother and his family will always have your majesty's protection. With eight hundred men they forced the covered way, and all the entrenchments and works, one after another, till they came to the last work which surrounded it, against five hundred men of regular troops which defended the place, and a reinforcement they had received; and three days afterwards we became masters of the place. We afterwards attacked the town on the side of the castle. We landed again our cannon and the other artillery with inconceivable trouble, and formed two camps, distant from each other three leagues, against a garrison almost as numerous as our army, whose cavalry was double the strength of ours. The first camp was so well entrenched that it was defended by 2000 men and the dragons, while we attacked the town with the rest of our troops. The breach being made, we prepared to make a general assault with all the army. These are circumstances, madam, which distinguish this action, perhaps, from all others.

“ Here has happened an unforeseen accident. The cruelty of the pretended viceroy, and the report spread abroad, that he would take away the prisoners, contrary to the capitulation, provoked the burghers and some of the country people to take up arms against the garrison, whilst they were busy in packing up their baggage, which was to be sent away the next day, so that every thing tended to slaughter; but your majesty's troops entering into town with the earl of Peterborow, instead of seeking pillage, a practice common upon such occasions, appeased the tumult, and have saved the town, and even the lives of their enemies, with a discipline and generosity without example.

“ What remains is, that I return you my most hearty thanks for sending so great a fleet and such good and valiant troops to my assistance. After so happy a beginning I have thought it proper, according to the sentiments of your generals and admirals, to support, by my presence, the conquests that we have made; and to shew my subjects, so affectionate to my person, that I cannot abandon them. I receive such succours from your majesty and from your generous nation, that I am loaded with your bounties, and am not a little concerned to think that the support of my interest should

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cause so great an expense; but, madam, I sacrifice my person, and my subjects in Catalonia expose their lives and fortunes, upon the assurances they have of your majesty's generous protection. Your majesty and your council know better than we do what is necessary for our conservation: we shall then expect your majesty's succours, with an entire confidence in your bounty and wisdom. A further force is necessary: we give no small diversion to France, and without doubt they will make their utmost efforts against me as soon as possible; but I am satisfied that the same efforts will be made by my allies to defend me. Your goodness, madam, inclines you, and your power enables you, to support those that the tyranny of France would oppress. All that I can insinuate to your wisdom and that of your allies is, that the forces employed in this country will not be unprofitable to the public good, but will be under an obligation and necessity to act with the utmost vigour against the enemy. I am, with an inviolable affection, respect, and most sincere acknowledgment,

“ Madam, my sister,

“ Your most affectionate brother,

“ CHARLES.

“ *From the camp at Senia, before Barcelona,
the 22d of October, 1705.*”

And yet, after all, was this noble general not only recalled, the command of the fleet taken from him, and that of the army given to my lord Galway, without assignment of cause; but all manner of falsities were industriously spread abroad, not only to diminish, if they could, his reputation, but to bring him under accusations of a malevolent nature. I can hardly imagine it necessary here to take notice, that afterward he disproved all those idle calumnies and ill-invented rumours; or to mention what compliments he received, in the most solemn manner, from his country, upon a full examination and thorough canvassing of his actions in the house of lords. But this is too notorious to be omitted, that all officers coming from Spain were purposely intercepted in their way to London, and craftily examined upon all the idle stories which had passed, tending to lessen his character; and when any officers had asserted the falsity of those inventions (as they all did except a military sweetener or two), and that there was no possibility of laying any thing amiss to the charge of that general, they were told that they ought to be careful, however, not to speak advantageously of that lord's conduct, unless they were willing to fall martyrs in his cause, a thing scarce to be credited even in a popish country. But Scipio was accused, though (as my author finely observes) by wretches only known to posterity by that stupid accusation.

As a mournful valediction, before I enter upon any new scene, the reader will pardon this melancholy expostulation. How mortifying must it be to an Englishman, after he has found himself solaced with a relation of so many

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surprising successes of her majesty's arms under the earl of Peterborow, successes that have laid before our eyes provinces and kingdoms reduced, and towns and fortresses taken and relieved, where we have seen a continued series of happy events, the fruits of conduct and vigilance, and caution and foresight preventing dangers that were held, at first view, certain and unsurmountable: to change this glorious landscape, I say, for scenes every way different, even while our troops were as numerous as the enemy, and better provided, yet always baffled and beaten, and flying before the enemy, till fatally ruined in the battle of Almanza,—how mortifying must this be to any lover of his country! But I proceed to my memoirs.

Alicant is a town of the greatest trade of any in the kingdom of Valencia, having a strong castle, being situated on a high hill, which commands both town and harbour. In this place I resided a whole year; but it was soon after my first arrival that major Collier (who was shot in the back at Barcelona, as I have related in the siege of that place) hearing of me, sought me out at my quarters, and, after a particular inquiry into the success of that difficult task that he left me upon, and my answering all his questions to satisfaction (all which he received with evident pleasure), he threw down a purse of pistoles upon the table, which I refusing, he told me, in a most handsome manner, his friendship was not to be preserved but by my accepting it.

After I had made some very necessary repairs, I pursued the orders I had received from the earl of Peterborow, to go upon the erecting a new battery between the castle and the town. This was a task attended with difficulties neither few in number nor small in consequence, for it was to be raised upon a great declivity, which must render the work both laborious and precarious. However, I had the good fortune, to effect it much sooner than was expected, and it was called Gorge's battery, from the name of the governor then commanding, who, out of an uncommon profusion of generosity, wetted that piece of gossiping with a distinguishing bowl of punch. Brigadier Bongard, when he saw this work some time after, was pleased to honour it with a singular admiration and approbation for its completeness, notwithstanding its difficulties.

This work, and the siege of Carthagena, then in our possession, by the duke of Berwick, brought the lord Galway down to this place. Carthagena is of so little distance from Alicant, that we could easily hear the cannon playing against and from it, in our castle, where I then was; and I remember my lord Galway, on the fourth day of the siege, sending to know if I could make any useful observations as to the success of it: I returned, that I was of opinion the town was surrendered, from the sudden cessation of the cannon, which, by our news next day from the place, proved to be fact. Carthagena is a small sea-port town in Murcia, but has so good an harbour, that when the famous admiral Doria was asked which were the three best

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havens in the Mediterranean, he readily returned, June, July, and Carthage.

Upon the surrender of this place, a detachment of foot was sent by the governor, with some dragoons, to Elsha; but it being a place of very little strength, they were soon made prisoners of war.

The siege of Carthage being over, the lord Galway returned to his camp, and the lord Duncannon dying in Alicant, the first guns that were fired from Gorge's battery were the minute guns for his funeral. His regiment had been given to the lord Montandre, who lost it before he had possession, by an action as odd as it was scandalous.

That regiment had received orders to march to the lord Galway's camp, under the command of their lieutenant-colonel Bateman, a person before reputed a good officer, though his conduct here gave people, not invidious, too much reason to call it in question. On his march he was so very careless and negligent (though he knew himself in a country surrounded with enemies, and that he was to march through a wood, where they every day made their appearance in great numbers), that his soldiers marched with their muskets slung at their backs, and went one after another (as necessity had forced us to do in Scotland), himself at the head of them in his chaise, riding a considerable way before.

It happened there was a captain, with threescore dragoons, detached from the duke of Berwick's army, with a design to intercept some cash that was ordered to be sent to lord Galway's army from Alicant. This detachment, missing of that intended prize, was returning very disconsolately, *re infecta*, when their captain, observing that careless and disorderly march of the English, resolved, boldly enough, to attack them in the wood. To that purpose he secreted his little party behind a great barn, and, as soon as they were half passed by, he falls upon them in the centre with his dragoons, cutting and slashing at such a violent rate that he soon dispersed the whole regiment, leaving many dead and wounded upon the spot. The three colours were taken, and the gallant lieutenant-colonel taken out of his chaise, and carried away prisoner with many others; only one officer, who was an ensign, and so bold as to do his duty, was killed.

The lieutenant who commanded the grenadiers received the alarm time enough to draw his men into a house in their way, where he bravely defended himself for a long time; but being killed, the rest immediately surrendered. The account of this action I had from the commander of the enemy's party himself, some time after, while I was a prisoner; and capt. Mahoni, who was present when the news was brought that a few Spanish dragoons had defeated an English regiment, which was this under Bateman, protested to me, that the duke of Berwick turned pale at the relation; and when they offered to bring the colours before him, he would not so much as see them. A little before the duke went to supper, Bateman himself was

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brought to him; but the duke turned away from him without any further notice than coldly saying, "that he thought he was very strangely taken." The wags of the army made a thorough jest of him, and said his military conduct was of a piece with his economy, having, two days before his march, sent his young handsome wife into England, under the guardianship of the young chaplain of the regiment.

April 15th, in the year 1707, being Easter-Monday, we had in the morning a flying report in Alicant that there had been the day before a battle at Almanza, between the army under the command of the duke of Berwick, and that of the English under lord Galway, in which the latter had suffered an entire defeat. We at first gave no great credit to it; but, alas! we were too soon woefully convinced of the truth of it, by numbers that came flying to us from the conquering enemy. Then, indeed, we were satisfied of truths too difficult before to be credited. But as I was not present in that calamitous battle, I shall relate it as I received it from an officer then in the duke's army.

To bring the lord Galway to a battle, in a place most commodious for his purpose, the duke made use of this stratagem: he ordered two Irishmen, both officers, to make their way over to the enemy as deserters; putting this story in their mouths, that the duke of Orleans was in full march to join the duke of Berwick with twelve thousand men; that this would be done in two days, and that then they would find out the lord Galway, and force him to fight wherever they found him.

Lord Galway, who at this time lay before Villena, receiving this intelligence from those well instructed deserters, immediately raised the siege; with a resolution, by a hasty march, to force the enemy to battle, before the duke of Orleans should be able to join the duke of Berwick. To effect this, after a hard march of three long Spanish leagues in the heat of the day, he appears a little after noon in the face of the enemy with his fatigued forces. Glad and rejoiced at the sight, for he found his plot had taken, Berwick, the better to receive them, draws up his army in a half moon, placing at a pretty good advance three regiments to make up the centre, with express order, nevertheless, to retreat at the very first charge. All which was punctually observed, and had its desired effect: for the three regiments, at the first attack, gave way, and seemingly fled towards their camp; the English, after their customary manner, pursuing them with shouts and hollowings. As soon as the duke of Berwick perceived his trap had taken, he ordered his right and left wings to close; by which means, he at once cut off from the rest of their army all those who had so eagerly pursued the imaginary run-aways. In short, the rout was total, and the most fatal blow that ever the English received during the whole war with Spain. Nor, as it is thought, with a great probability of reason, had those troops that made their retreat to the top of the hills, under major-general Shrimpton, met with any better fate than those on the plain, had the Spaniards had any other general in the com-

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mand than the duke of Berwick, whose native sympathy gave a check to the ardour of a victorious enemy. And this was the sense of the Spaniards themselves after the battle; verifying herein that noble maxim, "that victory to generous minds is only an inducement to moderation."

The day after this fatal battle (which gave occasion to a Spanish piece of wit, "that the English general had routed the French,") the duke of Orleans did arrive indeed in the camp, but with an army of only fourteen attendants.

The fatal effects of this battle were soon made visible, and to none more than those in Alicant. The enemy grew every day more and more troublesome; visiting us in parties more boldly than before, and often hovering about us so very near, that with our cannon we could hardly teach them to keep a proper distance. Gorge, the governor of Alicant, being recalled into England, major-general Richards was by king Charles appointed governor in his place. He was a Roman catholic, and very much beloved by the natives on that account; though, to give him his due, he behaved himself extremely well in all other respects. It was in his time that a design was laid of surprising Guardamere, a small sea-port town in Murcia; but the military bishop, (for he was, in a literal sense, excellent *tam Marte, quam Mercurio,*) among his many other exploits, by a timely expedition, prevented that.

Governor Richards, my post being always in the castle, had sent to desire me to give notice whenever I saw any parties of the enemy moving. Pursuant to this order, discovering one morning a considerable body of horse towards Elsha, I went down into the town, and told the governor what I had seen; and without any delay he gave his orders, that a captain with three-score men should attend me to an old house about a mile distance. As soon as we had got into it, I set about barricading all the open places and avenues, and put my men in a posture ready to receive an enemy as soon as he should appear; upon which the captain, as a feint, ordered a few of his men to shew themselves on a rising ground just before the house. But we had like to have caught a Tartar: for, though the enemy took the train I had laid, and, on sight of our small body on the hill, sent a party from their greater body to intercept him before they could reach the town; yet the sequel proved we had mistaken their number, and it soon appeared to be much greater than we at first imagined. However, our out-scouts, as I may call them, got safe into the house; and, on the appearance of the party, we let fly a full volley, which laid dead on the spot three men and one horse. Hereupon the whole body made up to the house, but stood aloof upon the hill without reach of our shot. We soon saw our danger from the number of the enemy: and well for us it was that the watchful governor had taken notice of it, as well as we in the house. For observing us surrounded with the enemy, and by a power so much superior, he marched himself, with a good part of the garrison, to our relief. The enemy stood a little time as if they would receive them; but upon second thoughts they retired, and, to our no little joy, left us at liberty to come out of the house and join the garrison.

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Scarce a day passed but we had some visits of the like kind, attended sometimes with rencounters of this nature; insomuch that there was hardly any stirring out in safety for small parties, though never so little a way. There was within a little mile of the town an old vineyard, environed with a loose stone wall: an officer and I made an agreement to ride thither for an airing. We did so, and after a little riding it came into my head to put a fright upon the officer. And very lucky for us both was that unlucky thought of mine. Pretending to see a party of the enemy making up to us, I gave him the alarm, set spurs to my horse, and rid as fast as legs could carry me. The officer no way bated of his speed; and we had scarce got out of the vineyard but my jest proved earnest; twelve of the enemy's horse pursuing us to the very gates of the town. Nor could I ever after prevail upon my fellow-traveller to believe, that he owed his escape to merriment more than speed.

Soon after my charge, as to the fortifications, was pretty well over, I obtained leave of the governor to be absent for a fortnight, upon some affairs of my own at Valencia. On my return from whence, at a town called Venissa, I met two officers of an English regiment going to the place from whence I last came. They told me, after common congratulations, that they had left major Boyd at a little place called Capel, hiring another mule, that he rode on thither having tired and failed him; desiring withal, that if I met him, I would let him know that they would stay for him at that place. I had another gentleman in my company, and we had travelled on not above a league further, whence, at a little distance, we were both surprised with a sight that seemed to have set all art at defiance, and was too odd for any thing in nature. It appeared all in red, and to move; but so very slowly, that if we had not made more way to that than it did to us, we should have made it a day's journey before we met it. My companions could as little tell what to make of it as I; and, indeed, the nearer it came, the more monstrous it seemed, having nothing of the tokens of man, either walking, riding, or in any posture whatever. At last, coming up with this strange figure of a creature (for now we found it was certainly such), what, or rather who, should it prove to be but major Boyd. He was a person of himself far from one of the least proportion; and, mounted on a poor little ass, with all his warlike accoutrements upon it, you will allow must make a figure almost as odd as one of the old Centaurs. The Morocco saddle that covered the ass was of burden enough for the beast without its master; and the additional holsters and pistols made it much more weighty. Nevertheless, a curb bridle of the largest size covered his little head, and a long red cloak, hanging down to the ground, covered juck-boots, ass, master, and all. In short, my companion and I, after we could specifically declare it to be a man, agreed we never saw a figure so comical in all our lives. When we had merrily greeted our major, (for a Cynick could not have forbore laughter,) he excused all as well as he could, by saying he could get no other beast. After which, delivering our message,

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and condoling with him for his present mounting, and wishing him better at his next quarters, he settled into his old pace, and we into ours, and parted.

We lay that night at Alten, famous for its bay for ships to water at. It stands on a high hill, and is adorned, not defended, with an old fort.

Thence we came to Alicaut, where, having now been a whole year, and having effected what was held necessary, I once more prevailed upon the governor to permit me to take another journey. The lord Galway lay at Tarraga, while Lerida lay under the siege of the duke of Orleans; and having some grounds of expectation given me, while he was at Alicaut, I resolved at least to demonstrate I was still living. The governor favoured me with letters, not at all to my disadvantage, so taking ship for Barcelona, just at our putting into the harbour, we met with the English fleet, on its return from the expedition to Toulon under sir Cloudely Shovel.

I staid but very few days at Barcelona, and then proceeded on my intended journey to Tarraga; arriving at which place I delivered my packet to the lord Galway, who received me with very great civility; and, to double it, acquainted me at the same time, that the governor of Alicaut had wrote very much in my favour; but though it was a known part of that noble lord's character, that the first impression was generally strongest, I had reason soon after to close with another saying equally true, "that general rules always admit of some exception." While I was here, we had news of the taking of the town of Lerida; the prince of Hesse, brother to that brave prince who lost his life before Monjouick, retiring into the castle with the garrison, which he bravely defended a long time after.

When I was thus attending my lord Galway at Tarraga, he received intelligence that the enemy had a design to lay siege to Denia; whereupon he gave me orders to repair there as engineer. After I had received my orders, and taken leave of his lordship, I set out, resolving, since it was left to my choice, to go by way of Barcelona, and there take shipping for the place of my station; by which I proposed to save more time than would allow me a full opportunity of visiting Montserat, a place I had heard much talk of, which had filled me with a longing desire to see it. To say truth, I had been told such extraordinary things of the place, that I could hardly impute more than one half of it to any thing but Spanish rhodomontadoes, the vice of extravagant exaggeration being too natural to that nation.

Montserat is a rising lofty hill, in the very middle of a spacious plain, in the principality of Catalonia, about seven leagues distant from Barcelona to the westward, somewhat inclining to the north. At the very first sight its oddness of figure promises something extraordinary; and even at that distance the prospect makes somewhat of a grand appearance; hundreds of aspiring pyramids presenting themselves all at once to the eye, look, if I may be allowed so to speak, like a little petrified forest, or rather, like the awful ruins of some capacious structure, the abour of venerable antiquity. The

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nearer you approach the more it affects; but, till you are very near, you can hardly form in your mind any thing like what you find it when you come close to it. Till just upon it, you would imagine it a perfect hill of steeples; but so intermingled with trees of magnitude as well as beauty, that your admiration can never be tired, or your curiosity surfeited. Such I found it on my approach, yet much less than what I found it was so soon as I entered upon the very premises.

Now that stupendous cluster of pyramids affected me in a manner different to all before; and I found it so finely grouped with verdant groves, and here and there interspersed with aspiring but solitary trees, that it no way lessened my admiration, while it increased my delight. These trees, which I call solitary, as standing single, in opposition to the numerous groves, which are close and thick (as I observed when I ascended to take a view of the several cells), rise out of the very cliffs of the main rock, with nothing, to appearance, but a soil or bed of stone for their nurture. But though some few naturalists may assert, that the nitre in the stone may afford a due proportion of nourishment to trees and vegetables, these, in my opinion, were all too beautiful, their bark, leaf, and flowers, carried too fair a face of health, to allow them even to be foster-children of rock and stone only.

Upon this hill, or, if you please, grove of rocks, are thirteen hermits' cells, the last of which lies near the very summit. You gradually advance to every one, from bottom to top, by a winding ascent; which to do would otherwise be impossible, by reason of the steepness. But though there is a winding ascent to every cell, as I have said, I would yet set at defiance the most observant, if a stranger, to find it feasible to visit them in order, if not precautioned to follow the poor borigo, or old ass, that, with panniers hanging on each side of him, mounts regularly and daily up to every particular cell. The manner is as follows:

In the panniers there are thirteen partitions: one for every cell. At the hour appointed, the servant having placed the panniers on his back, the ass, of himself, goes to the door of the convent at the foot of the hill, where every partition is supplied with their several allowances of victuals and wine; which, as soon as he has received, without any further attendance, or any guide, he mounts and takes the cells gradually in their due course, till he reaches the very uppermost; where, having discharged his duty, he descends the same way, lighter by the load he carried up. This the poor stupid drudge fails not to do, day and night, at the stated hours.

Two gentlemen who had joined me on the road, alike led by curiosity, seemed alike delighted, that the end of it was so well answered. I could easily discover in their countenances a satisfaction, which, if it did not give a sanction to my own, much confirmed it, while they seemed to allow with me, that those reverend solitaires were truly happy men: I then thought them such; and a thousand times since, reflecting within myself, have

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wished, bating their errors and lesser superstitions, myself as happily stationed. For what can there be wanting to a happy life, where all things necessary are provided without care; where the days, without anxiety or troubles, may be gratefully passed away, with an innocent variety of diverting and pleasing objects, and where their sleeps and slumbers are never interrupted with any thing more offensive than murmuring springs, natural cascades, or the various songs of the pretty feathered quiristers?

But their courtesy to strangers is no less engaging than their solitude. A recluse life, for the fruits of it, generally speaking, produces moroseness; pharisaical pride too often sours the temper; and a mistaken opinion of their own merit too naturally lead such men into a contempt of others: but, on the contrary, these good men (for I must call them as I thought them) seemed to me the very emblems of innocence; so ready to oblige others, that at the same instant they seemed laying obligations upon themselves. This is self-evident in that affability and complaisance they use in shewing the rarities of their several cells; where, for fear you should slip any thing worthy of observation, they endeavour to instil into you as quick a propensity of asking, as you find in them a prompt alacrity in answering, such questions of curiosity as their own have inspired.

In particular, I remember one of those reverend old men, when we were taking leave at the door of his cell, to which, out of his great civility, he accompanied us, finding by the air of our faces, as well as our expressions, that we thought ourselves pleasingly entertained, to divert us afresh, advanced a few paces from the door, when, giving a whistle with his mouth, a surprising flock of pretty little birds, variegated, and of different colours, immediately flocked around him. Here you should see some alighting upon his shoulders, some on his awful beard, others took refuge on his snow-like head, and many feeding, and more endeavouring to feed out of his mouth; each appearing emulous, and under an innocent contention, how best to express their love and respect to their no less pleased master.

Nor did the other cells labour under any deficiency of variety; every one boasting in some particular that might distinguish it in something equally agreeable and entertaining. Nevertheless, crystal springs spouting from the solid rocks were, from the highest to the lowest, common to them all; and, in most of them they had little brass cocks, out of which, when turned, issued the most cool and crystalline flows of excellent pure water. And yet, what more affected me, and which I found near more cells than one, was the natural cascades of the same transparent element; these falling from one rock to another, in that warm, or rather hot climate, gave not more delightful astonishment to the eye, than they afforded grateful refreshment to the whole man. The streams falling from these, soften, from a rougher, tumultuous noise, into such affecting murmurs, by distance, the intervention of groves, or neighbouring rocks, that it were impossible to see or hear them, and not be charmed

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Neither are those groves grateful only in a beautiful verdure, nature renders them otherwise delightful, in loading them with clusters of berries of a perfect scarlet colour, which, by a beautiful intermixture, strike the eye with additional delight. In short, it might nonplus a person of the nicest taste, to distinguish or determine, whether the neatness of their cells within, or the beauteous varieties without, most exhaust his admiration. Nor is the whole, in my opinion, a little advantaged by the frequent view of some of those pyramidical pillars, which seem, as weary of their own weight, to recline and seek support from others in the neighbourhood.

When I mentioned the outside beauties of their cells, I must be thought to have forgot to particularise the glorious prospects presented to your eye from every one of them, but especially from that nearest the summit; a prospect, by reason of the purity of the air, so extensive, and so very entertaining, that to dilate upon it properly to one that never saw it would baffle credit; and naturally to depaint it would confound invention. I therefore shall only say, that on the Mediterranean side, after an agreeable interval of some fair leagues, it will set at defiance the strongest optics; and although Barcelona bounds it on the land, the eyes are feasted with the delights of such an intervening champaign (where beauteous nature does not only smile but riot), that the sense must be very temperate, or very weak, that can be soon or easily satisfied.

Having thus taken a view of all their refreshing springs, their grateful groves, and solitary shades under single trees, whose clusters proved that even rocks were grown fruitful; and having ran over all the variety of pleasures in their several pretty cells, decently set off with gardens round them, equally fragrant and beautiful, we were brought down again to the convent, which, though on a small ascent, lies very near the foot of this terrestrial paradise, there to take a survey of their sumptuous hall, much more sumptuous chapel, and its adjoining repository, and feast our eyes with wonders of a different nature, and yet as entertaining as any, or all, we had seen before.

Immediately on our descent, a priest presented himself at the door of the convent, ready to shew us the hidden rarities. And though, as I understood, hardly a day passes without the resort of some strangers, to gratify their curiosity with the wonders of the place; yet is there, on every such occasion, a superior concourse of natives ready to see over again, out of mere bigotry and superstition, what they have seen perhaps a hundred times before. I could not avoid taking notice, however, that the priest treated those constant visitants with much less ceremony, or more freedom, if you please, than any of the strangers of what nation soever; or, indeed, he seemed to take as much pains to disoblige those, as he did pleasure in obliging us.

The hall was neat, large, and stately; but being plain and unadorned with more than decent decorations, suitable to such a society, I hasten to the other.

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When we entered the chapel, our eyes were immediately attracted by the image of Our Lady of Montserat (as they call it), which stands over the altar-piece. It is about the natural stature, but as black and shining as ebony itself. Most would imagine it made of that material; though her retinue and adorers will allow nothing of the matter. On the contrary, tradition, which with them is, on some occasions, more than tantamount to religion, has assured them, and they relate it as undoubted matter of fact, that her present colour, if I may so call it, proceeded from her concealment, in the time of the Moors, between those two rocks on which the chapel is founded, and that her long lying in that dismal place changed her once lovely white into its present opposite. Would not a heretic here be apt to say, that it was great pity that an image, which still boasts the power of acting so many miraeles, could no better conserve her own complexion? At least it must be allowed, even by a good catholic, to carry along with it matter of reproach to the fair ladies, natives of the country, for their unnatural and excessive affection of adulterating, if not defacing, their beautiful faces, with the ruining danberies of carmine.

As the custom of the place is (which is likewise allowed to be a distinguished piece of civility to strangers), when we approach the black lady (who, I should have told you, bears a child in her arms, but whether maternally black, or of the mulatto kind, I protest I did not mind), the priest, in great civility, offers you her arm to salute; at which juncture, I, like a true blue protestant, mistaking my word of command, fell foul on the fair lady's face. The displeasure in his countenance (for he took more notice of the rudeness than the good lady herself) soon convinced me of my error; however, as a greater token of his civility, having admitted no Spaniards along with my companions and me, it passed off the better; and his after civilities manifested that he was willing to reform my ignorance by his complaisance.

To demonstrate which, upon my telling him that I had a set of beads which I must intreat him to consecrate for me, he readily, nay eagerly complied, and having hung them on her arm for the space of about half or somewhat short of a whole minute, he returned me the holy baubles with a great deal of address, and most evident satisfaction. The reader will be apt to admire at this curious piece of superstition of mine, till I have told him, that even rigid protestants have, in this country, thought it but prudent to do the like; and likewise having so done, to carry them about their persons, or in their pockets; for experience has convinced us of the necessity of this most catholic precaution; since those who have here, travelling or otherwise, come to their ends, whether by accident, sickness, or the course of nature, not having these sanctifying seals found upon them, have ever been refused christian burial, under a superstitious imagination, that the corpse of a heretic will infect every thing near it.

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Two instances of this kind fell within my knowledge ; one before I went to Montserat, the other after. The first was of one Slunt, who had been bombardier at Monjouick, but being killed while we lay at Campilio, a priest, whom I advised with upon the matter, told me, that if he should be buried where any corn grew, his body would not only be taken up again, but ill treated, in revenge of the destruction of so much corn, which the people would on no account be persuaded to touch ; for which reason we took care to have him laid in a very deep grave, on a very barren spot of ground. The other was of one captain Bush, who was a prisoner with me on the surrender of Denia ; who being sent, as I was afterwards, to Saint Clemente la Mancha, there died ; and, as I was informed, though he was privately, and by night, buried in a corn field, he was taken out of his grave by those superstitious people, as soon as ever they could discover the place where his body was deposited. But I return to the convent at Montserat.

Out of the chapel, behind the high altar, we descended into a spacious room, the repository of the great offerings made to the Lady. Here, though I thought in the chapel itself I had seen the riches of the universe, I found a prodigious quantity of more costly presents, the superstitious tribute of most of the Roman catholic princes in Europe. Among a multitude of others, they showed me a sword set with diamonds, the offering of Charles the third, then king of Spain, but now emperor of Germany. Though I must confess, being a heretic, I could much easier find a reason for a fair lady's presenting such a sword to a king of Spain than for a king of Spain's presenting such a sword to a fair lady ; and by the motto upon it, *Pulchra tamen nigra*, it was plain such was his opinion. That prince was so delighted with the pleasures of this sweet place, that he, as well as I, staid as long as ever he could, though neither of us so long as either could have wished.

But there was another offering from a king of Portugal, equally glorious and costly, but much better adapted, and therefore in its propriety easier to be accounted for : that was a glory for the head of her ladyship, every ray of which was set with diamonds, large at the bottom, and gradually lessening to the very extremity of every ray. Each ray might be about half a yard long, and I imagined in the whole there might be about one hundred of them. In short, if ever her ladyship did the offerer the honour to put it on, I will, though a heretic, venture to aver, she did not at that present time look like a human creature.

To enumerate the rest, if my memory would suffice, would exceed belief. As the upper part was a plain miracle of nature, the lower was a complete treasury of miraculous art.

If you ascend from the lowest cell to the very summit, the last of all the thirteen, you will perceive a continual contention between pleasure and devotion ; and at last, perhaps, find yourself at a loss to decide which deserves the pre-eminence : for you are not here to take cells in the vulgar accepta-

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tion, as the little dormitories of solitary monks: no, neatness, use, and contrivance, appear in every one of them; and though in an almost perfect equality, yet in such perfection, that you will find it difficult to discover in any one of them any thing wanting to the pleasure of life.

If you descend to the convent near the foot of that venerable hill, you may see more, much more of the riches of the world, but less, far less appearance of a celestial treasure. Perhaps it might be the sentiment of a heretic, but that awe and devotion, which I found in my attendant from cell to cell, grew languid, and lost in mere empty bigotry and foggy superstition when I came below. In short, there was not a greater difference in their heights than in the sentiments they inspired me with.

Before I leave this emblem of the beatific vision, I must correct something like a mistake as to the poor *borigo*. I said at the beginning that his labour was daily, but the Sunday is to him a day of rest, as it is to the hermits, his masters, a day of refection: for, to save the poor faithful brute the hard drudgery of that day, the thirteen hermits, if health permit, descend to their *cœnobium*, as they call it, that is, to the hall of the convent, where they dine in common with the monks of the order, who are Benedictines.

After seven days' variety of such innocent delight (the space allowed for the entertainment of strangers), I took my leave of this pacific hermitage, to pursue the more boisterous duties of my calling. The life of a soldier is in every respect the full antithesis to that of a hermit; and I know not whether it might not be a sense of that which inspired me with very great reluctance at parting. I confess, while on the spot, I over and above bandied in my mind the reasons which might prevail upon Charles the fifth to relinquish his crown; and the arguments on his side never failed of energy, when I could persuade myself that this, or some like happy retreat, was the reward of abdicated empire.

Full of these contemplations (for they lasted there) I arrived at Barcelona, where I found a vessel ready to sail, on which I embarked for Denia, in pursuance of my orders. Sailing to the mouth of the Mediterranean, no place along the christian shore affords a prospect equally delightful with the castle of Denia. It was never designed for a place of great strength, being built and first designed as a seat of pleasure to the great duke of Lerma. In that family it many years remained, though, within less than a century, that, with two other dukedoms, have devolved upon the family of the duke de Medina Celi, the richest subject at this time in all Spain.

Denia was the first town, that, in our way to Barcelona, declared for king Charles, and was then by his order made a garrison. The town is but small, and surrounded with a thin wall, so thin, that I have known a cannon ball pierce through it at once.

When I arrived at Denia, I found a Spaniard governor of the town, whose name has slipped my memory, though his behaviour merited everlasting annals.

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Major Percival, an Englishman, commanded in the castle, and on my coming there I understood it had been agreed upon between them, that in case of a siege, which they apprehended, the town should be defended wholly by Spaniards, and the castle by the English.

I had scarce been there three weeks before those expectations were answered. The place was invested by count d'Alfelt and major-general Mahoní; two days after which they opened trenches on the east side of the town. I was necessitated, upon their so doing, to order the demolishment of some houses on that side, that I might erect a battery to point upon their trenches, the better to annoy them. I did so, and it did the intended service; for with that and two others, which I raised upon the castle (from all which we fired incessantly, and with great success), the besiegers were sufficiently incommoded.

The governor of the town (a Spaniard as I said before, and with a Spanish garrison) behaved very gallantly, insomuch, that what was said of the prince of Hesse, when he so bravely defended Gibraltar against the joint forces of France and Spain, might be said of him, that he was governor, engineer, gunner, and bombardier all in one: for no man could exceed him, either in conduct or courage. Nor were the Spaniards under him less valiant or vigilant; for in case the place was taken, expecting but indifferent quarter, they fought with bravery, and defended the place to admiration.

The enemy had answered our fire with all the ardour imaginable, and having made a breach, that, as we thought, was practicable, a storm was expected every hour; preparing against which, to the great joy of all the inhabitants, and the surprise of the whole garrison, and without our being able to assign the least cause, the enemy suddenly raised the siege, and withdrew from a place which those within imagined in great danger.

The siege thus abdicated (if I may use a modern phrase), I was resolved to improve my time, and make the provision I could against any future attack. To that purpose I made several new fortifications, together with proper casements for our powder, all which rendered the place much stronger, though time too soon shewed me that strength itself must yield to fortune.

Surveying those works and my workmen, I was one day standing on the great battery, when, casting my eye towards the Barbary coast, I observed an odd sort of greenish cloud making to the Spanish shore; not like other clouds with rapidity or swiftness, but with a motion so slow, that sight itself was a long time before it would allow it such. At last it came just over my head, and, interposing between the sun and me, so thickened the air, that I had lost the very sight of day. At this moment it had reached the land, and though very near me in my imagination, it began to dissolve and lose of its tenebrity, when, all on a sudden, there fell such a vast multitude of locusts, as exceeded the thickest storm of hail or snow that I ever saw. All around me was immediately covered with those crawling creatures; and they yet

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continued to fall so thick, that with the swing of my cane I knocked down thousands. It is scarce imaginable the havoc I made in a very little space of time; much less conceivable is the horrid desolation which attended the visitation of those animalculæ. There was not, in a day or two's time, the least leaf to be seen upon a tree, nor any green thing in a garden. Nature seemed buried in her own ruins, and the vegetable world to be supporters only to her monument. I never saw the hardest winter, in those parts, attended with any equal desolation. When, glutton-like, they had devoured all that should have sustained them, and the more valuable part of God's creation (whether weary with gorging, or over thirsty with devouring, I leave to philosophers), they made to ponds, brooks, and standing pools, there revenging their own rape upon nature, upon their own vile carcases. In every one of these you might see them lie in heaps like little hills, drowned, indeed, but attended with stench so noisome, that it gave the distracted neighbourhood too great reason to apprehend yet more fatal consequences. A pestilential infection is the dread of every place, but especially of all parts upon the Mediterranean. The priests, therefore, repaired to a little chapel, built in the open fields, to be made use of on such like occasions, there to deprecate the miserable cause of this dreadful visitation. In a week's time, or thereabouts, the stench was over, and every thing but verdant nature in its pristine order.

Some few months after this, and about eight months from the former siege, count d'Alfelt caused Denia to be again invested; and being then sensible of all the mistakes he had before committed, he now went about his business with more regularity and discretion. The first thing he set upon, and it was the wisest thing he could do, was to cut off our communication with the sea. This he did, and thereby obtained what he much desired. Next, he caused his batteries to be erected on the west side of the town, from which he plied it so furiously, that in five days' time a practicable breach was made; upon which they stormed and took it. The governor, who had so bravely defended it in the former siege, fortunately for him, had been removed; and Francis Valero, now in his place, was made prisoner of war with all his garrison.

After the taking the town, they erected batteries against the castle, which they kept plied with incessant fire, both from cannon and mortars. But what most of all plagued us, and did us most mischief, was the vast showers of stones sent among the garrison from their mortars. These, terrible in bulk and size, did more execution than all the rest put together. The garrison could not avoid being somewhat disheartened at this uncommon way of encounter; yet, to a man, declared against hearkening to any proposals of surrender, the governor excepted; who, having selected more treasure than he could properly or justly call his own, was the only person that seemed forward for such a motion. He had more than once thrown out expressions of such a nature, but without any effect. Nevertheless, having at last secretly obtained a peculiar capitulation for himself, bag, and baggage, the garrison was

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sacrificed to his private interest, and basely given up prisoners of war. By these means, indeed, he saved his money, but lost his reputation; and soon after, life itself. And sure every body will allow the latter loss to be least, who will take pains to consider, that it screened him from the consequential scrutanies of a council of war, which must have issued as the just reward of his demerits.

The garrison, being thus unaccountably delivered up and made prisoners, were dispersed different ways: some into Castile, others as far as Oviedo, in the kingdom of Leon. For my own part, having received a contusion in my breast, I was under a necessity of being left behind with the enemy, till I should be in a condition to be removed, and when that time came, I found myself agreeably ordered to Valencia.

As a prisoner of war, I must now bid adieu to the active part of the military life; and hereafter concern myself with descriptions of countries, towns, palaces, and men, instead of battles. However, if I take in my way actions of war, founded on the best authorities, I hope my interspersing such will be no disadvantage to my own more pacific memoirs.

So soon as I arrived at Valencia, I wrote to our paymaster Mr. Mead, at Barcelona, letting him know, that I was become a prisoner, wounded, and in want of money. Nor could even all those circumstances prevail on me to think it long before he returned a favourable answer, in an order to monsieur Zoulicafre, a banker, to pay me on sight fifty pistoles. But in the same letter he gave me to understand, that those fifty pistoles were a present to me from general (afterwards earl) Stanhope; and so indeed I found it, when I returned into England, my account not being charged with any part of it. But this was not the only test I received of that generous earl's generosity. And where's the wonder, as the world is compelled to own, that heroic actions and largeness of soul ever did discover and amply distinguish the genuine branches of that illustrious family?

This recruit to me, however, was the more generous for being seasonable. Benefits are always doubled in their being easily conferred and well timed; and with such an allowance as I constantly had by the order of king Philip, as prisoner of war, viz. eighteen ounces of mutton per diem for myself, and nine for my man, with bread and wine in proportion, and especially in such a situation; all this, I say, was sufficient to invite a man to be easy, and almost forget his want of liberty, and much more so to me, if it be considered, that that want of liberty consisted only in being debarred from leaving the pleasantest city in all Spain.

Here I met with the French engineer who made the mine under the rock of the castle at Alicant; that fatal mine which blew up general Richards, colonel Syburg, colonel Thornicroft, and at least twenty more officers. And yet, by the account that engineer gave me, their fate was their own choosing; the general who commanded at that siege being more industrious to save them

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than they were to be saved. He endeavoured it many ways : he sent them word of the mine, and their readiness to spring it ; he over and over sent them offers of leave to come and take a view of it and inspect it. Notwithstanding all which, though colonel Thornicroft, and captain Page, a French engineer in the service of king Charles, pursued the invitation, and were permitted to view it ; yet would they not believe it, but reported on their return that it was a sham mine, a feint only to intimidate them to a surrender, all the bags being filled with sand instead of gunpowder.

The very day on which the besiegers designed to spring the mine, they gave notice of it ; and the people of the neighbourhood ran up in crowds to an opposite hill in order to see it : nevertheless, although those in the castle saw all this, they still remained so infatuated as to imagine it all done only to affright them. At length the fatal mine was sprung, and all who were upon that battery lost their lives ; and among them those I first mentioned. The very recital hereof made me think within myself, who can resist his fate ?

That engineer added further, that it was with an incredible difficulty that he prepared that mine ; that there were in the concavity thirteen hundred barrels of powder ; notwithstanding which, it made no great noise without, whatever it might do inwardly ; that only taking away what might be not improperly termed an excrescence in the rock, the heave on the blast had rendered the castle rather stronger on that side than it was before ; a crevice or crack, which had often occasioned apprehensions, being thereby wholly closed and firm.

Some further particulars I soon after had from colonel Syburg's gentle man ; who, seeing me at the play-house, challenged me, though at that time unknown to me. He told me, that the night preceding the unfortunate catastrophe of his master, he was waiting on him in the casement, where he observed, sometime before the rest of the company took notice of it, that general Richards appeared very pensive and thoughtful, that the whole night long he was pestered with and could not get rid of a great fly, which was perpetually buzzing about his ears and head, to the vexation and disturbance of the rest of the company as well as the general himself ; that in the morning, when they went upon the battery, under which the mine was, the general made many offers of going off ; but colonel Syburgh, who was got a little merry, and the rest out of a bravado, would stay, and would not let the general stir ; that at last it was proposed by colonel Syburg to have the other two bottles to the queen's health, after which he promised they would all go off together.

Upon this my relater, Syburg's gentleman, said, he was sent to fetch the stipulated two bottles ; returning with which, captain Daniel Weaver, within thirty or forty yards of the battery, ran by him, vowing he was resolved to drink the queen's health with them ; but his feet were scarce on the battery when the mine was sprung, which took him away with the rest of the com-

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pany; while major Harding, now a justice in Westminster, coming that very moment off duty, exchanged fates

If predestination, in the eyes of many, is an unaccountable doctrine, what better account can the wisest give of this fatality; or to what else shall we impute the issue of this whole transaction? That men shall be solicited to their safety, suffered to survey the danger they were threatened with, among many other tokens of its approaching certainty, see such a concourse of people crowding to be spectators of their impending catastrophe; and, after all this, so infatuated to stay on the fatal spot the fetching up of the other two bottles: whatever it may be to such as never think, to such as plead an use of reason it must administer matter worthy of the sedatest consideration.

Being now pretty well recovered of my wounds, I was, by order of the governor of Valencia, removed to Sainte Clemente de la Mancha, a town somewhat more inland, and consequently esteemed more secure, than a semi-seaport. Here I remained under a sort of pilgrimage upwards of three years. To me as a stranger, divested of acquaintance or friend, (for at that instant I was sole prisoner there,) at first it appeared such, though in a very small compass of time I luckily found it made quite otherwise by an agreeable conversation.

Sainte Clemente de la Mancha is rendered famous by the renowned don Michael Cervantes, who, in his facetious but satirical romance, has fixed it the seat and birth place of his hero Don Quixote.

The gentlemen of this place are the least priest-ridden, or sons of bigotry, of any that I met with in all Spain; of which, in my conversation with them, I had daily instances. Among many others, an expression that fell from Don Felix Pacheco, a gentleman of the best figure thereabout, and of a very plentiful fortune, shall now suffice. I was become very intimate with him; and we used often to converse together with a freedom too dangerous to be common in a country so enslaved by the inquisition. Asking me one day in a sort of a jocose manner, who, in my opinion, had done the greatest miracles that ever were heard of? I answered, Jesus Christ. "It is very true," says he, "Jesus Christ did great miracles, and a great one it was to feed five thousand people with two or three small fishes, and a like number of loaves: but saint Francis, the founder of the Franciscan order, has found out a way to feed daily one hundred thousand lubbards with nothing at all;" meaning the Franciscans, the followers of saint Francis, who have no visible revenues; yet in their way of living come up to, if they do not exceed, any other order.

Another day, talking of the place, it naturally led us into a discourse of the knight of la Mancha, Don Quixote. At which time he told me, that, in his opinion, that work was a perfect paradox, being the best and the worst romance that ever was wrote. "For," says he, "though it must infallibly please every man that has any taste of wit, yet has it had such a fatal effect upon the spirits of my countrymen, that every man of wit must ever resent; for," con-

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tinued he, "before the appearance in the world of that labour of Cervantes, it was next to an impossibility for any man to walk the streets with any delight, or without danger. There were seen so many cavalieros prancing and curvetting before the windows of their mistresses, that a stranger would have imagined the whole nation to have been nothing less than a race of knight-errants. But after the world became a little acquainted with that notable history, the man that was once seen in that notable drapery was pointed at as a Don Quixote, and found himself the jest of high and low. And I verily believe," added he, "that to this, and this only, we owe that dampness and poverty of spirit which has run through all our councils for a century past, so little agreeable to those nobler actions of our famous ancestors."

After many of these lesser sorts of confidences, don Felix recommended me to a lodging next door to his own. It was at a widow's, who had one only daughter, her house just opposite to a Franciscan nunnery. Here I remained somewhat upwards of two years; all which time, lying in my bed, I could hear the nuns early in the morning at their matins, and late in the evening at their vespers, with delight enough to myself, and without the least indecency in the world in my thoughts of them. Their own divine employ too much employed every faculty of mine to entertain any thing incontinentaneous or offensive.

This my neighbourhood to the nunnery gave me an opportunity of seeing two nuns invested; and in this I must do a justice to the whole country to acknowledge, that a stranger who is curious (I would impute it rather to their hopes of conversion than to their vanity) shall be admitted to much greater freedoms in their religious pageantries than any native.

One of these nuns was of the first quality, which rendered the ceremony more remarkably fine. The manner of investing them was thus:—In the morning her relations and friends all met at her father's house, whence, she being attired in her most sumptuous apparel, and a coronet placed on her head, they attended her, in cavalcade, to the nunnery, the streets and windows being crowded, and filled with spectators of all sorts.

So soon as she entered the chapel belonging to the nunnery she knelt down, and, with an appearance of much devotion, saluted the ground, then rising up, she advanced a step or two farther, when, on her knees, she repeated the salutes; this done, she approached to the altar, where she remained till mass was over; after which, a sermon was preached by one of the priests, in praise, or rather in an exalted preference, of a single life. The sermon being over, the nun elect fell down on her knees before the altar, and, after some short mental orisons, rising again, she withdrew into an inner room, where, stripping off all her rich attire, she put on her nun's weeds; in which, making her appearance, she, again kneeling, offered up some private devotions, which, being over, she was led to the door of the nunnery, where the lady and the rest of the nuns stood, ready to receive her

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with open arms. Thus entered, the nuns conducted her into the quire, where, after they had entertained her with singing, and playing upon the organ, the ceremony concluded, and every one departed to their proper habitations.

The very same day of the year ensuing, the relations and friends of the fair novitiate meet again in the chapel of the nunnery, where the lady abbess brings her out and delivers her to them. Then again is there a sermon preached on the same subject as the first; which, being over, she is brought up to the altar, in a decent but plain dress, the fine apparel which she put off on her initiation being deposited on one side of the altar, and her nun's weeds on the other. Here the priest, in Latin, cries, *Utrum horum mavis, accipe:*" to which she answers, as her inclination or as her instruction directs her. If she, after this her year of probation, shows any dislike, she is at liberty to come again into the world: but if, awed by fear (as too often is the case), or won by expectation, or present real inclination, she makes choice of a nun's weeds, she is immediately invested, and must never expect to appear again in the world out of the walls of the nunnery. The young lady I saw thus invested was very beautiful, and sang the best of any in the nunnery.

There are in the town three nunneries, and a convent to every one of them, viz.: one of Jesuits, one of Carmelites, and the other of Franciscans. Let me not be so far mistaken to have this taken by way of reflection. No! whatever some of our rakes of the town may assert, I freely declare, that I never saw in any of the nunneries (of which I have seen many both in Spain and other parts of the world) any thing like indecent behaviour that might give occasion for satire or disesteem. It is true, there may be accidents that may lead to a misinterpretation, of which I remember a very untoward instance in Alicant.

When the English forces first laid siege to that town, the priests, who were apprehensive of it, having been long since made sensible of the profound regard to chastity and modesty of us heretics, by the ignominious behaviour of certain officers at Rota and Porta St. Maria, the priests, I say, had taken care to send away privately all the nuns to Majorca. But that the heretic invaders might have no jealousy of it, the fair courtizans of the town were admitted to supply their room. The officers, both of land and sea, as was by the friars pre-imagined, on taking the town and castle, immediately repaired to the grates of the nunnery, tossed over their handkerchiefs, nose-gays, and other pretty things; all which were doubtless very graciously received by those imaginary recluses. Thence came it to pass, that, in the space of a month or less, you could hardly fall into company of any one of our younger officers, of either sort, but the discourse, if it might deserve the name, was concerning these beautiful nuns; and you would have imagined the price of these ladies as well known as that of flesh in their com-

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mon markets. Others, as well as myself, have often endeavoured to disabuse those gloriosos, but all to little purpose, till more sensible tokens convinced them, that the nuns, of whose favours they so much boasted, could hardly be perfect virgins, though in a cloister. And I am apt to think, those who would palm upon the world like vicious relations of nuns and nunneries do it on much like grounds. Not that there are wanting instances of nunneries disfranchised, and even demolished, upon very flagrant accounts; but I confine myself to Spain.

In this town of la Mancha, the *corrigidore* always has his presidency, having sixteen others under his jurisdiction, of which Almanza is one. They are changed every three years, and their offices are the purchase of an excessive price, which occasions the poor people's being extravagantly fleeced, nothing being to be sold but at the rates they impose; and every thing that is sold paying the *corrigidore* an acknowledgment in specie, or an equivalent to his liking.

While I was here, news came of the battle of Almanar and Saragosa; and giving the victory to that side which they espoused (that of king Philip), they made very great rejoicings; but soon, alas! for them, was all that joy converted into sorrow; the next courier evincing, that the forces of king Charles had been victorious in both engagements. This did not turn to my present disadvantage; for convents and nunneries, as well as some of those dons, whom afore I had not stood so well with, strove now how most to oblige me, not doubting but if the victorious army should march that way, it might be in my power to double the most signal of their services in my friendship.

Soon after an accident fell out, which had like to have been of an unhappy consequence to me. I was standing in company, upon the parade, when a most surprising flock of eagles flew over our heads, where they hovered for a considerable time; the novelty struck them all with admiration as well as myself. But I, less accustomed to like spectacles, innocently saying, that, in my opinion, it could not bode any good to king Philip, because the eagle composed the arms of Austria; some busy body, in hearing, went and informed the *corrigidore* of it. Those most magisterial wretches embrace all occasions of squeezing money, and more especially from strangers. However, finding his expectations disappointed in me, and that I too well knew the length of his foot to let my money run freely, he sent me next day to Alercon; but the governor of that place, having had before intelligence that the English army was advancing that way, refused to receive me, so I returned as I went; only the gentlemen of the place, as they had condoled the first, congratulated the last; for that *corrigidore* stood but very indifferently in their affections. However, it was a warning to me ever after, how I made use of English freedom in a Spanish territory.

As I had attained the acquaintance of most of the clergy and religious of

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the place, so particularly I had my aim in obtaining that of the provincial of the Carmelites. His convent, though small, was exceeding neat; but, what to me was much more agreeable, there were very large gardens belonging to it, which often furnished me with sallading and fruit, and much oftener with walks of refreshment, the most satisfactory amusement in this warm climate. This acquaintance with the provincial was by a little incident soon advanced into a friendship, which was thus: I was one day walking, as I used to do, in the long gallery of the convent, when, observing the images of the virgin Mary, of which there was one at each end, I took notice that one had an inscription under it, which was this: "*Ecce virgo peperit filium*;" but the other had no inscription at all; upon which I took out my pencil and wrote underneath this line: "*Sponsa Dei, patrisque parens, et filia filii*."

The friars, who at a little distance had observed me, as soon as I was gone, came up and read what I had writ; reporting which to the provincial, he ordered them to be writ over in letters of gold, and placed just as I had put them; saying, doubtless, such a fine line could proceed from nothing less than inspiration. This secured me ever after his and their esteem; the least advantage of which was a full liberty of their garden for all manner of fruit, sallading, or whatever I pleased; and, as I said before, the gardens were too fine not to render such a freedom acceptable.

They often want rain in this country, to supply the defect of which, I observed in this garden, as well as others, an invention not unuseful. There is a well in the middle of the garden, and over that a wheel with many pitchers or buckets, one under another, which wheel being turned round by an ass, the pitchers scoop up the water on one side, and throw it out on the other into a trough, that by little channels conveys it as the gardiner directs, into every part of the garden. By this means their flowers and their sallading are continually refreshed, and preserved from the otherwise over-parching beams of the sun.

The inquisition, in almost every town in Spain, and more especially, if of any great account, has its spies or informers for treacherous intelligence. These make it their business to ensnare the simple and unguarded; and are more to be avoided by the stranger than the rattlesnake, nature having appointed no such happy tokens in the former to foreshew the danger. I had reason to believe that one of those vermin once made his attack upon me in this place; and as they are very rarely if ever known to the natives themselves, I being a stranger, may be allowed to make a guess by circumstances.

I was walking by myself, when a person wholly unknown to me, giving me the civil salute of the day, endeavoured to draw me into conversation. After questions had passed on general heads, the fellow ensnaringly asked me, how it came to pass, that I shewed so little respect to the image of the crucified Jesus as I passed by it in such a street, naming it? I made answer, that I had or ought to have him always in my heart crucified. To

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that he made no reply; but, proceeding in his interrogatories, questioned me next, whether I believed a purgatory? I evaded the question, as I took it to be ensnaring, and only told him that I should be willing to hear him offer any thing that might convince me of the truth or probability of it. "Truth," he replied in a heat; "there never yet was a man so holy as to enter heaven without first passing through purgatory." "In my opinion," said I, "there will be no difficulty in convincing a reasonable man to the contrary."—"What mean you by that?" cried the spy. "I mean," said I, "that I can name one, and a great sinner too, who went into bliss without any visit to purgatory." "Name him, if you can," replied my querist. "What think you of the thief upon the cross," said I, "to whom our dying saviour said, *Hodie eris mecum in paradiso*?" at which, being silenced, though not convicted, he turned from me in a violent rage, and left me to myself.

What increased my first suspicion of him was, that a very short time after, my friend the provincial sent to speak with me; and, repeating all passages between the holy spy and me, assured me, that he had been forced to argue in my favour, and tell him, that I had said nothing but well: "For," says he, "all ought to have the holy Jesus crucified in their hearts. Nevertheless," continued he, "it is a commendable and good thing to have him represented in the highways; for, suppose," said he, "a man was going upon some base or profligate design, the very sight of a crucified Saviour may happen to subvert his resolution, and deter him from committing theft, murder, or any other of the deadly sins." And thus ended that conference.

I remember upon some other occasional conversation after, the provincial told me, that in the Carmelite nunnery next to his convent, and under his care, there was a nun that was daughter to don Juan of Austria: if so, her age must render her venerable as her quality.

Taking notice one day that all the people of the place fetched their water from a well without the town, although they had many seemingly as good within, I spoke to don Felix of it, who gave me, under the seal of secrecy, this reason for it, "When the seat of the war," said he, "lay in these parts, the French train of artillery was commonly quartered in this place: the officers and soldiers of which were so very rampant and rude, in attempting to debauch our women, that there is not a well within the town which has not some Frenchman's bones at the bottom of it; therefore the natives, who are sensible of it, choose rather to go farther afield."

By this well there runs a little rivulet, which gives head to that famous river called the Guadiana; which, running for some leagues under ground, affords a pretence for the natives to boast of a bridge on which they feed many thousands of sheep. When it rises again it is a fine large river, and, after a currency of many leagues, empties itself into the Atlantic ocean.

As to military affairs, Almanar and Sarragosa were victories so complete, that no body made the least doubt of their settling the crown of Spain upon

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the head of Charles the third, without a rival. This was not barely the opinion of his friends, but his very enemies resigned all hope or expectation in favour of king Philip. The Castilians, his most faithful friends, entertained no other imagination; for, after they had advised and prevailed that the queen with the prince of Asturias should be sent to Victoria, under the same despondency, and a full dispiritedness, they gave him so little encouragement to stay in Madrid, that he immediately quitted the place, with a resolution to retire into his grandfather's dominions, the place of his nativity.

In his way to which, even on the last day's journey, it was his great good fortune to meet the duke of Vendosme, with some few troops, which his grandfather Louis the fourteenth of France had ordered to his succour, under that duke's command. The duke was grievously affected at such an unexpected catastrophe; nevertheless he left nothing unsaid or undone, that might induce that prince to turn back; and at length prevailing, after a little rest, and a great deal of patience, by the coming in of his scattered troops, and some few he could rise, together with those that duke brought with him, he once more saw himself at the head of twenty thousand men.

While things were in this manner, under motion in king Philip's favour, Charles the third, with his victorious army, advances forward and enters into Madrid, of which he made general Stanhope governor. And even here the Castilians gave full proof of their fidelity to their prince; even at the time when, in their opinion, his affairs were past all hopes of retrieve, they themselves having, by their advice, contributed to his retreat. Instead of prudential acclamations, therefore, such as might have answered the expectations of a victorious prince, now entering into their capital, their streets were all in a profound silence, their balconies unadorned with costly carpets, as was customary on like occasions; and scarce an inhabitant to be seen in either shop or window.

This, doubtless, was no little mortification to a conquering prince; however, his generals were wise enough to keep him from shewing any other tokens of resentment than marching through the city with unconcern, and taking up his quarters at Villaverda, about a league from it.

Nevertheless king Charles visited, in his march, the chapel of the Lady de Atocha, where finding several English colours and standards, taken in the battle of Almanza, there hung up, he ordered them to be taken down and restored them to the English general.

It was a current opinion then, and almost universal consent has since confirmed it, that the falsest step in that whole war was this advancement of king Charles to Madrid. After those two remarkable victories at Almanar and Sarragosa, had he directed his march to Pampeluna, and obtained possession of that place, or some other near it, he had not only stopt all succours from coming out of France, but he would, in a great measure, have prevented

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the gathering together of any of the routed and dispersed forces of king Philip: and it was the general notion of the Spaniards I conversed with while at Madrid, that had king Philip once again set his foot upon French land, Spain would never have been brought to have re-acknowledged him.

King Charles with his army having staid some time about Madrid, and seeing his expectations of the Castilians joining him not at all answered, at last resolved to decamp and return to Sarragosa. Accordingly, with a very few troops, that prince advanced thither; while the main body, under the command of the generals Stanhope and Staremberg, passing under the very walls of Madrid, held on their march towards Arragon.

After about three days' march, general Stanhope took up his quarters at Breuhiga, a small town half walled; general Staremberg marching three leagues farther to Cifuentes. This choice of situation of the two several armies not a little puzzled the politicians of those times, who could very indifferently account for the English general's lying exposed in an open town, with his few English forces, of which general Harvey's regiment of fine horse might be deemed the main; and general Staremberg encamping three leagues farther off the enemy. But to see the vicissitudes of fortune, to which the actions of the bravest, by an untoward sort of fatality, are often forced to contribute! None who had been eye-witnesses of the bravery of either of those generals at the battles of Almanar and Sarragosa could find room to call in question either their conduct or their courage; and yet in this march and this encampment will appear a visible ill consequence to the affairs of the interest they fought for.

That duke of Vendosme, having increased the forces which he brought from France to upwards of twenty thousand men, marches by Madrid directly for Breuhiga, where his intelligence informed him general Stanhope lay, and that so secretly as well as swiftly that that general knew nothing of it, nor could he be persuaded to believe it till the very moment their bullets from the enemy's cannon convinced him of the truth. Breuhiga, I have said, was walled only on one side, and yet on that very side the enemy made their attack. But what could a handful do against a force so much superior, though they had not been in want of both powder and ball; and, in want of these, were forced to make use of stones against all sorts of ammunition which the enemy plied them with? The consequence answered the deficiency; they were all made prisoners of war, and Harvey's regiment of horse among the rest; which, to augment their calamity, was immediately remounted by the enemy, and marched along with their army to attack general Staremberg.

The general had heard somewhat of the march of Vendosme, and waited with some impatience to have the confirmation of it from general Stanhope, who lay between, and whom he lay under an expectation of being joined with; however, he thought it not improper to make some little advance towards him: and accordingly, breaking up from his camp at Cifuentes, he came back

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to Villa Viciosa, a little town between Cifuentes and Breuhiga. There he found Vendosme ready to attack him, before he could well be prepared for him, but no English to join him, as he had expected; nevertheless, the battle was hot and obstinately fought; although Staremborg had visibly the advantage, having beat the enemy at least a league from their cannon; at which time, hearing of the misfortune of Breuhiga, and finding himself thereby frustrated of those unexpected succours to support him, he made a handsome retreat to Barcelona, which in common calculation is about one hundred leagues, without any disturbance of an enemy that seemed glad to be rid of him. Nevertheless, his baggage having fallen into the hands of the enemy, at the beginning of the fight, king Philip and the duke of Vendosme generously returned it unopened and untouched, in acknowledgement of his brave behaviour.

I had like to have omitted one material passage, which I was very credibly informed of; that general Carpenter offered to have gone, and have joined general Staremborg with the horse, which was refused him. This was certainly an oversight of the highest nature; since his going would have strengthened Staremborg almost to the assurance of an entire victory; whereas his stay was of no manner of service, but quite the contrary: for, as I said before, the enemy, by remounting the English horse, (which perhaps were the completest of any regiment in the world,) turned, if I may be allowed the expression, the strength of our artillery upon our allies.

Upon this retreat of Staremborg, and the surprise at Breuhiga, there were great rejoicings at Madrid, and every where else, where king Philip's interest prevailed. And indeed it might be said, from that day the interest of king Charles looked with a very lowering aspect. I was still a prisoner at La Mancha, when this news arrived; and very sensibly affected at that strange turn of fortune. I was in bed when the express passed through the town, in order to convey it farther; and in the middle of the night I heard a certain Spanish don, with whom, a little before, I had had some little variance, thundering at my door, endeavouring to burst it open, with, as I had reason to believe, no very favourable design upon me. But my landlady, who hitherto had always been kind and careful, calling don Felix and some others of my friends together, saved me from the fury of his designs, whatever they were.

Among other expressions of the general joy upon this occasion, there was a bull-feast at La Mancha; which being much beyond what I saw at Valencia, I shall here give a description of. These bull-feasts are not so common now in Spain as formerly, king Philip not taking much delight in them. Nevertheless, as soon as it was published here, that there was to be one, no other discourse was heard; and in the talk of the bulls, and the great preparations for the feast, men seemed to have lost or to have laid aside all thoughts of the very occasion. A week's time was allowed for the building of stalls for the beasts, and scaffolds for the spectators, and other necessary preparations for the setting off their joy with the most suitable splendour.

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On the day appointed for the bringing the bulls into town, the cavalieroes mounted their horses, and, with spears in their hands, rode out of town about a league, or somewhat more, to meet them: if any of the bulls break from the drove, and make an excursion (as they frequently do), the cavaliero that can make him return again to his station among his companions is held in honour snitable to the dexterity and address he performs it with. On their entrance into the town all the windows are filled with spectators; a pope passing in grand procession could not have more; for what can be more than all? And he or she who would neglect so rare a show would give occasion to have his or her legitimacy called in question.

When they came to the Plaza, where the stalls and scaffolds are built, and upon which the feats of chivalry are to be performed, it is often with a great deal of difficulty that the brutes are got in; for there are twelve stalls, one for every bull, and as their number grows less by the installing of some, the remainder often prove more untractable and unruly; in these stalls they are kept very dark to render them fiercer for the day of battle.

On the first of the days appointed (for a bull-feast commonly lasts three), all the gentry of the place, or near adjacent, resort to the Plaza in their most gaudy apparel, every one vying in making the most glorious appearance. Those in the lower ranks provide themselves with spears, or a great many small darts in their hands, which they fail not to cast or dart whenever the bull, by his nearness, gives them an opportunity. So that the poor creature may be said to fight, not only with the tauriro, (or bull-hunter, a person always hired for that purpose,) but with the whole multitude in the lower class at least.

All being seated, the uppermost door is opened first; and as soon as ever the bull perceives the light, out he comes, snuffing up the air, and staring about him, as if in admiration of his attendants; and with his tail cocked up he spurs the ground with his fore feet, as if he intended a challenge to his yet unappearing antagonist. Then, at a door appointed for that purpose, enters the tauriro all in white, holding a cloak in one hand, and a sharp two-edged sword in the other. The bull no sooner sets eyes upon him, but, wildly staring, he moves gently towards him; then gradually mends his pace, till he is come within about the space of twenty yards of the tauriro, when, with a sort of spring, he makes at him with all his might. The tauriro, knowing by frequent experience, that it behoves him to be watchful, slips aside just when the bull is at him; when, casting his cloak over his horns, at the same moment he gives him a slash or two, always aiming at the neck, where there is one particular place, which, if he hit, he knows he shall easily bring him to the ground. I myself observed the truth of this experiment made upon one of the bulls, who received no more than one cut, which, happening upon the fatal spot, so stunned him, that he remained perfectly stupid, the blood flowing out from the wound, till, after a violent trembling, he dropt down stone

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dead. But this rarely happens, and the poor creature oftener receives many wounds and numberless darts before he dies. Yet, whenever he feels a fresh wound, either from dart, spear, or sword, his rage receives addition from the wound, and he pursues his tauriro with an increase of fury and violence. And as often as he makes at his adversary, the tauriro takes care, with the utmost of his agility, to avoid him, and reward his kind intention with a new wound.

Some of their bulls will play their parts much better than others; but the best must die. For, when they have behaved themselves with all the commendable fury possible, if the tauriro is spent, and fail of doing execution upon him, they set dogs upon him, hough him, and stick him all over with darts, till, with very loss of blood, he puts an end to their present cruelty. When dead, a man brings in two mules dressed out with bells and feathers, and, fastening a rope about his horns, draws off the bull with the shouts and acclamations of the spectators, as if the infidels had been drove from before Ceuta.

I had almost forgot another very common piece of barbarous pleasure at these diversions. The tauriro will sometimes stick one of their bull-spears fast in the ground, aslant, but levelled as near as he can at his chest; then, presenting himself to the bull, just before the point of the spear, on his taking his run at the tauriro, which, as they assured me, he always does with his eyes closed, the tauriro slips on one side, and the poor creature runs with a violence often to stick himself, and sometimes to break the spear in his chest, running away with part of it till he drop.

This tauriro was accounted one of the best in Spain; and indeed I saw him mount the back of one of the bulls, and ride on him, slashing and cutting till he had quite wearied him; at which time dismounting, he killed him with much ease, and to the acclamatory satisfaction of the whole concourse: for variety of cruelty as well as dexterity administers to their delight.

The tauriroes are very well paid, and, in truth, so they ought to be; for they often lose their lives in the diversion, as this did the year after in the way of his calling. Yet is it a service of very great profit when they perform dexterously: for, whenever they do any thing remarkable, deserving the notice of the spectators, they never fail of a generous gratification, money being thrown down to them in plenty.

This feast (as they generally do) lasted three days; the last of which was, in my opinion, much before either of the others. On this, a young gentleman, whose name was don Pedro Ortega, a person of great quality, performed the exercise on horseback. The seats, if not more crowded, were filled with people of better fashion, who came from places at a distance to gaze the noble tauriro.

He was finely mounted, and made a very graceful figure: but as, when the foot tauriro engages, the bull first enters; so, in this contest, the cavalier

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always makes his appearance on the Plaza before the bull. His steed was a managed horse; mounted on which he made his entry, attended by four footmen in rich liveries; who, as soon as their master had rid round, and paid his devoirs to all the spectators, withdrew from the dangers they left him exposed to. The cavaliero having thus made his bows, and received the repeated *vivas* of that vast concourse, marched with a stately air to the very middle of the Plaza, there standing ready to receive his enemy at coming out. The door being opened, the bull appeared; and, as I thought, with a fiercer and more threatening aspect than any of the former. He stared around him for a considerable time, snuffing up the air, and spurning the ground, without in the least taking notice of his antagonist. But, at last, fixing his eyes upon him, he made a full run at the cavaliero, which he most dexterously avoided, and, at the same moment of time, passing by, he cast a dart that stuck in his shoulders. At this, the shouts and *vivas* were repeated; and I observed a handkerchief waved twice or thrice, which, as I afterwards understood, was a signal from the lady of his affections, that she had beheld him with satisfaction. I took notice, that the cavaliero endeavoured to keep aside the bull for the advantage of the stroke; when, putting his horse on a full career, he threw another dart, which fixed in his side, and so enraged the beast, that he seemed to renew his attacks with greater fury. The cavaliero had behaved himself to admiration, and escaped many dangers, with the often repeated acclamations of *viva, viva*; when, at last, the enraged creature getting his horns between the horse's hinder legs, man and horse came both together to the ground.

I expected at that moment nothing less than death could be the issue; when, to the general surprise, as well as mine, the very civil brute, author of all the mischief, only withdrew to the other side of the Plaza, where he stood still, staring about him as if he knew nothing of the matter.

The cavaliero was carried off not much hurt, but his delicate beast suffered much more. However, I could not but think afterward, that the good-natured bull came short of fair play. If I may be pardoned the expression, he had used his adversary with more humanity than he met with; at least, since, after he had the cavaliero under, he generously forsook him, I think he might have pleaded, or others for him, for better treatment than he after met with. For, as the cavaliero was disabled and carried off, the foot tauriro entered in white accoutrements as before; but he flattered himself with an easier conquest than he found. There is always on these occasions, when he apprehends any imminent danger, a place of retreat ready for the foot tauriro; and well for him there was so; this bull obliged him over and over to make use of it. Nor was he able at last to dispatch him without a general assistance; for I believe I speak within compass when I say, he had more than an hundred darts stuck in him. And so barbarously was he mangled, and slashed besides, that, in my mind, I could not but think king Philip in the right when he said, "that it was a custom deserved little encouragement."

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Soon after this tauroidore or bull-feast was over, I had a mind to take a pleasant walk to a little town called Minai, about three leagues off; but I was scarce got out of La Mancha, when an acquaintance, meeting me, asked where I was going? I told him to Minai; when, taking me by the hand, "Friend Gorgio," says he in Spanish, "come back with me; you shall not go a stride farther; there are picarons that way; you shall not go." Inquiring, as we went back, into his meaning, he told me, that the day before, a man who had received a sum of money in pistoles, at La Mancha, was, on the road, set upon by some, who had got notice of it, and murdered; that not finding the money expected about him (for he had cautiously enough left it in a friend's hands at La Mancha), they concluded he had swallowed it, and therefore they ripped up his belly, and opened every gut, but all to little purpose. This diverted my walk for that time.

But, some little time after, the same person inviting me over to the same place to see his melon-grounds, which in that country are wonderful fine and pleasant, I accepted his invitation, and, under the advantage of his company, went thither. On the road I took notice of a cross newly erected, and a number of small stones around the foot of it; asking the meaning of it, my friend told me, that it was raised for a person there murdered (as is the custom throughout Spain), and that every good catholic passing by held it his duty to cast a stone upon the place, in detestation of the murder. I had often before taken notice of many such crosses, but never till then knew the meaning of their erection, or the reason of the heaps of stones around them.

There is no place in all Spain more famous for good wine than Sainte Clemente de la Mancha, nor is it any where sold cheaper; for, as it is only an inland town, near no navigable river, and the people temperate to a proverb, great plenty and a small vend must consequently make it cheap. The wine here is so famous, that, when I came to Madrid, I saw wrote over the doors of some houses that sold wine, "*Vino Sainte Clemente.*" As to the temperance of the people, I must say, that, notwithstanding those two excellent qualities of good and cheap, I never saw, all the three years I was prisoner there, any one person overcome with drinking.

It is true, there may be a reason, and a political one, assigned for that abstemiousness of theirs, which is this, that if any man, upon any occasion, should be brought in as an evidence against you, if you can prove that he was ever drunk, it will invalidate his whole evidence. I could not but think this a grand improvement upon the Spartans: they made their slaves purposely drunk to shew their youth the folly of the vice by the sottish behaviour of their servants under it; but they never reached to that noble height of laying a penalty upon the aggressor, or of discouraging a voluntary impotence of reason by a disreputable impotence of interest. The Spaniard, therefore, in my opinion, in this exceeds the Spartan, as much as a natural beauty exceeds one procured by art; for, though shame may somewhat in-

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fluence some few, terror is of force to deter all. A man, we have seen it, may shake hands with shame; but interest, says another proverb, will never lie. A wise institution, therefore, doubtless, is this of the Spaniard; but such as, I fear, will never take place in Germany, Holland, France, or Great Britain.

But though I commend their temperance, I would not be thought by any means to approve of their bigotry. If there may be such a thing as intemperance in religion, I much fear their ebriety in that will be found to be overmeasure. Under the notion of devotion, I have seen men among them, and of sense too, guilty of the grossest intemperances. It is too common to be a rarity, to see their dons of the prime quality, as well as those of the lower ranks, upon meeting a priest in the open streets, condescend to take up the lower part of his vestment and salute it, with eyes erected, as if they looked upon it as the seal of salvation.

When the ave-bell is heard, the hearer must down on his knees on the very spot, nor is he allowed the small indulgence of deferring a little, till he can recover a clean place; dirtiness excuses not, nor will dirty actions by any means exempt. This is so notorious, that even at the play-house, in the middle of a scene, on the first sound of the bell, the actors drop their discourse, the auditors supersede the indulging of their unsanctified ears, and all, on their knees, bend their tongues, if not their hearts, quite a different way to what they just before had been employed in. In short, though they pretend in all this to an extraordinary measure of zeal and real devotion, no man that lives among them any time can be a proselyte to them, without immolating his senses and his reason; yet, I must confess, while I have seen them thus deluding themselves with ave-marias, I could not refrain throwing up my eyes to the only proper object of adoration, in commiseration of such delusions.

The hours of the ave-bell are eight and twelve in the morning, and six in the evening. They pretend at the first to fall down to beg that God would be pleased to prosper them in all things they go about that day; at twelve, they return thanks for their preservation to that time; and at six, for that of the whole day; after which one would think that they imagine themselves at perfect liberty, and their open gallantries perfectly countenance the imagination; for, though adultery is looked upon as a grievous crime, and punished accordingly, yet fornication is softened with the title of a venial sin, and they seem to practice it under that persuasion.

I found here what Erasmus ridicules with so much wit and delicacy, the custom of burying in a Franciscan's habit, in mighty request. If they can for that purpose procure an old one for the price of a new one, the purchaser will look upon himself a provident chap, that has secured to his deceased friend or relation no less than heaven by that wise bargain.

The evening being almost the only time of enjoyment of company or conversation, every body in Spain then greedily seeks it; and the streets are at

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that time crowded like our finest gardens or most private walks. On one of those occasions, I met a don of my acquaintance walking out with his sisters; and, as I thought it became a English cavalier, I saluted him; but, to my surprise, he never returned the civility. When I met him the day after, instead of an apology, as I flattered myself, I received a reprimand, though a very civil one, telling me it was not the custom in Spain, nor well-taken of any one, that took notice of any who were walking in the company of ladies at night.

But a night or two after, I found by experience, that, if the men were by custom prohibited taking notice, women were not. I was standing at the door, in the cool of the evening, when a woman, seemingly genteel, passing by, called me by my name, telling me she wanted to speak with me. She had her mantilio on; so that, had I had day light, I could have only seen one eye of her. However, I walked with her a good while, without being able to discover any thing of her business, nor passed there between us any thing more than a conversation upon different matters. Nevertheless, at parting, she told me she should pass by again the next evening; and if I would be at the door she would give me the same advantage of a conversation that seemed not to displease me. Accordingly, the next day she came; and, as before, we walked together in the privatest parts of the town; for, though I knew her not, her discourse was always entertaining and full of wit, and her inquiries not often improper. We had continued this intercourse many nights together, when my landlady's daughter having taken notice of it, stopped me one evening, and would not allow me to stand at the usual post of intelligence, saying, with a good deal of heat, "Don Gorgio, take my advice, go no more along with that woman; you may soon be brought home deprived of your life if you do." I cannot say whether she knew her, but this I must say, she was very agreeable in wit as well as person. However, my landlady and her daughter took that opportunity of giving me so many instances of the fatal issues of such innocent conversations (for I could not call it an intrigue), that, apprehensive enough of the danger, on laying circumstances together, I took her advice, and never went into her company after.

Saint Clemente de la Mancha, where I so long remained a prisoner of war, lies in the road from Madrid to Valencia; and the duke of Vendosme being ordered to the latter, great preparations were made for his entertainment as he passed through. He staid here only one night, where he was very handsomely treated by the corregidor. He was a tall fair person, and very fat, and at the time I saw him, wore a long black patch over his left eye; but on what occasion I could not learn. The afterwards famous Alberoni (since made a cardinal) was in his attendance, as, indeed, the duke was very rarely without him. I remember that very day three weeks they returned through the same place; the duke in his hearse, and Alberoni in a coach, paying his

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last duties. The duke was a prodigious lover of fish, of which, having eat ever heartily at Veneros, in the province of Valencia, he took a surfeit, and died in three days' time. His corpse was carrying to the escorial, there to be buried in the pantheon among their kings.

The Castilians have a privilege by license from the pope, which, if it could have been converted into a prohibition, might have saved the duke's life: in regard their country is wholly inland, and the river Tagas, famous for its poverty, or rather barrenness; their holy father indulges the natives with the liberty, in lieu of that dangerous eatable, of eating all Lent time the inwards of cattle. When I first heard this related, I imagined, that the garbage had been intended; but I was soon after thus rectified: by inwards (for so expressly says the licence itself) is meant the heart, the liver, and the feet.

They have here, as well as in most other parts of Spain, Valencia excepted, the most wretched music in the universe. Their guitars, if not their sole, are their darling instruments; and what they most delight in: though, in my opinion, our English sailors are not much amiss in giving them the title of strum-strums! They are little better than our jew's harp, though hardly half so musical. Yet are they perpetually at night disturbing their women with the noise of them; under the notion and name of serenades. From the barber to the grandee the infection spreads; and very often with the same attendant danger, night quarrels and rencounters being the frequent result. The true-born Spaniards reckon it part of their glory to be jealous of their mistresses; which is too often the forerunner of murders; or, at least, attended with many other very dangerous inconveniences. And yet, bad as their music is, their dancing is the reverse. I have seen a country girl manage her castanets with the graceful air of a duchess, and that not to common music, but to people's beating or drumming a tune with their hands on the table. I have seen half-a-dozen couple at a time dance to the like in excellent order.

I just now distinguished, by an exception, the music of Valencia, where alone I experienced the use of the violin; which, though I cannot, in respect to other countries, call good, yet, in respect to the other parts of Spain, I must acknowledge it much the best. In my account of that city, I omitted to speak of it; therefore, now, to supply that defect, I will speak of the best I heard, which was on this unfortunate occasion:—Several natives of that country, having received sentence of death for their adherence to king Charles, were accordingly ordered to the place of execution. It is the custom there, on all such occasions; for all the music of the city to meet near the gallows; and play the most affecting and melancholy airs, to the very approach of the condemned; and really the music was so moving it heightened the scene of sorrow, and brought compassion into the eyes even of enemies.

As to the condemned, they came stripped of their own clothes, and covered with black frocks; in which they were led along the streets to the place of

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execution, the friars playing all the way. When they came through any street where any public images were fixed, they staid before them some reasonable time in prayer with the friars. When they are arrived at the fatal place, those fathers leave them not, but continue praying and giving them ghostly encouragement, standing upon the rounds of the ladder till they are turned off. The hangman always wears a silver badge of a ladder to distinguish his profession; but his manner of executing his office had somewhat in it too singular to allow of silence. When he had tied fast the hands of the criminal, he rested his knee upon them, and with one hand on the criminal's nostrils, to stop his breath the sooner, threw himself off the ladder along with the dying party. This he does to expedite his fate; though, considering the force, I wonder it does not tear head and body asunder; which yet I never heard that it did.

But to return to la Mancha. I had been there now upwards of two years, much diverted with the good humour and kindness of the gentlemen, and daily pleased with the conversation of the nuns of the nunnery opposite to my lodgings; when, walking one day alone upon the Plaza, I found myself accosted by a clerico. At the first attack he told me his country; but added, that he now came from Madrid with a potent (that was his word) from Pedro de Dios, dean of the inquisition, to endeavour the conversion of any of the English prisoners; that being an Irishman, as a sort of a brother, he had conceived a love for the English, and therefore more eagerly embraced the opportunity which the holy inquisition had put into his hands, for the bringing over to mother-church as many heretics as he could; that, having heard a very good character of me, he should think himself very happy if he could be instrumental in my salvation. "It is very true," continued he, "I have lately had the good fortune to convert many; and besides the candour of my own disposition, I must tell you, that I have a peculiar knack at conversion, which very few, if any, ever could resist. I am going upon the same work into Murcia; but your good character has fixed me in my resolution of preferring your salvation to that of others."

To this very long and no less surprising address, I only returned, "that it being an affair of moment, it would require some consideration; and that by the time he returned from Murcia, I might be able to return him a proper answer." But not at all satisfied with this reply, "Sir," says he, "God Almighty is all-sufficient: this moment is too precious to be lost; he can turn the heart in the twinkling of an eye, as well as in twenty years. Hear me then; mind what I say to you; I will convince you immediately. You heretics do not believe in transubstantiation, and yet did not our Saviour say in so many words, *Hoc est corpus meum*? And if you do not believe him, do not you give him the lie? Besides, does not one of the fathers say, *Deus, qui est omnis veritas, non potest dicere falsum*? He went on at the same ridiculous rate, which soon convinced me he was a thorough rattle.

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However, as a clerico, and, consequently, in this country, a man dangerous to disoblige, I invited him home to dinner; where, when I had brought him, I found I had no way done an unacceptable thing; for my landlady and her daughter, seeing him to be a clergyman, received him with a vast deal of respect and pleasure.

Dinner being over, he began to entertain me with a detail of the many wonderful conversions he had made upon obstinate heretics; that he had convinced the most stubborn, and had such a *nostrum*, that he would undertake to convert any one. Here he began his old round, intermixing his harangue with such scraps and raw sentences of fastian latin, that I grew weary of his conversation; so, pretending some business of consequence, I took leave, and left him and my landlady together.

I did not return till pretty late in the evening, with intent to give him time enough to think his own visit tedious; but, to my great surprise, I found my Irish missionary still on the spot, ready to dare me to the encounter, and resolved, like a true son of the church militant, to keep last in the field of battle. As soon as I had seated myself, he began again to tell me how good a character my landlady had given me, which had prodigiously increased his ardour of saving my soul; that he could not answer it to his own character, as well as mine, to be negligent, and therefore he had entered into a resolution to stay my coming, though it had been later. To all which I returned him abundance of thanks for his good will; but pleading indisposition and want of rest, after a good deal of civil impertinence I once more got rid of him; at least I took my leave and went to bed, leaving him again master of the field; for I understood next morning that he staid some time after a was gone with my good landlady.

Next morning, the nuns of the nunnery opposite, having taken notice of the clerico's ingress, long visit, and late egress, sent to know whether he was my countryman; with many other questions, which I was not then let into the secret of. To all which I returned, that he was no countryman of mine, but an Irishman, and so perfectly a stranger to me, that I knew no more of him than what I had from his own mouth, that he was going into Murcia. What the meaning of this inquiry was I could never learn; but I could not doubt but it proceeded from their great care of their vicino, as they called me; a mark of their esteem, and of which I was not a little proud.

As was my usual custom, I had been taking my morning walk, and had not been long come home in order to dinner, when in again drops my Irish clerico. I was confounded and vexed, and he could not avoid taking notice of it; nevertheless, without the least alteration of countenance he took his seat; and on my saying, in a cold and indifferent tone, that I imagined he had been got to Murcia before this; he replied, with a natural sneer, that truly he was going to Murcia, but his conscience pricked him, and he did find that he could not go away with any satisfaction, or peace of mind, with-

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out making me a perfect convert; that he had plainly discovered in me a good disposition, and had, for that very reason, put himself to the charge of man and mule to the bishop of Cuenca for a licence, under his hand, for my conversion: for in Spain all private missionaries are obliged to ask leave of the next bishop before they dare enter upon any enterprise of this nature.

I was more confounded at this last assurance of the man than all before; and it put me directly upon reflecting, whether any and what inconveniences might ensue, from a rencontre that I at first conceived ridiculous, but might now reasonably begin to have more dangerous apprehensions of. I knew, by the articles of war, all persons are exempted from any power of the inquisition; but whether carrying on a part in such a farce might not admit, or at least be liable to some dangerous construction, was not imprudently now to be considered. Though I was not fearful, yet I resolved to be cautious. Wherefore, not making any answer to his declaration about the bishop, he took notice of it, and, to raise a confidence he found expiring, began to tell me that his name was Murtough Brennan, that he was born near Kilkenny, of a very considerable family. This last part, indeed, when I came to Madrid, I found pretty well confirmed in a very considerable manner. However, taking notice that he had altered his tone of leaving the town, and that, instead of it, he was advancing somewhat like an invitation of himself to dinner the next day, I resolved to shew myself shy of him, and thereupon abruptly, and without taking my leave, I left the room, and my landlady and him together.

Three or four days had passed, every one of which he never failed my lodgings; not at dinner time only, but night and morning too; from all which I began to suspect, that, instead of my conversion, he had fixed upon a reconversion of my landlady. She was not young, yet, for a black woman, handsome enough; and her daughter very pretty. I entered into a resolution to make my observations, and watch them all at a distance, nevertheless carefully concealing my jealousy. However, I must confess I was not a little pleased that any thing could divert my own persecution. He was now no longer my guest but my landlady's, with whom I found him so much taken up, that a little care might frustrate all his former impertinent importunities on the old topic.

But all my suspicions were very soon after turned into certainties, in this manner. I had been abroad, and returning somewhat weary, I went to my chamber to take what in that country they call a *cesto*, upon my bed: I got in unseen, or without seeing any body, but had scarce laid myself down, before my young landlady, as I jestingly used to call the daughter, rushing into my room, threw herself down on the floor, bitterly exclaiming. I started off my bed, and immediately running to the door, who should I meet there but my Irish clerico, without his habit, and in his shirt. I could not doubt, by the dishabille of the clerico, but the young creature had reason enough

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for her passion, which rendered me quite unable to master mine; wherefore, as he stood with his back next the door, I thrust him in that ghostly plight into the open street.

I might, with leisure enough, have repented that precipitate piece of indiscretion, if it had not been for his bad character, and the favourable opinion the town had conceived of me; for he inordinately exclaimed against me, calling me heretic, and telling the people who were soon gathered round him, that, coming to my lodgings on the charitable work of conversion, I had thus abused him, stripped him of his habit, and then turned him out of doors. The nuns, on their hearing the outcries he made, came running to their grates to inquire into the matter; and when they understood it as he was pleased to relate it, though they condemned my zeal, they pitied my condition. Very well was it for me that I stood more than a little well in the good opinion of the town; among the gentry, by my frequent conversation, and the inferior sort by my charitable distributions; for nothing can be more dangerous, or a nearer way to violent fate, than to insult one of the clergy in Spain, and especially for such an one as they entitle an heretic.

My old landlady (I speak in respect to her daughter), however formerly my seeming friend, came in a violent passion, and, wrenching the door out of my hands, opened it, and pulled her clerico in; and, so soon as she had done this, she took his part, and railed so bitterly at me, that I had no reason longer to doubt her thorough conversion, under the full power of his mission. However, the young one stood her ground, and, by all her expressions, gave her many inquirers reason enough to believe, all was not matter of faith that the clerico had advanced. Nevertheless, holding it advisable to change my lodgings, and a friend confirming my resolutions, I removed that night.

The clerico, having put on his upper garments, was run away to the corrido, in a violent fury, resolving to be early, as well knowing that he who tells his story first has the prospect of telling it to double advantage. When he came there he told that officer a thousand idle stories, and in the worst manner; repeating how I had abused him, and not him only, but my poor landlady, for taking his part. The corrido was glad to hear of it, and with an officious ear fished for a great deal more; expecting, according to usage, at last to squeeze a sum of money out of me. However, he told the clerico, that as I was a prisoner of war he had no direct power over me; but if he would immediately write to the president Ronquillo, at Madrid, he would not fail to give his immediate orders, according to which he would as readily act against me.

The clerico resolved to pursue his old maxim, and cry out first; and on taking the corrido's advice, he wrote away to Madrid directly. In the mean time, the people in the town, both high and low, some out of curiosity, some out of friendship, pursued their inquiries into the reality of the facts.

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The old landlady they could make little of to my advantage; but whenever the young one came to be questioned, she always left them with these words in her mouth, "*El diablo en forma del clerico*," which rendering things more than a little cloudy on the clerico's side, he was advised and pressed by his few friends, as fast as he could to get out of town; nuns, clergy, and every one taking part against him, excepting his new convert my old landlady.

The day after as I was sitting with a friend at my new quarters, Maria, for that was the name of my landlady's daughter, came running in with these words, "*El clerico, el clerico, passa la calle*." We hastened to the window, out of which we beheld the clerico, Martough Brennan, pitifully mounted on the back of a very poor ass; for they would neither let nor lend him a mule through all the town, his legs almost rested on the ground, for he was lusty as his ass was little; and a fellow with a large cudgel marched afoot, driving his ass along. Never did Sancho Pancha, on his embassy to Dulcinea, make such a despicable out-of-the-way figure as our clerico did at this time. And what increased our mirth was, their telling me, that our clerico, like that squire (though upon his own priest-errantry) was actually on his march to Toboso, a place five leagues off, famous for the nativity of Dulcinea, the object of the passion of that celebrated hero Don Quixote. So I will leave our clerico on his journey to Murcia to relate the unhappy sequel of this ridiculous affair.

I have before said, that, by the advice of the corrigidor, our clerico had wrote to Don Ronquillo at Madrid. About a fortnight after his departure from La Mancha, I was sitting alone in my new lodgings, when two alguazils (officers under the corrigidor, and in the nature of our bailiffs) came into my room, but very civilly, to tell me that they had orders to carry me away to prison; but, at the same moment they advised me not to be afraid; for they had observed that the whole town was concerned at what the corrigidor and clerico had done; adding, that it was their opinion, that I should find so general a friendship that I need not be apprehensive of any danger. With these plausible speeches, though I afterwards experienced the truth of them, I resigned myself up to them to a much closer confinement.

I had been there above a day or two, before many gentlemen of the place sent to me, to assure me they were heartily afflicted at my confinement, and resolved to write in my favour to Madrid; but as it was not safe, nor the custom in Spain, to visit those in my present circumstances, they hoped I would not take it amiss, since they were bent to act all in their power towards my deliverance; concluding, however, with their advice, that I would not give one real of Plata to the corrigidor, whom they hated, but confide in their assiduous interposal. Don Pedro de Ortega, in particular, the person that performed the part of the tauriro on horseback, some time before, sent me word he would not fail to write to a relation of his, of the first account in

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Madrid, and so represent the affair, that I should not long be debarred my old acquaintance.

It may administer, perhaps, matter of wonder, that Spaniards, gentlemen of the nicest punctilio, should make a scruple, and excuse themselves from visiting persons under confinement, when, according to all christian acceptation, such a circumstance would render such a visit not charitable only but generous. But though men of vulgar spirits might, from the narrowness of their views, form such insipid excuses, those of these gentlemen, I very well know, proceeded from much more excusable topics. I was committed under the accusation of having abused a sacred person, one of the clergy; and though, as a prisoner of war, I might deem myself except from the power of the inquisition, yet how far one of that country, visiting a person so accused, might be esteemed culpable, was a consideration in that dangerous climate far from deserving to be slighted. To me, therefore, who well knew the customs of the country, and the temper of its countrymen, their excuses were not only allowable but acceptable; for, without calling in question their charity, I verily believed I might safely confide in their honour.

Accordingly, after I had been a close prisoner one month to a day, I found the benefit of these gentlemen's promises and solicitations; pursuant to which, an order was brought for my immediate discharge; notwithstanding, the new convert, my old landlady, did all she could to make her appearing against me effectual, to the height of her prejudice and malice, even while the daughter, as sensible of my innocence, and acting with a much better conscience, endeavoured as much to justify me, against both the threats and persuasions of the corrigidor and his few accomplices, though her own mother made one.

After receipt of this order for my enlargement, I was mightily pressed by don Felix and others of my friends to go to Madrid, and enter my complaint against the corrigidor and the clerico, as a thing highly essential to my own future security. Without asking leave, therefore, of the corrigidor, or in the least acquainting him with it, I set out from La Mancha, and, as I afterwards understood, to the terrible alarm of that griping officer, who was under the greatest consternation when he heard I was gone; for, as he knew very well that he had done more than he could justify, he was very apprehensive of any complaint; well knowing, that as he was hated as much as I was beloved, he might assure himself of the want of that assistance from the gentlemen which I had experienced.

So soon as I arrived at Madrid, I made it my business to inquire out and wait upon father Fahy, chief of the Irish college. He received me very courteously; but when I acquainted him with the treatment I had met with from Brennan, and had given him an account of his other scandalous behaviour, I found he was no stranger to the man or his character; for he soon confirmed to me the honour Brennan first boasted of, his considerable family, by

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saying, that scarce an assize passed in his own country without two or three of that name receiving at the gallows the just reward of their demerits. In short, not only father Faby, but all the clergy of that nation at Madrid, readily subscribed to this character of him, that he was a scandal to their country.

After this, I had nothing more to do but to get that father to go with me to Pedro de Dios, who was the head of the Dominican cloister, and dean of the inquisition. He readily granted my request; and when we came there, in a manner unexpected, represented to the dean, that having some good dispositions towards mother-church, I had been diverted from them, he feared, by the evil practices of one Murtough Brennan, a countryman of his, though a scandal to his country; that, under a pretence of seeking my conversion, he had laid himself open in a most beastly manner, such as would have set a catholic into a vile opinion of their religion, and much more one that was yet a heretic. The dean had hardly patience to hear particulars; but as soon as my friend had ended his narration, he immediately gave his orders, prohibiting Murtough's saying any more masses, either in Madrid or any other place in Spain. This indeed was taking away the poor wretch's sole subsistence, and putting him just upon an equality with his demerits.

I took the same opportunity to make my complaints of the corrigidor; but his term expiring very soon, and a process being likely to be chargeable, I was advised to let it drop. So having effected what I came for, I returned to my old station at La Mancha.

When I came back, I found a new corrigidor, as I had been told there would by the dean of the inquisition, who, at the same time, advised me to wait on him. I did so, soon after my arrival, and then experienced the advice to be well intended; the dean having wrote a letter to him to order him to treat me with all manner of civility. He shewed me the very letter, and it was in such particular and obliging terms that I could not but perceive he had taken a resolution, if possible, to eradicate all the evil impressions that Murtough's behaviour might have given too great occasion for. This served to confirm me in an observation that I had long before made, that a protestant who will prudently keep his sentiments in his own breast may command any thing in Spain, where their stiff bigotry leads them naturally into that other mistake, that not to oppose is to assent. Besides, it is generally among them almost a work of supererogation to be even instrumental in the conversion of one they call a heretic. To bring any such back to what they call mother-church, nothing shall be spared, nothing thought too much; and if you have insincerity enough to give them hopes, you shall not only live in ease, but in pleasure and plenty.

I had entertained some thoughts on my journey back of taking up my old quarters at the widow's; but found her so entirely converted by her clerico, that there would be no room to expect peace: for which reason, with the help

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of my fair vicinos and don Felix, I took another, where I had not been long before I received an unhappy account of Murtough's conduct in Murcia. It seems he had kept his resolution in going thither; where, meeting with some of his own countrymen, though he found them staunch good catholics, he so far inveigled himself into them, that he brought them all into a foul chance for their lives. There were three of them, all soldiers, in a Spanish regiment; but, in a fit of ambitious though frantic zeal, Murtough had wheedled them to go along with him to Pedro de Dios, dean of the inquisition, to declare and acknowledge before him, that they were converted and brought over to mother-church, and by him only. The poor ignorants, thus enticed, had left their regiment, of which the colonel having notice, sent after them, and they were overtaken on the road, their missionair with them. But, notwithstanding all his oratory, nay, even the discovery of the whole farce, one of them was hanged for an example to the other two.

It was not long after my return before news arrived of the peace; which, though they received with joy, they could hardly entertain with belief. Upon which, the new corrígidor, with whom I held a better correspondence than I had done with the old one, desired me to produce my letters from England, that it was true. Never did people give greater demonstrations of joy than they upon this occasion. It was the common cry in the streets, *Pax con Anglaterra, con todo mundo guerra!* and my confirmation did them as much pleasure as it did service for me; for, if possible, they treated me with more civility than before.

But the peace soon after being proclaimed, I received orders to repair to Madrid, where the rest of the prisoners taken at Denia had been carried; when I, by reason of my wounds and want of health, had been left behind. Others I understood lay ready, and some were on their march to Bayonne in France, where ships were ordered for their transportation into England. So, after a residence of three years and three months, having taken leave of all my acquaintance, I left a place that was almost become natural to me, the delicious Sainte Clemente de la Mancha.

Nothing of moment or worth observing met I with till I came near Ocanna, and there occurred a sight ridiculous enough. The knight of the town I last came from, the ever-renowned Don Quixote, never made such a figure as a Spaniard I there met on the road. He was mounted on a mule of the largest size, and yet no way unseizeable to his person: he had two pistols in his holsters, and one on each side stuck in his belt; a sort of large blunderbuss in one of his hands, and the fellow to it, slung over his shoulder, hung at his back. All these were accompanied with a right Spanish spado, and an attendant stiletto, in their customary position. The muleteer that was my guide, calling out to him in Spanish, told him he was very well armed; to which, with a good deal of gravity, the don returned answer, "By Saint Jago, a man cannot be too well armed in such dangerous times."

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I took up my quarters that night at Ocanna, a large, neat, and well built town. Houses of good reception and entertainment are very scarce all over Spain; but that where I then lay might have passed for good in any other country. Yet it gave me a notion quite different to what I found; for I imagined it to proceed from my near approach to the capital. But instead of that, contrary to all other countries, the nearer I came to Madrid, the houses of entertainment grew worse and worse; not in their rates do I mean (for that with reason enough might be expected), but even in their provision, and places, and way of reception. I could not, however, forbear smiling at the reason given by my muleteer, that it proceeded from a piece of court policy, in order to oblige all travellers to hasten to Madrid.

Two small leagues from Ocanna we arrived at Aranjuez, a seat of pleasure which the kings of Spain commonly select for their place of residence during the months of April and May. It is distant from Madrid about seven leagues; and the country round is the pleasantest in all Spain, Valencia excepted. The house itself makes but a very indifferent appearance; I have seen many a better in England, with an owner to it of no more than five hundred pounds per annum; yet the gardens are large and fine; or, as the Spaniards say, the finest in all Spain, which with them is all the world. They tell you at the same time, that those of Versailles, in their most beautiful parts, took their model from these. I never saw those at Versailles; but, in my opinion, the walks at Aranjuez, though noble in their length, lose much of their beauty by their narrowness.

The water-works here are a great curiosity, to which the river Tagus, running along close by, does mightily contribute. That river is let into the gardens by a vast number of little canals, which, with their pleasing meanders, divert the eye with inexpressible delight. These pretty wanderers, by pipes properly placed in them, afford varieties scarce to be believed or imagined, and which would be grateful in any climate, but much more where the air, as it does here, wants in the summer months perpetual cooling.

To see a spreading tree, as growing in its natural soil, distinguished from its pining neighbourhood by a gentle refreshing shower, which appears softly distilling from every branch and leaf thereof, while nature all around is smiling, without one liquid sign of sorrow, to me appeared surprisingly pleasing; and the more when I observed that its neighbours received not any the least benefit of that plentiful effusion, and yet a very few trees distant you should find a dozen together under the same healthful sudor. Where art imitates nature well, philosophers hold it a perfection: then what must she exact of us where we find her transcendent in the perfections of nature?

The watery arch is nothing less surprising; where art, contending with nature, acts against the laws of nature, and yet is beautiful. To see a liquid stream vaulting itself for the space of threescore yards into a perfect semicircle will be granted by the curious to be rare and strange; but sure to walk

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beneath that arch, and see the waters flowing over your head, without your receiving the minutest drop, is stranger, if not strange enough to stagger all belief.

The story of Actæon, pictured in water colours, if I may so express myself, though pretty, seemed to me but trifling to the other. Those seemed to be like nature miraculously displayed, this only fable in grotesque. The figures indeed were not only fine but extraordinary, yet their various shapes were not at all so entertaining to the mind, however refreshing they might be found to the body.

I took notice before of the straitness of their walks; but though to me it might seem a diminution of their beauty, I am apt to believe to the Spaniard, for and by whom they were laid out, it may seem otherwise. They, of both sexes, give themselves so intolerably up to amouring, that, on that account, the closeness of the walks may be looked upon as an advantage rather than a defect. The grand avenue to the house is much more stately and composed, as they are of rows of trees somewhat larger than our largest limes, whose leaves are all of a perfect pea-bloom colour, together with their grandeur, they strike the eye with a pleasing beauty. At the entrance of the grand court we see the statue of Philip the second, to intimate to the spectators, I suppose, that he was the founder.

Among other parks about Aranjuez, there is one entirely preserved for dromedaries, an useful creature for fatigue, burden, and dispatch, but the nearest of kin to deformity of any I ever saw. There are several other inclosures for several sorts of strange and wild beasts, which are sometimes baited in a very large pond, that was shewn me, about half a league from hence. This is no ordinary diversion; but when the court is disposed that way, the beast or beasts, whether bear, lion, or tyger, are conveyed into a house prepared for that purpose, whence he can no other way issue than by a door over the water, through or over which, forcing or flinging himself, he gradually finds himself descend into the very depth of the pond by a wooden declivity. The dogs stand ready on the banks, and so soon as ever they spy their enemy, rush all at once into the water and engage him. A diversion less to be complained of than their tauridores, because attended with less cruelty to the beast, as well as danger to the spectators.

When we arrived at Madrid, a town much spoken of by natives as well as strangers, though I had seen it before, I could hardly restrain myself from being surprised to find it only environed with mud walls. It may very easily be imagined they were never intended for defence, and yet it was a long time before I could find any other use, or rather any use at all, in them; and yet I was at last convinced of my error by a sensible increase of expense. Without the gates, to half a league without the town, you have wine for two pence the quart, but within the place you drink it little cheaper than you may in London. The mud walls, therefore, well enough answer their intent

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of forcing people to reside there, under pretence of security, but, in reality, to be taxed; for other things are taxable as well as wine, though not in like proportion.

All ambassadors have a claim or privilege of bringing in what wine they please tax-free; and the king, to wave it, will at any time purchase that exemption of duty at the price of five hundred pistoles per annum. The convents and nunneries are allowed a like licence of free importation; and it is one of the first advantages they can boast of, for, under that licence, having a liberty of setting up a tavern near them, they make a prodigious advantage of it. The wine drank and sold in this place is, for the most part, a sort of white wine.

But if the mud walls gave me at first but a faint idea of the place, I was pleasingly disappointed as soon as I entered the gates. The town then shewed itself well built, and of brick, and the streets wide, long, and spacious. Those of Atocha and Alcala are as fine as any I ever saw; yet it is situated but very indifferently, for though they have what they call a river, to which they give the very fair name of La Mansuera, and over which they have built a curious, long, and large stone bridge, yet is the course of it, in summer time especially, mostly dry. This gave occasion to that piece of raillery of a foreign ambassador, "that the king would have done wisely to have bought a river, before he built the bridge." Nevertheless, that little stream of a river which they boast of, they improve as much as possible; since down the sides, as far as you can see, there are coops, or little places hooped in, for people to wash their linen (for they very rarely wash in their own houses), nor is it really any displeasing sight to view the regular rows of them at that cleanly operation.

The king has here two palaces, one within the town, the other near adjoining. That in the town is built of stone, the other, which is called *Bueno Retiro*, is all of brick. From the town to this last, in summer time, there is a large covering of canvas, propt up with tall poles, under which people walk, to avoid the scorching heats of the sun.

As I was passing by the chapel of the Carmelites, I saw several blind men, some led, some groping the way with their sticks, going into the chapel. I had the curiosity to know the reason; I no sooner entered the door but was surprised to see such a number of those unfortunate people, all kneeling before the altar, some kissing the ground, others holding up their heads, crying out *misericordia*. I was informed it was Saint Lucy's day, the patroness of the blind; therefore, all who were able came upon that day to pay their devotion: so I left them, and directed my course towards the king's palace.

When I came to the outward court, I met with a Spanish gentleman of my acquaintance, and we went into the piazzas; whilst we were walking there, I saw several gentlemen passing by, having badges on their breasts, some white,

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some red, and others green. My friend informed me that there were five orders of knighthood in Spain : that of the Golden Fleece was only given to great princes, but the other four to private gentlemen, viz. that of Saint Jago, Alcantara, Saint Salvador de Montreal, and Monteza.

He likewise told me, that there were above ninety places of grandees, but never filled up, who have the privilege of being covered in the presence of the king, and are distinguished into three ranks. The first is, of those who cover themselves before they speak to the king ; the second are those who put on their hats after they have begun to speak ; the third are those who only put on their hats, having spoke to him. The ladies of the grandees have also great respect shewed them : the queen rises up when they enter the chamber, and offers them cushions.

No married man, except the king, lies in the palace, for all the women who live there are widows, or maids of honour to the queen. I saw the prince of Asturias's dinner carried through the court up to him, being guarded by four gentlemen of the guards, one before, another behind, and one on each side, with their carbines shouldered ; the queen's came next, and the king's the last, guarded as before, for they always dine separately. I observed that the gentlemen of the guards, though not on duty, yet they are obliged to wear their carbine belts.

Saint Isidore, who, from a poor labouring man, by his sanctity of life arrived to the title of saint, is the patron of Madrid, and has a church dedicated to him, which is richly adorned within. The sovereign court of the inquisition is held at Madrid; the president whereof is called the inquisitor-general. They judge without allowing any appeal for four sorts of crimes, viz. heresy, polygamy, sodomy, and witchcraft, and when any are convicted, it is called the act of faith.

Most people believe that the king's greatest revenue consists in the gold and silver brought from the West Indies, which is a mistake, for most part of that wealth belongs to merchants and others, that pay the workmen at the golden mines of Potosi, and the silver mines at Mexico ; yet the king, as I have been informed, receives about a million and a half of gold.

The Spaniards have a saying, that the finest garden of fruit in Spain is in the middle of Madrid, which is the Plaza, or market place ; and truly the stalls there are set forth with such variety of delicious fruit, that I must confess I never saw any place comparable to it ; and, which adds to my admiration, there are no gardens or orchards of fruit within some leagues.

They seldom eat hares in Spain but whilst the grapes are growing, and then they are so exceeding fat they are knocked down with sticks. Their rabbits are not so good as ours in England ; they have great plenty of partridges, which are larger and finer feathered than ours. They have but little beef in Spain, because there is no grass ; but they have plenty of mutton, and exceeding good, because their sheep feed only upon wild pot herbs ; their pork is delicious, their hogs feeding only upon chesnuts and acorns.

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Madrid and Valladolid, though great, yet are only accounted villages : in the latter, Philip the second, by the persuasion of Parsons, an English Jesuit, erected an English seminary ; and Philip the fourth built a most noble palace, with extraordinary fine gardens. They say that Christopher Columbus, who first discovered the West Indies, died there, though I have heard he lies buried, and has a monument at Seville.

The palace in the town stands upon eleven arches, under every one of which there are shops, which degrade it to a mere exchange. Nevertheless, the stairs by which you ascend up to the guard-room (which is very spacious too) are stately, large, and curious. So soon as you have passed the guard-room you enter into a long and noble gallery, the right hand whereof leads to the king's apartment, the left to the queen's. Entering into the king's apartment, you soon arrive at a large room, where he keeps his levee ; on one side whereof (for it takes up the whole side) is painted the fatal battle of Almanza. I confess the view somewhat affected me, though so long after, and brought to mind many old passages. However, the reflection concluded thus in favour of the Spaniard, that we ought to excuse their vanity in so exposing, under a French general, a victory which was the only material one the Spaniards could ever boast of over an English army.

In this state room, when the king first appears, every person present receives him with a profound homage ; after which, turning from the company to a large velvet chair, by which stands the father confessor, he kneels down, and remains some time at his devotion ; which being over, he rising crosses himself, and his father confessor having with the motion of his hand intimated his benediction, he then gives audience to all that attend for that purpose. He receives every body with a seeming complaisance, and with an air more resembling the French than the Spanish ceremony. Petitions to the king, as with us, are delivered into the hands of the secretary of state ; yet in one particular they are, in my opinion, worthy the imitation of other courts : the petitioner is directly told what day he must come for an answer to the office, at which time he is sure, without any further fruitless attendance, not to fail of it. The audience being over, the king returns through the gallery to his own apartment.

I cannot here omit an accidental conversation that passed between general Mahoni and myself in this place. After some talk of the bravery of the English nation, he made mention of general Stanhope, with a very peculiar emphasis. " But," says he, " I never was so put to the nonplus in all my days as that general once put me in. I was on the road from Paris to Madrid, and having notice that that general was going just the reverse, and that in all likelihood we should meet the next day, before my setting out in the morning I took care to order my gayest regimental apparel, resolving to make the best appearance I could to receive so great a man. I had not tra-

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velled above four hours before I saw two gentlemen, who appearing to be English, it induced me to imagine they were foxrunners, and some of his retinue. But how abashed and confounded was I, when, putting the question to one of them, he made answer, 'Sir, I am the person!' Never did moderation put vanity more out of countenance: though, to say truth, I could not but think his dress as much too plain for general Stanhope, as I at that juncture thought my own too gay for Mahoni. But," added he, "that great man had too many inward great endowments to stand in need of any outside decoration."

Of all diversions the king takes most delight in that of shooting, which he performs with great exactness and dexterity. I have seen him divert himself at swallow shooting, (by all, I think, allowed to be the most difficult,) and exceeding all I ever saw. The last time I had the honour to see him was on his return from that exercise. He had been abroad with the duke of Medina Sidonia, and alighted out of his coach at a back door of the palace, with three or four birds in his hand, which, according to his usual custom, he carried up to the queen with his own hands.

There are two playhouses in Madrid, at both which they act every day; but their actors and their music are almost too indifferent to be mentioned. The theatre at the Bueno Retiro is much the best, but as much inferior to ours at London as those at Madrid are to that. I was at one play, when both king and queen were present. There was a splendid audience, and a great concourse of ladies; but the latter, as is the custom there, having latitudes before them, the appearance lost most of its lustre. One very remarkable thing happened while I was there; the ave-bell rung in the middle of an act, when down on their knees fell every body, even the players on the stage, in the middle of their harangue; they remained for some time at their devotion, then up they rose and returned to the business they were before engaged in, beginning where they left off.

The ladies of quality make their visits in grand state and decorum. The lady-visitant is carried in a chair by four men, the two first, in all weathers, always bare; two others walk as a guard, one on each side; another carrying a large lanthorn for fear of being benighted; then follows a coach drawn on six mules, with her women, and after that another with her gentlemen; several servants walking after, more or less, according to the quality of the person. They never suffer their servants to overload a coach, as is frequently seen with us; neither do coachmen or chairmen go or drive, as if they carried midwives in lieu of ladies; on the contrary, they affect a motion so slow and so stately, that you would rather imagine the ladies were every one of them near their time, and very apprehensive of a miscarriage.

I remember not to have seen here any horses in any coach but in the king's, or an ambassador's, which can only proceed from custom, for certainly finer horses are not to be found in the world.

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At the time of my being here, cardinal Giudici was at Madrid; he was a tall, proper, comely man, and one that made the best appearance. Alberoni was there at the same time, who, upon the death of the duke of Vendosme, had the good fortune to find the princess Ursini his patroness, an instance of whose ingratitude will plead pardon for this little digression.

That princess first brought Alberoni into favour at court. They were both of Italy, and that might be one reason of that lady's espousing his interest; though some there are that assign it to the recommendation of the duke of Vendosme, with whom Alberoni had the honour to be very intimate, as the other was always distinguished by that princess. Be which it will, certain it is, she was Alberoni's first and sole patroness, which gave many people afterwards a very smart occasion of reflecting upon him, both as to his integrity and gratitude: for when Alberoni, upon the death of king Philip's first queen, had recommended this present lady, who was his countrywoman (she of Parma and he of Placentia, both in the same dukedom), and had forwarded her match with the king with all possible assiduity; and when that princess, pursuant to the orders she had received from the king, passed over into Italy to accompany the queen elect into her own dominions, Alberoni, forgetful of the hand that first advanced him, sent a letter to the present queen, just before her landing, that if she resolved to be queen of Spain she must banish the princess Ursini, her companion, and never let her come to court. Accordingly, that lady, to evince the extent of her power and the strength of her resolution, dispatched that princess away on her very landing, and before she had seen the king, under a detachment of her own guards, into France; and all this without either allowing her an opportunity of justifying herself, or assigning the least reason for so uncommon an action. But the same Alberoni (though afterwards created cardinal, and for some time king Philip's prime minion) soon saw that ingratitude of his rewarded in his own disgrace, at the very same court.

I remember when at La Mancha, don Felix Pachero, in a conversation there, maintained that three women at that time ruled the world, viz. queen Anne, madam Maintenon, and this princess Ursini.

Father Fahy's civilities, when last at Madrid, exacting of me some suitable acknowledgment, I went to pay him a visit; as to render him due thanks for the past, so to give him a further account of his countryman Brennan; but I soon found he did not much incline to hear any thing more of Murtough, not expecting to hear any good of him; for which reason, as soon as I well could, I changed the conversation to another topic, in which some word dropping of the count de Monterey, I told him that I heard he had taken orders, and officiated at mass: he made answer it was all very true; and upon my intimating that I had the honour to serve under him in Flanders on my first entering into service, and when he commanded the Spanish forces at the famous battle of Seneff, and adding, that I could not but be surprised

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that he, who was then one of the brightest cavalieroes of the age, should now be in orders, and that I should look upon it as a mighty favour barely to have, if it might be, a view of him; he very obligingly told me that he was very well acquainted with him, and that if I would come the next day he would not fail to accompany me to the count's house.

Punctually at the time appointed I waited on father Fahy, who, as he promised, carried me to the count's house. He was stepping into his coach just as we got there; but seeing father Fahy, he advanced towards us. The father delivered my desire in as handsome a manner as could be, and concluding with the reason of it, from my having been in that service under him; he seemed very well pleased, but added, that there were not many beside myself living who had been in that service with him. After some other conversation he called his gentleman to him, and gave him particular orders to give us a *frescar*, or, in English, an entertainment; so, taking leave, he went into his coach, and we to our *frescar*.

Coming from which father Fahy made me observe, in the open street, a stone, on which was a visible great stain of somewhat reddish, and like blood. "This," said he, "was occasioned by the death of a countryman of mine, who had the misfortune to overset a child, coming out of that house (pointing to one opposite to us): the child frightened, though not hurt, as is natural, made a terrible outcry, upon which its father, coming out in a violent rage (notwithstanding my countryman begged pardon, and pleaded sorrow, as being only an accident), stabbed him to the heart, and down he fell upon that stone, which to this day retains the mark of innocent blood, so rashly shed." He went on, and told me, the Spaniard immediately took sanctuary in the church, whence, some time after, he made his escape. But escapes of that nature are so common in Spain, that they are not worth wondering at. For even though it were for wilful and premeditated murder, if the murderer have taken sanctuary, it was never known that he was delivered up to justice, though demanded; but in some disguise he makes his escape, or some way is secured against all the clamours of power or equity.

I have observed that some of the greatest quality stop their coaches over a stinking nasty puddle, which they often find in the streets, and, holding their heads over the door, snuff up the nasty scent which ascends, believing that it is extremely healthful, when I was forced to hold my nose passing by. It is not convenient to walk out early in the morning, they having no necessary houses, throw out their nastiness in the middle of the street.

After I had taken leave of father Fahy, and returned my thanks for all civilities, I went to pay a visit to Mr. Salter, who was secretary to general Stanhope, when the English forces were made prisoners of war at Breuhiga. Going up stairs, I found the door of his lodgings ajar, and knocking, a person came to the door who appeared under some surprise at sight of me. I did not know him; but inquiring if Mr. Salter was within, he answered, as I fan-

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cied, with some hesitation, that he was, but was busy in an inner room. However, though unasked, I went in, resolving, since I had found him at home, to wait his leisure. In a little time Mr. Salter entered the room; and after customary ceremonies, asking my patience a little longer, he desired I would sit down and bear ensign Fanshaw company (for so he called him), adding, at going out, he had a little business that required dispatch; which being over, he would return and join company.

The ensign, as he called him, appeared to me under a dishabille; and the first question he asked me was, if I would drink a glass of English beer? Misled by his appearance, though I assented, it was with a design to treat, which he would by no means permit, but, calling to a servant, ordered some in. We sat drinking that liquor, which to me was a greater rarity than all the wine in Spain; when in dropped an old acquaintance of mine, Mr. Le Noy, secretary to colonel Nevil. He sat down with us, and before the glass could go twice round, told ensign Fanshaw, that his colonel gave his humble service to him, and ordered him to let him know that he had but three score pistoles by him, which he had sent, and which were at his service, as what he pleased more should be, as soon as it came to his hands.

At this I began to look upon my ensign as another guess person than I had taken him for; and Le Noy imagining, by our sitting cheek by jowl together, that I must be in the secret, soon after gave him the title of captain. This soon convinced me that there was more in the matter than I was yet master of; for, laying things together, I could not but argue within myself, that as it seemed at first a most incredible thing, that a person of his appearance should have so large credit, with such a compliment at the end of it, without some disguise; and as from an ensign he was risen to be a captain, in the taking of one bottle of English beer; a little patience would let me into a secret, in which at present I had not the honour to bear any part but that of a mute.

At last Le Noy took his leave; and as soon as he had left us, and the other bottle was brought in, ensign Fanshaw began to open his heart, and tell me who he was. "I am necessitated," said he, "to be under this disguise, to conceal myself, especially in this place. For you must know," continued he, "that when our forces were lords of this town, as we were for a little while, I fell under an intrigue with another man's wife. Her husband was a person of considerable account; nevertheless the wife shewed me all the favours that a soldier, under a long and hard campaign, could be imagined to ask. In short, her relations got acquainted with our amour, and knowing that I was among the prisoners taken at Breubiga, are now upon the scout and inquiry, to make a discovery that may be of fatal consequence. This is the reason of my disguise; this the unfortunate occasion of my taking upon me a name that does not belong to me."

He spoke all this with such an openness of heart, that, in return of so

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much confidence, I confessed to him that I had heard of the affair, for that it had made no little noise all over the country; that it highly behoved him to take great care of himself, since, as the relations on both sides were considerable, he must consequently be in great danger; that in cases of that nature, no people in the world carry things to greater extremities than the Spaniards. He returned me thanks for my good advice, which, I understood, in a few days after, he, with the assistance of his friends, had taken care to put in practice; for he was conveyed away secretly, and afterwards had the honour to be made a peer of Ireland.

My passport being at last signed by the count de las Torres, I prepared for a journey I had long and ardently wished for, and set out from Madrid in the beginning of September 1719, in order to return to my native country.

Accordingly I set forward upon my journey; but, having heard, both before and since my being in Spain, very famous things spoken of the escorial, though it was a league out of my road, I resolved to make it a visit. And, I must confess, when I came there, I was so far from condemning my curiosity, that I chose to congratulate my good fortune, that had, at half a day's expense, feasted my eyes with extraordinaries, which would have justified a twelvemonth's journey on purpose.

The structure is entirely magnificent beyond any thing I ever saw, or any thing my imagination could frame. It is composed of eleven several quadrangles, with noble cloisters round every one of them. The front to the west is adorned with three stately gates, every one of a different model, yet every one the model of nicest architecture. The middlemost of the three leads into a fine chapel of the Hieronimites, as they call them, in which are entertained one hundred and fifty monks. At every of the four corners of this august fabric, there is a turret of excellent workmanship, which yields to the whole an extraordinary air of grandeur. The king's palace is on the north, nearest that mountain whence the stone it is built of was hewn; and all the south part is set off with many galleries both beautiful and sumptuous.

This prodigious pile, which, as I have said, exceeds all that I ever saw, and which would of itself ask a volume to particularise, was built by Philip the second. He laid the first stone, yet lived to see it finished, and lies buried in the pantheon, a part of it set apart for the burial-place of succeeding princes as well as himself. It was dedicated to Saint Lawrence in the very foundation, and therefore built in the shape of a gridiron, the instrument of that martyr's execution, and in memory of a great victory obtained on that saint's day. The stone of which it is built, contrary to the common course, grows whiter by age; and the quarry, whence it was dug, lies near enough, if it had sense or ambition, to grow enamoured of its own wonderful production. Some there are, who stick not to assign this convenience as the main cause of its situation; and for my part, I must agree, that I have seen

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many other parts of Spain, where that glorious building would have shone with yet far greater splendour.

There was no town of any consequence presented itself in my way to Burgos. Here I took up my quarters that night, where I met with an Irish priest whose name was White. As is natural on such rencounters, having answered his inquiry, whither I was going, he very kindly told me, he should be very glad of my company as far as Victoria, which lay in my road; and I with equal frankness embraced the offer.

Next morning, when we had mounted our mules and were got a little distance from Burgos, he began to relate to me a great many impious pranks of an English officer who had been a prisoner there a little before I came; concluding all with some vehemence, that he had given greater occasion of scandal and infamy to his native country than would be easily wiped off, or in a little time. The truth of it is, many particulars which he related to me were too monstrously vile to admit of any repetition here, and highly meriting that unfortunate end which that officer met with some time after. Nevertheless, the just reflections made by that father, plainly manifested to me the folly of those gentlemen, who, by such inadvertencies, to say no worse, cause the honour of the land of their nativity to be called in question. For though, no doubt, it is a very false conclusion, from a singular to conceive a general character, yet in a strange country, nothing is more common. A man, therefore, of common sense, would carefully avoid all occasions of censure, if not in respect to himself, yet out of a humane regard to such of his countrymen as may have the fortune to come after him; and, it is more than probable, may desire to hear a juster and better character of their country and countrymen, than he perhaps might incline to leave behind him.

As we travelled along, father White told me, that near the place of our quartering that night, there was a convent of the Carthusian order, which would be well worth my seeing. I was doubly glad to hear it, as it was an order most a stranger to me; and as I had often heard from many others most unaccountable relations of the severity of their way of life, and the very odd original of their institution.

The next morning, therefore, being Sunday, we took a walk to the convent. It was situated at the foot of a great hill, having a pretty little river running before it. The hill was naturally covered with evergreens of various sorts; but the very summit of the rock was so impending, that one would at first sight be led to apprehend the destruction of the convent from the fall of it. Notwithstanding all which, they have very curious and well ordered gardens, which led me to observe, that, whatever men pretend, pleasure was not incompatible with the most austere life; and, indeed, if I may guess of others by this, no order in that church can boast of finer convents. Their chapel was completely neat, the altar of it set out with the utmost magnificence, both as to fine paintings and other rich adornments. The buildings

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were answerable to the rest; and, in short, nothing seemed omitted that might render it beautiful or pleasant.

When we had taken a full survey of all, we, not without some regret, returned to our very indifferent inn, where, the better to pass away the time, father White gave me an ample detail of the original of that order. I had beforehand heard somewhat of it, nevertheless I did not care to interrupt him, because I had a mind to hear how his account would agree with what I already heard.

"Bruno," said the father, "the author or founder of this order, was not originally of this but of another. He had a holy brother of the same order, that was his cell-mate or chamber-fellow, who was reputed by all that ever saw or knew him, for a person of exalted piety, and of a most exact holy life. This man, Bruno had intimately known for many years, and agreed, in his character, that general consent did him no more than justice, having never observed any thing in any of his actions, that, in his opinion, could be offensive to God or man. He was perpetually at his devotions; and distinguishably remarkable for never permitting any thing but pious ejaculations to proceed out of his mouth. In short, he was reputed a saint upon earth.

"This man at last dies, and, according to custom, is removed into the chapel of the convent, and there placed with a cross fixed in his hands; soon after which, saying the proper masses for his soul, in the middle of their devotion, the dead man lifts up his head, and with an audible voice cried out, '*Vocatus sum.*' The pious brethren, as any one will easily imagine, were most prodigiously surprised at such an accident, and therefore they earnestly redoubled their prayers; when, lifting up his head a second time, the dead man cried out, '*Judicatus sum.*' Knowing his former piety, the pious fraternity could not then entertain the least doubt of his felicity; when, to their great consternation and confusion, he lifted up his head a third time, crying out in a terrible tone, '*Damnatus sum*;' upon which they incontinently removed the corpse out of the chapel, and threw it upon the dunghill.

"Good Bruno, pondering upon these passages, could not fail of drawing this conclusion:—That if a person, to all appearance so holy and devout, should miss of salvation, it behoved a wise man to contrive some way more certain to make his calling and election sure. To that purpose he instituted this strict and severe order, with an injunction to them, sacred as any part, that every professor should always wear hair-cloth next his skin, never eat any flesh, nor speak to one another, only, as passing by, to say, '*Memento mori.*'"

This account I found to agree pretty well with what I had before heard; but, at the same time, I found the redouble of it made but just the same impression it had at first made upon my heart. However, having made it my observation, that a spirit the least contradictory best carries a man through Spain, I kept father White company, and in humour, till we ar-

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rived at Victoria, where he added one thing, by way of appendix, in relation to the Carthusians, that every person of the society is obliged every day to go into their place of burial, and take up as much earth as he can hold at a grasp with one hand, in order to prepare his grave.

Next day we set out for Victoria; it is a sweet, delicious, and pleasant town. It received that name in memory of a considerable victory there obtained over the Moors. Leaving this place I parted with father White; he going where his affairs led him, and I to make the best of my way to Bilboa.

Entering into Biscay, soon after I left Victoria, I was at a loss almost to imagine what country I was got into. By my long stay in Spain I thought myself a tolerable master of the tongue, yet here I found myself at the utmost loss to understand landlord, landlady, or any of the family. I was told by my muleteer that they pretend their language, as they call it, has continued uncorrupted from the very confusion of Babel; though, if I might freely give my opinion in the matter, I should rather take it to be the very corruption of all that confusion. Another rhodomoutado they have (for in this they are perfect Spaniards), that neither Romans, Carthaginians, Vandals, Goths, or Moors, ever totally subdued them. And yet any man that has ever seen their country might cut the knot without a hatchet, by saying truly, that neither Roman, Carthaginian, nor any victorious people, thought it worth while to make a conquest of a country so mountainous and so barren.

However, Bilboa must be allowed, thought not very large, to be a pretty, clean, and neat town. Here, as in Amsterdam, they allow neither cart nor coach to enter; but every thing of merchandise is drawn and carried upon sledges; and yet it is a place of no small account as to trade, and especially for iron and wool. Here I hoped to have met with an opportunity of embarking for England; but to my sorrow I found myself disappointed, and under that disappointment obliged to make the best of my way to Bayonne.

Setting out for which place, the first town of note that I came to was Saint Sebastian; a very clean town, and neatly paved, which is no little rarity in Spain. It has a very good wall about it, and a pretty citadel. At this place I met with two English officers, who were under the same state with myself; one of them being a prisoner of war with me at Denia. They were going to Bayonne to embark for England as well as myself; so we agreed to set out together for Port Passage. The road from Saint Sebastian is all over a well-paved stone causeway; almost at the end whereof, there accosted us a great number of young lasses. They were all prettily dressed, their long hair flowing in a decent manner over their shoulders, and here and there decorated with ribbons of various colours, which wantonly played on their backs with the wind. The sight surprised my fellow-travellers no less than me; and t a more, as they advanced directly up to us and seized our hands. But a little time undeceived us, and we found what they came for; and that their con-

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test, though not so robust as our oars on the Thames, was much of the same nature; each contending who should have us for their fare. For it is here a custom of time out of mind, that none but young women should have the management and profit of that ferry. And though the ferry is over an arm of the sea, very broad, and sometimes very rough, those fair ferriers manage themselves with that dexterity that the passage is very little dangerous, and in calm weather very pleasant. In short, we made choice of those that best pleased us; who, in a grateful return, led us down to their boat under a sort of music, which they, walking along, made with their oars, and which we all thought far from being disagreeable. Thus were we transported over to Port Passage; not undeservedly accounted the best harbour in all the bay of Biscay.

We staid not long here after landing, resolving, if possible, to reach Fontarabia before night; but all the expedition we could use little availed; for before we could reach thither, the gates were shut, and good nature and humanity were so locked up with them, that all the rhetoric we were masters of could not prevail upon the governor to order their being opened; for which reason we were obliged to take up our quarters at the ferry house.

When we got up the next morning, we found the waters so broad as well as rough that we began to inquire after another passage; and were answered, that at the isle of Conference, but a short league upwards, the passage was much shorter, and exposed to less danger. Such good reasons soon determined us: so, setting out, we got there in a very little time, and very soon after were landed in France. Here we found a house of very good entertainment; a thing we had long wanted, and much lamented the want of.

We were hardly well seated in the house, before we were made sensible, that it was the custom, which had made it the business of our host, to entertain all his guests at first coming in with a prolix account of that remarkable interview between the two kings of France and Spain. I speak safely now, as being got on French ground: for the Spaniard in his own country would have made me to know, that putting Spain after France had there been looked upon as a mere solecism in speech. However, having refreshed ourselves, to shew our deference to our host's relation, we agreed to pay our respects to that famous little isle he mentioned: which, indeed, was the whole burden of the design of our crafty landlord's relation.

When we came there, we found it a little oval island, overrun with weeds, and surrounded with reeds and rushes. "Here," said our landlord, (for he went with us,) "upon this little spot were at that juncture seen the two greatest monarchs in the universe. A noble pavilion was erected in the very middle of it, and in the middle of that was placed a very large oval table; at which was the conference, from which the place received its title. There were two bridges raised; one on the Spanish side, the passage to which was a little upon a descent by reason of the hills adjacent; and the other upon the

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French side, which, as you see, was all upon a level. The music playing and trumpets sounding, the two kings, upon a signal agreed upon, set forward at the same time; the Spanish monarch handing the infanta, his daughter, to the place of interview. As soon as they were entered the pavilion, on each side, all the artillery fired, and both armies after that made their several volleys. Then the king of Spain, advancing on his side the table with the infanta, the king of France advanced at the same moment on the other; till meeting, he received the infanta at the hands of her father as his queen; upon which, both the artillery and small arms fired as before. After this was a most splendid and sumptuous entertainment; which being over, both kings retired into their several dominions; the king of France conducting his new queen to Saint Jean de Luz, where the marriage was consummated; and the king of Spain returning to Port Passage."

After a relation so very inconsistent with the present state of the place, we took horse, (for mule mounting was now out of fashion,) and rode to Saint Jean de Luz, where we found as great a difference in our eating and drinking as we had before done in our riding. Here they might be properly called houses of entertainment; though, generally speaking, till we came to this place, we met with very mean fare, and were poorly accommodated in the houses where we lodged.

A person that travels this way would be esteemed a man of a narrow curiosity, who should not desire to see the chamber where Louis le grand took his first night's lodging with his queen. Accordingly, when it was put into my head, out of an ambition to evince myself a person of taste, I asked the question, and the favour was granted me, with a great deal of French civility; not that I found any thing here more than in the isle of Conference, but what tradition only had rendered remarkable.

Saint Jean de Luz is esteemed one of the greatest village towns in all France. It was in the great church of this place that Louis the fourteenth, according to marriage articles, took before the high altar the oath of renunciation to the crown of Spain, by which all the issue of that marriage were debarred inheritance, if oaths had been obligatory with princes. The natives here are reckoned expert seamen, especially in whale fishing. Here is a fine bridge of wood; in the middle of which is a descent, by steps, into a pretty little island, where is a chapel, and a palace belonging to the bishop of Bayonne. Here the queen dowager of Spain often walks to divert herself; and on this bridge, and in the walks on the island, I had the honour to see that princess more than once.

This villa not being above four leagues from Bayonne, we got there by dinner-time, where, at an ordinary of twenty sous, we eat and drank in plenty, and with a gusto much better than in any part of Spain; where, for eating much worse, we paid very much more.

Bayonne is a town strong by nature; yet the fortifications have been very

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much neglected since the building of the citadel on the other side of the river; which not only commands the town but the harbour also. It is a noble fabric, fair and strong, and raised on the side of a hill, wanting nothing that art can furnish to render it impregnable. The marshal Boufflers had the care of it in its erection; and there is a fine walk near it, from which he used to survey the workmen, which still carries his name. There are two noble bridges here, though both of wood, one over that river which runs on one side the town; the other over that which divides it in the middle. The tide runs through both with vast rapidity; notwithstanding which, ships of burden come up, and, paying for it, are often fastened to the bridge, while loading or unloading. While I was here, there came in four or five English ships laden with corn; the first, as they told me, that had come in to unlade there since the beginning of the war.

On that side of the river where the new citadel is built, at a very little distance, lies Pont d'Esprit, a place mostly inhabited by Jews, who drive a great trade there, and are esteemed very rich, though, as in all other countries, mostly very roguish. Here the queen dowager of Spain has kept her court ever since the jealousy of the present king reclused her from Madrid. As aunt to his competitor Charles (now emperor) he apprehended her intriguing, for which reason, giving her an option of retreat, that princess made choice of this city, much to the advantage of the place, and in all appearance much to her own satisfaction. She is a lady not of the lesser size, and lives here in suitable splendour, and not without the respect due to a person of her high quality, every time she goes to take the air the cannon of the citadel saluting her as she passes over the bridge; and, to say truth, the country round is extremely pleasant, and abounds in plenty of all provisions, especially in wild fowl. Bayonne hams are, to a proverb, celebrated all over France.

We waited here near five months before the expected transports arrived from England, without any other amusements than such as are common to people under suspense. Short tours will not admit of great varieties, and much acquaintance could not be any way suitable to people that had long been in a strange country, and earnestly desired to return to our own; yet one accident befel me here, that was nearer costing me my life than all I had before encountered, either in battle or siege.

Going to my lodgings one evening, I unfortunately met with an officer, who would needs have me along with him aboard one of the English ships, to drink a bottle of English beer. He had been often invited, he said, "and I am afraid our countryman," continued he, "will hold himself slighted if I delay it longer." English beer was a great rarity, and the vessel lay not at any great distance from my lodgings, so without any further persuasion I consented. When we came upon the bridge, to which the ship we were to go aboard was fastened, we found, as was customary as well as necessary, a

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plank laid over from the ship, and a rope to hold by, for safe passage. The night was very dark, and I had cautiously enough taken care to provide a man with a lanthorn to prevent casualties. The man with the light went first, and, out of his abundant complaisance, my friend the officer would have me follow the light; but I was no sooner stept upon the plank after my guide but rope and plank gave way, and guide and I tumbled both together into the water.

The tide was then running in pretty strong; however, my feet in the fall touching ground, gave me an opportunity to recover myself a little, at which time I caught fast hold of a buoy, which was placed over an anchor on one of the ships there riding: I held fast, till the tide, rising stronger and stronger, threw me off my feet, which gave an opportunity to the poor fellow, our lanthorn bearer, to lay hold of one of my legs, by which he held as fast as I by the buoy. We had lain thus lovingly at hull together, struggling with the increasing tide, which, well for us, did not break my hold (for if it had, the ships which lay breast-a-breast had certainly sucked us under), when several on the bridge, who saw us fall, brought others with ropes and lights to our assistance; and especially my brother-officer, who had been accessory as well as a spectator of our calamity, though at last a very small portion of our deliverance fell to his share.

As soon as I could feel a rope I quitted my hold of the buoy, but my poor drag at my heels would not on any account quit his hold of my leg; and as it was next to an impossibility, in that posture, to draw us up the bridge to save both, if either of us, we must still have perished, had not the alarm brought off a boat or two to our succour, who took us in.

I was carried as fast as possible to a neighbouring house hard by, where they took immediate care to make a good fire, and where I had not been long before our intended host, the master of the ship, came in very much concerned, and blaming us for not hailing the vessel before we made an attempt to enter: "for," says he, "the very night before my vessel was robbed, and that plank and rope were a trap designed for the thieves if they came again, not imagining that men in an honest way would have come on board without asking questions." Like the wise men of this world, I hereupon began to form resolutions against a thing which was never again likely to happen, and to draw inferences of instruction from an accident that had not so much as a moral for its foundation.

One day after this, partly out of business, and partly out of curiosity, I went to see the mint here; and having taken notice to one of the officers that there was a difference in the impress of their crown pieces, one having at the bottom the impress of a cow, and the other none: "Sir," replied that officer, "you are much in the right in your observation. Those that have the cow were not coined here but at Paw, the chief city of Navarre, where they enjoy the privilege of a mint as well as we. And tradition tells" says

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he, "that the reason of that addition to the impress was this: A certain king of Navarre (when it was a kingdom distinct from that of France), looking out of a window of the palace, spied a cow, with her calf standing aside her, attacked by a lion, which had got loose out of his menagerie. The lion strove to get the young calf into his paw; the cow bravely defended her charge; and so well, that the lion at last, tired and weary, withdrew, and left her mistress of the field of battle, and her young one. Ever since which," concluded the officer, "by order of that king, the cow is placed at the bottom of the impress of all the money there coined."

Whether or no my relator guessed at the moral, or whether it was fact, I dare not determine; but to me it seemed apparent, that it was no otherwise intended than as an emblematical fable to cover and preserve the memory of the deliverance of Henry the fourth, then the young king of Navarre, at that eternally ignominious slaughter the massacre of Paris. Many historians, their own as well as others, agree, that the house of Guise had levelled the malice of their design at that great prince. They knew him to be the lawful heir; but as they knew him bred what they called a huguenot, barbarity and injustice was easily concealed under the cloak of religion, and the good of mother-church, under the veil of ambition, was held sufficient to postpone the laws of God and man. Some of those historians have delivered it as matter of fact, that the conspirators, in searching after that young king, pressed into the very apartments of the queen his mother; who, having, at the toll of the bell and cries of the murdered, taken the alarm, on hearing them coming, placed herself in her chair, and covered the young king her son with her farthingale, till they were gone. By which means she found an opportunity to convey him to a place of more safety; and so preserved him from those bloody murderers, and in them from the paw of the lion. This was only a private reflection of my own at that time; but I think carries so great a face of probability, that I can see no present reason to reject it. And to have sought after better information from the officer of the mint, had been to sacrifice my discretion to my curiosity.

While I staid at Bayonne, the princess Ursini came thither, attended by some of the king of Spain's guards. She had been to drink the waters of some famous spaw in the neighbourhood, the name of which has now slipt my memory. She was most splendidly entertained by the queen-dowager of Spain; and the mareschal de Montrevel no less signalized himself in his reception of that great lady, who was at that instant the greatest favourite in the Spanish court; though, as I have before related, she was some time after basely undermined by a creature of her own advancing.

Bayonne is esteemed the third emporium of trade in all France. It was once, and remained long so, in the possession of the English; of which, had history been silent, the cathedral church had afforded evident demonstration;

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being in every respect of the English model, and quite different to any of their own way of building in France.

Pampelona is the capital city of the Spanish Navarre, supposed to have been built by Pompey. It is situated in a pleasant valley, surrounded by lofty hills. This town, whether famous or infamous, was the cause of the first institution of the order of the Jesuits: for at the siege of this place, Ignatius Loyola, being only a private soldier, received a shot in his thigh, which made him incapable of following that profession any longer; upon which he set his brains to work, being a subtle man, and invented the order of the Jesuits, which has been so troublesome to the world ever since.

At Saint Stephen, near Lerida, an action happened between the English and Spaniards, in which major-general Cunningham, bravely fighting at the head of his men, lost his life, being extremely much lamented. He was a gentleman of a great estate, yet left it to serve his country; *dulce est pro patria mori*.

About two leagues from Victoria, there is a very pleasant hermitage placed upon a small rising ground; a murmuring rivulet running at the bottom, and a pretty neat chapel standing near it, in which I saw Saint Christopher in a gigantic shape, having a Christo upon his shoulders. The hermit was there at his devotion. I asked him (though I knew it before) the reason why he was represented in so large a shape? The hermit answered with great civility, and told me he had his name from Christo Ferendo; for when our Saviour was young, he had an inclination to pass a river, so Saint Christopher took him on his shoulders in order to carry him over, and as the water grew deeper and deeper, so he grew higher and higher.

At last we received news that the Gloucester man of war, with two transports, was arrived at Port Passage, in order for the transporting of all the remaining prisoners of war into England. Accordingly, they marched next day, and there embarked. But I having before agreed with a master of a vessel, which was loaded with wine for Amsterdam, to set me ashore at Dover, staid behind waiting for that ship, as did that for a fair wind.

In three or four days' time, a fine and fair gale presented, of which the master taking due advantage, we sailed over the bar into the bay of Biscay. This is with sailors to a proverb reckoned the roughest of seas; and yet on our entrance into it nothing appeared like it. It was smooth as glass; a lady's face might pass for young, and in its bloom, that discovered no more wrinkles; yet scarce had we sailed three leagues before a prodigious fish presented itself to our view. As near as we could guess, it might be twenty yards in length, and it lay sporting itself on the surface of the sea, a great part appearing out of the water. The sailors, one and all, as soon as they saw it, declared it the certain forerunner of a storm. However, our ship kept on its course, before a fine gale, till we had near passed over half the bay, when, all on a sudden, there was such a hideous alteration as makes nature recoil on

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the very reflection. Those seas that seemed before to smile upon us with the aspect of a friend, now in a moment changed its flattering countenance into that of an open enemy; and frowns, the certain indexes of wrath, presented us with apparent danger, of which little on this side death could be the sequel. The angry waves cast themselves up into mountains, and scourged the ship on every side from poop to prow. Such shocks from the contending wind and surges—such falls from precipices of water to dismal caverns of the same uncertain element. Although the latter seemed to receive us, in order to screen us from the riot of the former, imagination could offer no other advantage than that of a winding-sheet, presented and prepared for our approaching fate. But why mention I imagination? In me it was wholly dormant; and yet those sons of stormy weather, the sailors, had theirs about them in full stretch; for seeing the wind and sea so very boisterous, they lashed the rudder of the ship, resolved to let her drive and steer herself, since it was past their skill to steer her. This was our way of sojourning most part of that tedious night; driven where the winds and waves thought fit to drive us, with all our sails quite lowered and flat upon the deck. If Ovid, in the little Archipelagian sea, could whine out his *jam jam jaecturus*, &c. in this more dismal scene, and much more dangerous sea (the pitchlike darkness of the night adding to all our sad variety of woes), what words in verse or prose could serve to paint our passions or our expectations? Alas! our only expectation was in the return of morning:—it came at last; yet even slowly as it came, when come, we thought it come too soon, a new scene of sudden death being all the advantage of its first appearance. Our ship was driving full speed towards the breakers on the Cabritton shore, between Bourdeaux and Bayonne, which filled us with ideas more terrible than all before, since those were past, and these seemingly as certain. Besides, to add to our distress, the tide was driving in, and consequently must drive us fast to visible destruction. A state so evident, that one of our sailors, whom great experience had rendered more sensible of our present danger, was preparing to save one, by lashing himself to the mainmast, against the expected minute of desolation. He was about that melancholy work, in utter despair of any better fortune, when, as loud as ever he could bawl, “a point, a point of wind!” To me, who had had too much of it, it appeared like the sound of the last trump; but to the more intelligent crew it had a different sound. With vigour and alacrity they started from their prayers, or their despair, and with all imaginable speed unlashed the rudder and hoisted all their sails. Never sure in nature did one minute produce a greater scene of contraries. The more skilful sailors took courage at this happy presage of deliverance. And according to their expectation did it happen: that heavenly point of wind delivered us from the jaws of those breakers, ready open to devour us, and carrying us out to the much more welcome wide sea, furnished every one in the ship with thoughts as distant as we thought our danger.

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We endeavoured to make Port Passage, but our ship became unruly and would not answer her helm, for which reason we were glad to go before the wind, and make for the harbour of Saint Jean de Luz. This we attained without any great difficulty, and to the satisfaction of all, sailors as well as passengers, we there cast anchor, after the most terrible storm (as all the oldest sailors agreed), and as much danger as ever people escaped.

Here I took notice that the sailors buoyed up their cables with hogsheds; inquiring into the reason of which, they told me, that the rocks at the bottom of the harbour were by experience found to be so very sharp that they would otherwise cut their cables asunder. Our ship was obliged to be drawn up into the dock to be refitted, during which I lay in the town, where nothing of moment or worth reciting happened.

I beg pardon for my error: the very movements of princes must always be considerable, and consequently worth recital. While the ship lay in the dock, I was one evening walking upon the bridge, with the little island near it (which I have before spoke of), and had a little Spanish dog along with me, when, at the further end, I spied a lady and three or four gentlemen in company. I kept on my pace of leisure, and so did they; but when I came nearer I found they as much outnumbered me in the dog as they did in the human kind, and I soon experienced to my sorrow, that their dogs by their fierceness and ill humour were dogs of quality, having, without warning, or the least declaration of war, fallen upon my little dog, according to pristine custom, without any honourable regard to size, interest, or number. However, the good lady, who, by the privilege of her sex, must be allowed the most competent judge of inequalities, out of an excess of condescension and goodness, came running to the relief of oppressed poor Tony; and, in courtly language, rated her own oppressive dogs for their great incivility to strangers. The dogs, in the middle of their insulting wrath, obeyed the lady with a vast deal of profound submission, which I could not much wonder at, when I understand that it was a queen-dowager of Spain who had chid them.

Our ship being now repaired, and made fit to go out again to sea, we left the harbour of Saint Jean de Luz, and, with a much better passage, as the last tempest was still dancing in my imagination, in ten days' sail we reached Dover. Here I landed on the last day of March 1713, having not till then seen or touched English shore from the beginning of May 1705.

I took coach directly for London, where, when I arrived, I thought myself transported into a country more foreign than any I had either fought or pilgrimaged in. Not foreign do I mean, in respect to others so much as to itself. I left it seemingly under a perfect unanimity; the fatal distinctions of whig and tory were then esteemed merely nominal, and of no more ill consequence or danger than a bee robbed of its sting. The national concern went on with vigour, and the prodigious success of the queen's arms left every

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soul without the least pretence to a murmur. But now, on my return, I found them on their own establishment, perfect contraries, and as unlikely to be brought to meet as direct angles. Some arraigning, some extolling of a peace, in which time has shewn both were wrong, and consequently neither could be right in their notions of it, however an over prejudiced way of thinking might draw them into one or the other. But whig and tory are, in my mind, the completest paradox in nature; and yet, like other paradoxes, old as I am, I live in hope to see, before I die, those seeming contraries perfectly reconciled and reduced into one happy certainty, the public good.

Whilst I staid at Madrid I made several visits to my old acquaintance general Mahoni. I remember that he told me, when the earl of Peterborough and he held a conference at Morvidro, his lordship used many arguments to induce him to leave the Spanish service. Mahoni made several excuses, especially that none of his religion was suffered to serve in the English army. My lord replied, that he would undertake to get him accepted by an act of parliament. I have often heard him speak with great respect of his lordship, and was strangely surprised that after so many glorious successes he should be sent away.

He was likewise pleased to inform me, that at the battle of Sarragosa it was his fortune to make some of our horse give way, and he pursued them for a considerable time, but at his return he saw the Spanish army in great confusion; but it gave him the opportunity of attacking our battery of guns, which he performed with great slaughter, both of gunners and matrosses; he at the same time inquired who it was that commanded there in chief. I informed him it was colonel Bourguard, one that understood the economy of the train exceeding well. As for that, he knew nothing of; but that he would vouch, he behaved himself with extraordinary courage, and defended the battery to the utmost extremity, receiving several wounds, and deserved the post in which he acted. A gentleman who was a prisoner at Guanaxara, informed me that he saw king Philip riding through that town, being only attended with one of his guards.

Sarragosa, or Caesar Augusta, lies upon the river Ebro, being the capital of Arragon; it is a very ancient city, and contains fourteen great churches, and twelve convents. The church of the Lady of the Pillar is frequented by pilgrims almost from all countries. It was anciently a Roman colony.

Tibi laus, tibi honor, tibi sit gloria, O gloriosa trinitas, quia tu dedisti mihi hanc opportunitatem, omnes has res gestas recordandi. Nomen tuum sit benedictum, per sæcula sæculorum. Amen.

END OF VOLUME THE SECOND.

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